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The alphabetical arrangement of the subject matter is modified in some instances by the grouping of related topics under such headings as Aviation, Congress, Europe, Finance, Peace Conference, Reconstruction, Soldiers and War. So far as space permits, cross-indexing of topics to general headings has been used. For material involving various countries, it will be best to look under the name of the nation or under the heading, "Peace Conference." Pictures of interesting personalities are grouped under the heading, "Portraits."

Letters in parenthesis signify nature of article, as (C) contributed article; (Ed.) editorial; (L) "leading article" (digested from another source); (il.) illustrated; (port.) portrait; (R) book review.

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THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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PREMIER CLEMENCEAU AND GENERAL PERSHING

(This snapshot photograph of the veteran French statesman and the Commander of the American Expeditionary Force suggests the cordial relations existing between France and the United States on the eve of the Peace Congress at Versailles. A character sketch of M. Clemenceau appears on page 51, and this is followed by excerpts from Major Palmer's book "America in France" and General Pershing's own account of the operations of the American Army, as contained in his report to the Secretary of War)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LVIX

NEW YORK, JANUARY, 1919

No. 1

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*The Ordeal
and the
Prospect*

For many years past we have been accustomed in each successive January number of this REVIEW to make a survey from the standpoint of the world's progress towards peace and international harmony. One of the chief objects of this periodical, from the time of its beginning, has been to advocate all measures that could be taken to lessen the evils of war and to promote the cause of freedom everywhere. Moreover, a cardinal tenet upon which the REVIEW was established, under the present editorship twenty-eight years ago, was the unity of the English-speaking peoples. This was the great dream of the late William T. Stead, founder and editor of the *English Review of Reviews*; and our American periodical, though distinct in its editorship and control, was in hearty coöperation with Mr. Stead in his unceasing labors for a better world organization against war and for especially close relations among all the English-speaking communities. As most of our readers will remember, Mr. Stead was one of those who perished in the sinking of the *Titanic*, April 15, 1912, when on his way to this country to aid in promoting the objects to which he was most devoted. Since his death the world has been through a more terrible experience of warfare than the most pessimistic had believed to be possible. Yet it has come out of that frightful ordeal with better prospects for permanent peace and for an orderly control of its affairs than at any other time in these later centuries.

*The Strong
Arm for
Justice*

Those who did not believe in force as the dominating principle among men have had to prove their faith in peaceful methods by fighting for them; and they have fought successfully. Thus, if Mr. Stead had lived until this time, no one would have been more happy than he in the outcome; and surely no one would

have been better qualified to survey the results, to interpret the signs of the times, and to exhort all right-thinking men to help in making the permanent results commensurate with the great effort. Mr. Stead was sometimes called a pacifist, and for a time he carried on a special magazine entitled "*War Against War*"; but he was at the very opposite pole from the other type for whom that word pacifist is now more usually reserved—the type opposed to military and naval preparedness, and opposed to the use of force for the maintenance of justice. From an early period in his career as a London editor, Mr. Stead had been the foremost champion of the doctrine of the large British Navy. When in the early '80's the efficiency of that navy had somewhat sagged, he had written a series of brilliant articles which appeared in a volume called "*The Truth About the Navy*." He was in close touch with the ablest of the British Admirals; and the agitation which he led had the result of bringing about a greatly expanded naval program, this work in which he was so active being also enormously stimulated by the writings on "sea power" of our own Mahan.

*English-Speak-
ing People in
Accord*

There has long been a school of English publicists and statesmen who have refused to think of the progress of the United States as other than beneficial to the well-being of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, and all parts of the political combination known as the British Empire. In Mr. Stead's doctrine of the "union of English-speaking peoples" there was no tinge of unfriendliness towards the civilized nations of Europe, Asia, or Latin America who speak and read other languages. Nor by the word "union" did he mean necessarily to imply any arrangements of a formal kind. He was, of course, in favor of unlimited arbitration treaties. But especially he de-

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No. 1

OF THE WORLD

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The Strong Arm for Justice Those who did not believe in force as the dominating principle among men have had to prove their faith in peaceful methods by fighting for them; and they have fought successfully. Thus, if Mr. Stead had lived until this time, no one would have been more happy than he in the outcome; and surely no one would

sired to bring about an association between the United States and Great Britain that should represent the triumph of those principles of public and private life which are the common heritage of all who use the language of Shakespeare and Milton and of the English Bible. We have known in our own country the evils of sectional prejudice, and the danger of fomenting disagreements instead of seeking union and accord. The time has come for strengthening the forces of right and justice by harmonizing the British and American peoples.

*Peace on a
Basis of
Facts*

In the working out of principles, the best results come through the clear recognition of actualities. We shall do well, therefore, if we turn away from theories at this historic juncture and try to find upon what concrete foundation the prospect of future peace rests. When the United States entered the war in the spring of 1917 we declared in this REVIEW that our country had then and there joined a league to enforce peace. We set forth the view that the very fact of our joining the Allies had so enlarged the issues involved as to change the character of the war and to make it "a war to end war" and to establish permanent security against the menace of aggression. Future peace does not rest upon any paper scheme or project for a league of nations, but upon the united effort that has now brought about the peace which began on November 11.

*Support for a
League of
Nations*

Gradually, through the years to come, there may grow out of this joining of hands in the Great War an elaborate system for the improvement of international law, the settling of disputes, and above all for the administrative conduct of certain large and responsible tasks such as the government of equatorial Africa. But a mere project of a League of Nations, written out as a theory and apart from the concrete facts, would not of itself give peace and security to the world, even though at first it were unanimously adopted. The Constitution of the United States with its Supreme Court and with the Army and Navy of the Union did not of itself avail to hold together the sisterhood of sovereign States. The thing that finally welded us into our firm American union was the intense conviction of the need and the value of that union, on the part of a major group of the States,—a group so intrinsically strong that

it was able when the test came to establish its principles and to cause them finally and completely to be accepted. Whatever may be the nominal form of a League of Nations, as adopted by the master minds of the Peace Conference now assembling at Versailles, the underlying facts are the important thing to observe, not the mere phrase "League of Nations," or the language that may clothe the accepted scheme. The Hague treaties looked like a long movement towards international harmony and agreement; but they fell apart when Germany and her allies challenged the "balance of power," and undertook to secure the dominance of Europe and Asia, which would have meant, in the end, the dominance of the world.

*The Existing
World
Control*

The essential fact to-day is the complete disappearance of that system heretofore known in Europe as the balance of power. Germany, Austria, and Russia, in their former character as great military systems and as dynastic Empires—with their policies uncontrolled by the will of the people—have forever disappeared. Upon the ruins of the old system there has arisen a new power, capable of controlling the destinies of the world. This new power consists of the combination for international purposes of Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States, and Japan. If this combination holds together in generous good-will, and in adherence to the high aims which these nations have professed and vindicated, there will still remain many perplexing problems to be dealt with; but there will be no further danger, for a long time to come, of war on a large scale. The best mode of approach, therefore, to the so-called League of Nations is to start with the existing facts, and then to think through them into the improvements that can be made to grow out of them. This way of proceeding will lead us to a better understanding of several points that need clearing up.

*An
Unprecedented
Alliance*

Take, for instance, the question of the United States and its old-time tradition against "entangling alliances." It is true we entered the war without a written alliance with England or France or Italy. But no written treaties could have made more real or powerful the alliance that was actually entered into, and that still exists. A closer coöperation between great nations never went into effect than that between the Government of the

United States and the governments of Great Britain and France. Sending a drafted army of more than two million men, gathered from every neighborhood of the Union across a wide ocean, and then putting them under the absolute command—along with the armies of three other great nations—of a General-in-Chief and his staff, constitutes an alliance more sweeping and profound than any that the world has ever known before. This great military fact of alliance has been, and still is, visible to all men; but other facts and evidences of alliance have been less apparent to the onlooker. These have had to do with the union of credit and financial strength among the Allies, by means of which the resources of the greater part of the world have been massed and effectively pooled for the attainment of the desired results. Behind the scenes there have been inter-Allied boards to apportion maritime tonnage, boards accumulating and distributing foodstuffs, boards giving common effectiveness to munition supplies and so on, in amazing extent and variety.

*Unions
Not to be
Dissolved*

If not quite so complete as the union of land forces under General Foch, there has been a union of naval forces of very large scope, and one far more complete and harmonious than any other in the history of coalitions. American admirals were glad to use powerful fleets as portions of the Grand Fleet under supreme command of Admiral Sir David Beatty, as head of the British Navy. In the face of facts like these, to say that we are not in alliance with Great Britain, is merely to play with words. Our operations in France have been on a scale of magnitude of which some understanding can be gained by reading General Pershing's notable report, to which we give several pages of the present number of the REVIEW. We had an alliance with France in the time of our Revolutionary War; but that, though of vital importance to us, was a merely incidental affair when compared with the closeness of official coöperation resulting from the part we have taken on French soil in the present war. There is only one proper way to proceed in view of such facts, and that is resolutely forward. We are not going to dissolve the alliance with Great Britain, nor the alliance with France. These arrangements are in the form of partnerships which must continue, in order to secure the larger purposes for which they were formed.

*An
Historical
Example*

The partnership of our original thirteen American colonies had first to deal with the emergencies that resulted from their decision to secure independence. When they had ended the war, they had created a state of facts which made it impossible for them to dissolve the partnership. Financial conditions had arisen which they had to work out in common. Large areas of undeveloped lands had fallen to them as responsibilities which could only properly be met by their turning the partnership into a permanent union. It is quite clear to good financial brains that in the gigantic operations of this recent war we—the Allied nations—have created stupendous financial problems which cannot be worked out separately, but which must be met by some kind of united policy and program. It is too soon to attempt to outline the nature of that common effort to deal with financial burdens; but there will emerge some workable scheme which will require united councils and harmonious plans through years to come. Furthermore, it will be found that a series of responsibilities for the protection and the development of backward regions will have to be faced, and that this can only be accomplished through the continuance in time of peace of the generous union of moral and material forces which has been brought about under the stress of war.

*Naval
Control as
Things Stand*

When one lays aside mere words and legal distinctions, and looks at hard facts, there is little left to be said about alliances. With hundreds of thousands of Americans at this moment encamped as an occupying army along the Rhine, it would be the height of absurdity to pretend that we are not concerning ourselves in the liveliest possible way in the adjustment of European affairs. Then comes the question, so much discussed in the newspapers last month, of the future of navies and the control of the seas. Here again the solution becomes simple enough if we proceed from the place where we actually are, rather than from some imaginary place. The existing alliance is for the suppression of disorder and the maintenance of justice and the freedom of self-governing communities. This will require the abandonment of the militaristic methods that have kept Europe an armed camp for the past generation or two. Germany will have no need to rebuild the military machine that has now been broken. France may gradually relieve herself of the

icy of developing the American Navy has never thought of possessing a sea-power that would in any way be detrimental to the safety of Canada, Mexico, or the South American republics. On the contrary, Uncle Sam's Navy has behind it the doctrine that it is an agency for the secure and peaceful development of every part of the Western Hemisphere, each country being at full liberty to work out its own political and economic future.

(In five installments, 122 vessels in all, the German U-boats put to sea from their bases late in November, and were handed over to the Allies for internment under the conditions of the armistice)

financial burden of a military régime that was essentially defensive. The peace of the world at large is going to require for some time to come a naval control and authority that can protect passages such as the Straits of Gibraltar, the Suez Canal, the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, and the entrance to the Baltic, and that can render swift aid in emergencies throughout the world. The German fleet is surrendered, Austria is no longer existent as a naval power, and there remain in full and undisputed control the fleets of the Allied powers, namely, those of Great Britain, the United States, Japan, France, and Italy.

*The Large
British Navy
Necessary*

Thus, nations have only to agree upon policies in furtherance of the great aims for which their sons have fought, suffered and died. That they will agree upon such permanent policies, we have not the slightest doubt. They will certainly agree not to quarrel among themselves, but to settle all differences by friendly and legal methods. They cannot and will not use either naval or land power against one another. This being the case, it could not in the smallest degree endanger the well-being of France or that of the United States, if Great Britain, having vastly the largest ocean-going commerce, and having governmental responsibilities widely separated by great expanses of water, should expect to maintain her large navy. This navy cannot be used for the well-being of the diverse parts of the British Empire without at the same time maintaining conditions beneficial to France, Japan, the smaller neutral powers like Holland, and also to the United States. Our own country in its pol-

*Not a
Competing
Agency*

In like manner, there is back of the British Navy no scheme for aggression, or for taking advantage of countries with smaller navies or with none at all. It is clearly perceived in England that naval power is henceforth to be held and exercised as a trust on behalf of the enlightened public opinion of the world. After the transient presence in England of more than a million young American soldiers, and after the long sojourn in British waters of American battleships and numerous destroyers, serving gallantly and even brilliantly under the higher authorities of the British Navy, it has become inconceivable to the British mind that the sea power of the British Empire should ever be used to the detriment of the people of the United States. That being the case, it should be clearly understood in this country that British statesmen and naval authorities, when talking about the future, are merely proceeding from the present facts. They are not thinking in terms of conflicting or competing navies. It will be discovered in the near future that neither England nor the United States will wish to bear the financial burdens of a larger navy than may appear to be required by safety and prudence.

*Reasons for
the Strong
"Yankee" Navy*

We have always in this periodical argued on behalf of the view that the United States owes the world, as well as to its own security, a strong navy. Again and again we have shown that the Spanish War could have been avoided and the Cuban question settled properly if Spain had not been led to believe by European naval experts that the Spanish Navy was more than equal to the American.

If we had owned half a dozen more good war vessels in 1898, Spain would have evacuated Cuba on terms advantageous to everybody concerned. We shall never have trouble with Japan, because the best sentiment here and among the Japanese leaders is firmly for good relations and helpful coöperation in the Pacific Ocean and the Far East. Nevertheless, our having a strong navy will enable us to be of more use to ourselves, to Japan, to China, and to Australia than we could be if we were without the means by which to do our proportionate share. The only navy with which, since the Spanish War, we had not been on good terms was the navy of Germany; and that defeated country will have to rely for several decades to come upon the justice of the British people and their Allies in the control of the seas.

*The German
Fleet
Delivered*

It was on November 21, ten days after the signing of the armistice, that there occurred the most notable event in the history of modern navies. This consisted of the surrender of the German battleships, battle cruisers and destroyers to the British Grand Fleet, which was accompanied by an important squadron of American battleships and another of French cruisers. The Grand Fleet had been lying in the Firth of Forth, not far from Edinburgh, and it went out some forty miles, in two long lines six miles apart, to meet the German ships, the surrendered fleet moving up so as to form a central line. About 400 warships of the Allies witnessed the surrender. A great many submarines were delivered by the Germans on the same day at a more southern port. There were 71 German vessels escorted to anchorage in the Firth of Forth on that memorable day. The number of U-boats delivered amounted altogether to 122, the last ones having left Heligoland November 29. Early in December the naval surrender was completed by the delivery of the battleship *Koenig*, the cruiser *Dresden* and a torpedo boat. Thus, what had been the second naval power in the world submitted to the superior forces which had been created by the addition of the military and naval efforts of the United States to those of the Allies.

*Naval
Power
Unified*

What final disposition is to be made of the surrendered ships is not yet known. There is a strong determination, however, that with the ending of Germany's sea power there

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KING GEORGE AND ALLIED NAVAL LEADERS ON THE BATTLESHIP "NEW YORK"

(From left to right, are: Admiral Sir David Beatty, Admiral Rodman, U. S. N., King George, the Prince of Wales, and Admiral Sims, commander-in-chief of the American fleet in European waters. The group was awaiting the approach of the German fleet, for surrender under the terms of the armistice.)

shall never again be permitted to disturb the peace of the world such a thing as control of the common seas by hostile fleets of rival powers which deny the rights of non-belligerents and assume that the oceans are primarily a place for warfare. Existing navies must coöperate, and must maintain the freedom and security of the oceans for the lawful use of all nations, great and small. After a brilliant record in the North Sea, in the Atlantic and along the European coasts, the American battle fleet sailed homeward in the middle of December, and was expected to arrive at New York and anchor in the Hudson just before Christmas. The American Navy in European waters was so admirable in personnel and so satisfactory, ship for ship, in construction and arrangement, that Americans have reason for pride in the praise that competent European authorities so freely bestowed. Admiral Mayo returns on the dreadnaught *Pennsylvania* as his flagship; and Admiral Hugh Rodman, who has been serving under the British naval chief, returns on the *New York*, which was one of the best ships in the Firth of Forth.

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MARSHAL PETAIN LEADING THE FRENCH ARMY INTO METZ, THE CAPITAL OF LORRAINE

(The people of Metz received with enthusiasm the victorious French army and its famous commander-in-chief, on November 19, after forty-seven years of German rule)

*France Now
the Leader
in Europe*

In a combination that is to be firm, there must always be a nucleus or a predominant unit. The new position of France will be the most powerful single factor in the harmony that will have to be worked out for the Continent of Europe. The good-will between the British peoples and the American nation must, on the other hand, be the central fact in the future security and control of the oceans. Little could the German people have thought five years ago how great a part France was destined to play in the future life of the Teutonic communities east of the Rhine. France is to have a new lease of life which will require the guidance of her best statesmen and her wisest moral leaders. Last month the great outpouring of sentiment in Alsace-Lorraine, following the mighty verdicts of war, had conclusively settled the political future of those provinces. Not even in Germany can their complete return to France henceforth be seriously questioned. For twenty-four years this magazine, almost alone in America, has from time to time taken the practical position that the Alsace-Lorraine question must be reopened before there could be permanent peace in Europe. There were times when, if Germany had

known how to treat the Alsations generously, and had invited France to join in a re-study of the problem, some compromise might have been accepted. Both could perhaps have made use of the iron ore and other resources; and boundary lines could have recognized the preferences of the inhabitants. But new facts have arisen which completely dominate the situation. Thus France regains not only the entire population of Alsace-Lorraine and the territorial domain, but also the mineral resources which have contributed so much to the recent industrial growth of Germany, and to Germany's strength in munitions. These resources will be valuable to France; and with her victory she will now take that place of leadership in Europe that the Germans had been claiming as belonging to themselves. To do justice to this opportunity, France will require the most sympathetic coöperation of her great allies including the United States. The new republics—the Poles, the Czecho-Slovaks, and others—will look to the French people for encouragement and for help in the effort to keep down disagreements among themselves, and to maintain European harmony. Too much has been suffered in France to permit illusions or false ambitions to prevail.

*President
Wilson in
Paris*

President Wilson's reception in France last month must be regarded as something far more important than a personal tribute. Mr. A. Maurice Low, the eminent English journalist, contributes to our pages this month a very striking testimony to the moral value of the services that President Wilson has rendered the world; and the editor of this magazine, in a recent trip to England and France, heard expressions everywhere that were in accord with Mr. Low's article. The deeper importance, however, of the enthusiastic welcome given to Mr. Wilson lies in the popular belief among the masses of people in Great Britain, France, and Europe generally that the President represents that good-will and generous purpose of the whole United States, which is above and beyond partisanship or minor differences. There has been expressed, in one quarter or another, the idea that Mr. Wilson might have gone abroad to argue for a kind of peace settlement not acceptable to our Allies. But, so far as we are aware, nothing has been said or done by the President or by those in authority at Washington which looks toward a future in any way inconsistent with the immediate past.

*No Lack of
Harmony
Among Allies*

The United States has given men and money without stint to help secure the victory for a common cause. In extending credit to our Allies to the extent of a sum that may eventually reach ten thousand million dollars, our Government has made no conditions and driven no bargains. In sending soldiers and armed ships abroad, we have cooperated whole-heartedly, without ever raising any question which implied distrust for the future. We have believed that the generous attitude and the crusading spirit on our part, would not fail to meet with a like attitude and spirit on the part of the British and French people. Until we have some evidence to the contrary, it will be just and right to believe that our Allies are to be permanent friends; and that they are not planning for a future that would ignore the great lessons of the war. President Wilson's reported utterances after his arrival in France were eminently appropriate and there was no reason to think that his point of view was not in general harmony with those of the leaders of Western European thought. There are problems of immense difficulty pending; but victories of peace will be won.

*Mr. Simonds
on Political
Reconstruction*

Through a period of more than four years the readers of this magazine have had the benefit of the narrative and critical articles of Mr. Frank H. Simonds in current review of the Great War. It would not be undue praise to say that no other sequence of articles during the war period has been so acceptable to the public as this which we have been able to present. When Mr. Simonds has been absent for a month or two at a time in Europe, we have been able to draw upon the accomplished pen of Dr. Talcott Williams, besides other contributors upon special phases of war activity. Mr. Simonds is not merely an authority in military history and strategy, but he is similarly competent as a student of international politics. He is to continue writing for the REVIEW, and he begins this month a new series, which will deal with the problems of peace and with the political adjustments and reconstructions that must now concern every intelligent reader. We have been heartily in accord with Mr. Simonds's views throughout the war period regarding the essential nature of the struggle, and have agreed with his analysis of the movements and forces that have affected the war's fortunes from time to time. Mr. Simonds is writing a history of the war, two volumes of which have been issued, a third being now on the presses, while two more are in process of preparation. He is due to arrive in Europe early this month, and will be in close touch with affairs.

*Americans on
the Peace
Problems*

Dr. Talcott Williams, also, in this number of the REVIEW, presents a valuable historical article, showing the relations of past European Peace Congresses to the development of modern history. He will follow this with one illustrated by European historical maps. Judge Elliott, formerly of the Philippine Government, writes of the future control of the former outlying possessions of the German Empire. Our readers will find that Mr. Simonds, Dr. Williams and Judge Elliott are all of them in essential agreement with the point of view expressed in our own editorial paragraphs, which is this: That the Great War has created a state of facts, and that the future must proceed by natural evolution out of the present. The League of Nations already exists, in the Allied group which has won the war, and which has left no serious elements of military or naval opposition anywhere in the world. This

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HON. HENRY WHITE

group of nations cannot lay aside the responsibilities thus assumed by its victories. The sanction and guaranty for its exercise of further authority in the world are to be found in its deference to an international public opinion which stands for freedom and justice. Back of the Allies there rests the moral force of the convictions of the American people. Of like quality is the clear and unrestrained voice of British democratic sentiment, which will not condone any unjust or selfish use of Allied power. France and Italy come out of the war more democratic than they entered it, and they stand for reasonableness, peace and progress throughout middle Europe, the Mediterranean lands, the Balkans, and the Near East.

*Disarmament
When
Possible*

The Allied countries have had to spend so much money for armies and navies that they will be only too glad to adopt disarmament programs whenever the conditions permit. War debts will have to be paid to a great extent through what can be saved from the high cost of militarism. This applies particularly to Germany. If, instead of taking two or three years of each young man's time for military service, that period should be devoted by the Germans to work-

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GEN. TASKER H. BLISS

ing off increments of the reconstruction debt due to Belgium and France, there would be no economic loss or waste on the one hand, and very much gain on the other. A tentative League of Nations can be formed, beginning with the close association of the present Allies; and it can be extended carefully and deliberately, as conditions may justify. We have always advocated some form of world-organization to do away with disastrous wars. But it has become plain that countries like Germany and Russia are not now prepared to become active members of such a union. There is much preliminary work to do. A new order of things in Central Europe must be created, and there must be steps taken to prevent a recurrence of such calamities as the recent wars among the Balkan States.

*Ships for
Uncle
Sam*

There are many reasons why the United States should go forward with its great program for the building of a Merchant Marine, and also why it should build a number of dreadnaughts and battle cruisers to give symmetry to its Navy. But the Merchant Marine is not merely to benefit American trade, but to serve also the purposes of our customers and friends in other countries, such

HON. ROBERT LANSING, SECRETARY OF STATE

as those of South America, which cannot now build their own ships. We might make a money contribution toward the maintenance of the British Navy as a world agency for security at sea; but just now it would doubtless better suit the conditions to give further development to our own navy, using it in carefully planned association with the navies of our Allies. On the larger plane, there must be coöperation in the world, both political and commercial. It is only within a strictly limited sphere that there should be competition and rivalry. It would not be advantageous to the American people to use either naval power, mercantile tonnage, or tariff laws with a view to forcing American interests exclusively. From the business standpoint, as well as from that of good manners and good morals, it is sound policy to consider the rights and interests of others as well as our own.

*The
American
Delegates*

It was not until five days before the President sailed in the transport *George Washington* that the names of the American delegates to the Peace Conference were announced. Mr. Wilson was perhaps waiting to know something of the probable membership of the European delegations. Even after our repre-

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COL. EDWARD M. HOUSE

sentatives had been in France for some days, it was not known to the public what men would sit in the conference for France, or for other of the leading Allied nations. The chief delegates from this country are Mr. Lansing, Secretary of State; Colonel E. M. House, Hon. Henry White, and General Tasker Bliss. Mr. Lansing is versed in all subjects of international law and diplomacy, and thoroughly acquainted with the problems of the war period. Colonel House has been the President's most trusted personal adviser, is widely acquainted with public men at home and abroad, and has during the past year given his whole time and attention to the questions that must follow the end of the war, being assisted in his studies by a corps of experts. General Tasker Bliss has been abroad since we entered the war, and has been our military representative in the Inter-Allied conferences at Versailles. His great intelligence, fine judgment, and recent experience qualify him for membership in the Peace Conference. Mr. Henry White was for many years in the diplomatic service, holding the highest posts at several capitals, and is greatly esteemed and respected. It is now known that their premiers, foreign ministers and military chiefs will represent the Allied countries.

Control by
Public
Opinion

All of our delegates except Mr. White have for some time past been officially occupied, under President Wilson's direction, with the war-and-peace problems that are now to be discussed. Without disparaging in the slightest degree any of those appointed, many Americans would have preferred one or another of their own favorite statesmen. At Washington it was felt that members of the Senate ought to have been chosen. Many Republicans thought that Mr. Root, Mr. Hughes, or Mr. Taft should have been named. Nevertheless, the United States is governed by public opinion, and all treaties must be ratified by the United States Senate. The American delegates in Paris are aware, for instance, that Mr. Taft's recent speeches advocating a League of Nations have had great influence here at home. It is also known that Mr. Roosevelt's strong insistence that the United States must maintain its own national independence, while holding firmly to the existing association with Britain, France and Italy, represents a mode of approach to the whole subject that is widely approved, and that is in no way out of harmony with the building of a League of Nations upon true and lasting foundations. We have not for a moment believed that the American delegation would find it otherwise than agreeable to work frankly and in hearty accord with Premier Clemenceau and the French leaders. This is not less true as regards Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Balfour, Lord Robert Cecil and Mr. Bonar Law, and other British statesmen. In the debates on the eve of the parliamentary elections of December 14th, all these British leaders went quite as far as most people in America are ready to go in support of the plan of a League of Nations. The French leaders are not at all opposing the idea; but, very properly, they

desire to have the temple of the ultimate League approached through the great vestibule of the present Alliance.

Clemenceau's
Leadership

Last month we paid tribute to the courage and patriotism of Clemenceau and to the devotion he had won throughout France, and particularly among the people of Alsace-Lorraine. We present in the present number of the REVIEW a very illuminating word-picture of the qualities, character and career of the veteran statesman and journalist. The author of this article is M. Henri-Martin Barzun, himself a young journalist who has been associated with Clemenceau, and has recently been the chief editor of the famous Clemenceau newspaper, *L'Homme Libre*. In a following number this writer will deal for our readers with the whole problem of devastation and reconstruction in France, as presented by the ravages of war. To read Mr. Barzun's article on Clemenceau carefully, will suffice to correct the false impression that has been created to some extent in America regarding the point of view of the French leader. Through a long life Clemenceau has fought for human freedom and justice. At this moment, far from being in a mood of relentlessness, he is more likely to speak the conciliatory word for the German people than are any other of the Allied statesmen. The rare value of Mr. Barzun's interpretation lies in the unconscious disclosure of the noble qualities of the French mind and spirit. Mr. Barzun, though only thirty-six, has written important books, has served in the Government and in the Army, and is himself typical of that leadership of thought and intelligence that is to carry into the hopeful future the splendid tradition of men like Clemenceau. Mr. Wilson's talks with the Premier are reported as mutually satisfactory.

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PRESIDENT WILSON AND HIS "WAR CABINET"

[With the exception of the representatives of the War, Navy and Treasury departments, these gentlemen were all brought to Washington after the United States entered the War. The task of each has been to organize and direct a new department of the Government. On Wednesday of each week they met together to deal with the larger economic problems of war. Seated, from left to right in the picture, are: Benedict Crowell, then Acting Secretary of War in the absence of Mr. Baker; William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury and Director-General of Railroads; President Wilson; Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy; and Bernard M. Baruch, head of the War Industries Board. Standing, are: Herbert Hoover, Food Administrator; Edward N. Hurley, chairman of the Shipping Board; Vance C. McCormick, chairman of the War Trade Board; and Harry A. Garfield, Fuel Administrator. Most of these experts are now in Europe, or holding themselves subject to call]

The Larger Delegations

In addition to the chief delegates from each of the principal Allied countries, there will be in Paris large supporting groups of officials from the foreign offices, besides officers of the armies and navies, experts in finance, commerce, and shipping, and men of varied expert knowledge. A large number of men are thus associated with the American delegation, and the same will be true of the British and Italian. American newspaper correspondents to the number of two or three hundred have gone to Paris, and censorship restrictions have been removed so far as the United States is concerned. President Wilson will have the advice of several of the men who have held leading places in the war administration at Washington. Thus Mr. Hurley, of the Shipping Board, and Mr. Hoover, of the Food Control, had preceded him to Europe, and Messrs. Vance McCormick, of the War Trade Board, and Bernard Baruch, of the War Industries Board, were last month called to Paris.

Germany in Political Ferment

It is extremely difficult to learn just what is taking place in Germany. For some time to come there will be great social and political ferment. There is about to be held an election throughout all parts of Germany for members of a Constituent Assembly (we should say a Constitutional Convention) to reorganize the government of what has been the German Empire. It is to be hoped that this popular election, which is to be on a basis of equal and universal franchise, will be carried out peacefully, and that a representative body of patriotic Germans may form a new government that shall prove capable of dealing with internal and also with external problems. The great Peace Conference, which will begin with sessions of the victorious Allies, must later include representatives of the conquered nations. The Allied statesmen prefer to have Germany represented by a responsible government. We have read much in the newspapers of the immense claims that will be presented,

and which in the aggregate would seem to go far beyond the ability of Germany to pay. But the Belgians and French are going to be practical in their official attitude, and the people of the United States need not imagine that anything will be exacted that is unjust in principle or impossible in execution. *

*Order in the
Occupied
Region*

The German soldiers in great numbers were in process of dispersion to their homes last month, and apparently their influence was making for law and order, rather than for political chaos. The armistice terms had been complied with in most respects, and the forward movement of Allied soldiers, following German evacuation, had been as orderly as could have been wished. American, French and British troops have conducted themselves well in occupied territory, and the German civilian population is reported as acting in a submissive and sensible way. The experiences of the occupying armies, as reported from day to day in the press, are of unusual interest. Many Germans are indeed glad of the presence of these Americans and other Allied soldiers because they help to keep down the menacing spirit of anarchy. It is evident that the transition from war to peace in Germany must be attended by food scarcity, a high rate of mortality among infants and old people, and economic difficulties of all sorts. Yet the trend of the news last month supported the opinion that Germany would resist Bolshevism and demonstrate capacity for self-rule.

*Russia's
Terrible
Plight*

It may be a good while before we shall have a full and truthful account of what is taking place in Russia this winter. It is to be regretted that the proposed Allied intervention, based upon the Japanese and Chinese armies, had not been allowed to proceed across Siberia on a large scale last summer. German influence and Bolsheviki fanaticism have produced a condition throughout Russia that is almost without precedent in history. Members of the intellectual and propertied classes have been massacred by the thousands, and the processes of industry, agriculture and transportation, whereby men obtain livelihoods in normal times, are to a great extent paralyzed. Starvation has already claimed scores of thousands of victims, and these will probably number millions within the next few months. The problem of Russia is no longer domestic, but imperatively one concerning Europe and the world. It will be part of the business of the conferences at Paris and Versailles to devise remedies.

*Some Problems
to Be
Solved*

We have printed much in recent months concerning the problems of Central Europe, and certain aspects of them are again set forth in Mr. Simonds' article in this number. The Poles, Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs are to be fully recognized and helped to establish their true boundaries. The Balkan problems will be found difficult, and there will be disappointments; but the solutions of the Conference will have to be accepted.

(Under the terms of the armistice, Allied armies occupy all German territory west of the Rhine and also three crossings over that river. The British are thus in Cologne, the Americans in Coblenz, and the French in Mayence. Coblenz is the largest city in the American zone)

There will be somewhat radical differences about the future of Turkey, two or three different proposals having merit enough to be worthy of discussion. Judge Elliott in this number writes ably and with much knowledge concerning the future of the German colonies. We, on our part, have thought it right to adopt the point of view of the Australians and the South Africans. The best thing that could have happened to Spain twenty years ago was the relief she obtained from her responsibilities in Cuba and Porto Rico and in the Philippines. Spain has no longer needed a navy; and the remnants of her colonial empire have on their part benefited by a separation which has also been advantageous to Spain. Germany will in like manner be better off without colonies. She will in due time resume her industrial and commercial activities, but her imperialistic system is ended. No country will henceforth find advantages in holding other peoples and territories in a tyrannous grasp for motives of power and exploitation.

Mr. McAdoo
Leaves
the Cabinet

The retirement of Secretary McAdoo from the Treasury Department, which took effect December 16th, when his successor was ready to take up the task, has compelled the country to realize in some measure how remarkable has been Mr. McAdoo's career in public office. For almost six years he had been head of the nation's finances, and in each emergency his undaunted courage, his quickness of decision, his imaginative grasp, and his intuitive correctness of judgment have been ever more apparent. While serving the larger public he had also won the confidence of the masters of finance and industry. He had led in the creation of the Federal Reserve system; had supported the nation's credit in 1914; had helped to construct a series of great tax measures; and had been successful beyond any other man in the world's history in the floating of huge public loans. In these sentences we have only hinted at the nature and scope of Mr. McAdoo's work as Secretary of the Treasury. It would require a large volume to set forth the financial history of six years in which he played the most conspicuous rôle. Men of all parties had hoped to see him continue through two more years; but he had intended to retire at the end of his first four years, and he was amply justified in taking the view that the signing of the armistice afforded him a proper excuse for the return to private life

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MAJOR-GEN. JOSEPH THEODORE DICKMAN
(Commanding the American army of occupation in Germany)

which he had so much desired. So bold a career cannot be pursued in freedom from controversy, but Mr. McAdoo's success has turned opponents into admiring friends, and his efforts have gained the gratitude and good-will of the country.

His Work
As Head of
Railroads

So capable a man as Mr. McAdoo runs the risk of having too many burdens piled upon him. The Shipping Board had been his pet project, and several other agencies of administration, such as the Farm Land Board, had come under his supervision. But his chief undertaking apart from the immense affairs of the Treasury Department was that of Director-General of the United States Railroad Administration. When the Government as-

turned control of all the railroads, as a war measure, Mr. McAdoo was placed at the head of almost 300,000 miles of steam lines, besides waterways and other adjuncts of a transportation monopoly. He utilized the services of able and experienced men; but he could not be merely a nominal head of the railway service in war time. He had to face the tremendous problem last winter of the supply of coal for ships and war industries. He had to deal with the movement of food supplies, and that of troops and munitions. In resigning from the Cabinet post, Mr. McAdoo also gave up this other place, as director of railroads, agreeing to remain until January 1st, or until his successor was appointed. As these sentences are written, no designation has been made of a railroad chief to take Mr. McAdoo's place. The question of the immediate future of the railroads had become last month the foremost of our domestic issues, and the views of the President and of Mr. McAdoo were at the very center of the debate. Mr. McAdoo's advice to Congress to provide for retention of the roads until January 1, 1924, precipitated a violent discussion.

What About the Railways? President Wilson's annual address to Congress, delivered just before his sailing to Europe, aroused most attention and discussion in his

statement of the problem of the railroads and his expression of concern over it. He declared himself frankly undecided as to the proper course to pursue. The alternative courses he stated as follows:

We can simply release the roads and go back to the old conditions of private management, unrestricted competition, and multiform regulation by both State and Federal authorities; or we can go to the opposite extreme and establish complete control, accompanied, if necessary, by actual Government ownership; or we can adopt an intermediate course of modified private control, under a more unified and affirmative public regulation and under such alterations of the law as will permit wasteful competition to be avoided and a considerable degree of unification of administration to be effected, as, for example, by regional corporations, under which the railways of definable areas would be in effect combined in single systems.

Many Minds as to the Answer

The one sure conclusion the President had reached was that it would be unfortunate to the public and to the owners of the roads alike if the railroads were returned, under the old conditions, with coöperation hampered by law, and with competition made obligatory. There must be a new policy, different from the old, if the country's means of transportation are to be developed and managed with efficiency from the standpoint both of the people at large and of the railroad owners.

The President asked Congress to begin promptly a study of the problem, and announced that he was ready to release the roads from Government control and that he must do so at a very early date, if further waiting is merely to prolong the period of doubt and uncertainty. While President Wilson was so frank and open in his confession of uncertainty as to the future of the railroads, this statement answered the question which had been in many men's minds whether the present Administration had determined upon a program of Government ownership. Financiers, railroad managers, and investors were themselves undecided, or of varying minds, as to the proper and practicable course to pursue. The eminent presi-

HON. CARTER GLASS, THE NEW SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

(Mr. Glass, who will be sixty-one years old on the 4th of this month, is the owner of newspapers at Lynchburg, Va., and has served continuously as Representative in Congress for about eighteen years. As chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, he had a great part in the shaping and enactment of the present Federal Reserve system. He enjoys the confidence of Congress and of the country, and his appointment to succeed Mr. McAdoo is praised by all interests and parties.)

dent of a great financial institution frankly said that he preferred Government ownership outright to a return of the old conditions under private ownership and management, with the Sherman Law prohibiting effective coöperation, the Interstate Commerce Commission rigidly limiting income (with no one to limit expenses), and with conflicting and harassing regulation from all the States and the Federal Government.

*Views of the
Commerce
Commission*

Among the many divergent programs for the railroads, perhaps one is now found approved by thoughtful men more often than others. To divide the country into regional districts, say seven in all, with all the railroads in each district carried on in full coöperation under a federal regional director and with the ownership and management left in private hands—is the plan which probably finds fewer opponents and most advocates. The annual report of the Interstate Commerce Commission, covering the year to November 1, 1918, outlines carefully the chief factors in the railroad problem, but does not make conclusive recommendations. This report lists the following alternative plans which will come under discussion:

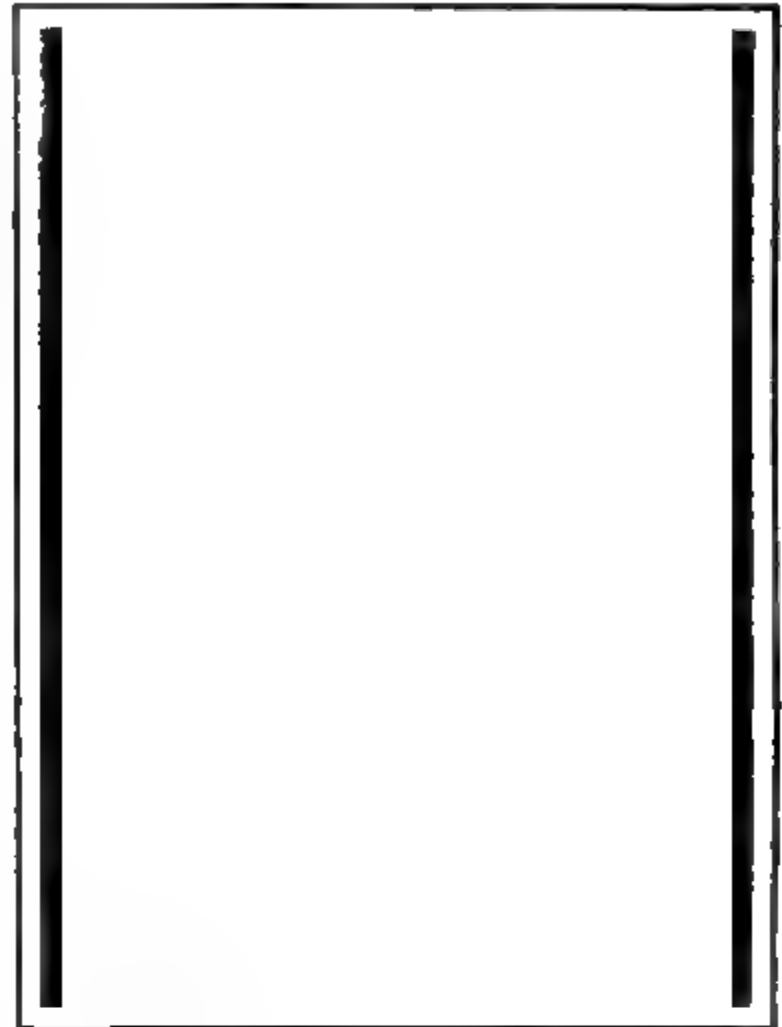
(1) Continuance of the present plan of Federal control; (2) public ownership of carrier property with private operation under regulation; (3) private operation under regulation with governmental guarantees; (4) resumption of private control and management under regulation; and (5) public ownership and operation.

In case the roads are returned to their private ownership and operation under government regulation, the Commission asks for new legislation on the following subjects: (1) the present limitation of co-operative activities for our rail and water lines; (2) the freedom of railway operation from financial dictation; (3) the regulation of security issues; (4) the harmonizing of federal and State authority and (5) the more liberal use of terminal facilities for the free movement of commerce.

*Success
as a
War Measure*

Mr. McAdoo had announced that the program of railroad improvement, involving an outlay of nine hundred million dollars for 1918 and 1919, should be carried forward. In pursuance of this program the last month of 1918, the Railroad Administration had ordered, but not yet received, 1,415 locomotives and 100,000 freight cars. For other

Jan.—2



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HON. WILLIAM G. M'ADOO, RETIRING FROM OFFICIAL SERVICE AFTER SIX YEARS AS SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

additions and betterments more than five hundred million dollars had been authorized; and at least half as much must be appropriated during the year 1919 to bring the properties up to standard. It is expected that these expenditures will provide work for some of the men released from the war industries. As to the success or failure of government administration of the transportation lines thus far, there are few if any denials of the claim that Mr. McAdoo made the railroads function in the specific work of helping to win the war. This was the great and single task he had before him in his office of Director-General. He was bold and strong and prompt in his management of wage questions and rate changes, at a time when a little too much caution and deliberateness might have been disastrous. It is obvious that the Government operation of the railroads under his headship during the period of the war should not be expected to give any final or even any very valuable test or object lesson for the great ultimate consideration of Government ownership. The tremendous exigencies of war-making kept before the temporary captain of twenty billion dollars worth of railroads that one single object,—the smooth and successful

carriage of troops, munitions, fuel and other things necessary to win the war.

Salvaging War Appropriations It was announced in November that the various executive departments of the Government will be able to save at least 12 billion dollars out of the appropriations that had been earlier made for carrying on the war. Chairman Swager Sherley of the House Appropriations Committee said that the War Department alone would be able to save, through cancellation of war contracts and various retrenchments, more than 7 billion dollars out of the 24 billion appropriated for Secretary Baker's department. The work of cancellation has been and is going on rapidly, but not merrily; for the factories that had got keyed up to war-making pitch had extended their operations with the expectation of work to call for all their energies during the next year. It has been estimated that no fewer than fifty thousand manufacturing establishments throughout the country will be affected by these cancellations. Telegrams are received by thousands of these concerns each day, peremptorily cutting off work that had been ordered. The message usually includes a request for information as to whether the sudden abrogation of the contract will lead to the discharge of workmen. Much care and intelligence are being bestowed upon the work of softening the sudden blow so far as its impact on the workman is concerned.

The New Revenue Bill On November 6 the War Revenue Bill, levying taxes to be paid in 1919 on incomes and business operations of 1918, was reported to the Senate by Chairman Simmons, of the Finance Committee. This revenue program has been in a bad tangle. More than seven months ago the House began its work on a bill to raise eight billion dollars, the amount stated by Secretary McAdoo as a proper portion of the 24 billion dollars needed from bonds and taxation together. Such a revenue bill was drawn up by the House and passed on, some three months ago, to the Senate Finance Committee. Here it has been modified in many details, and finally, with the end of the war and on Secretary McAdoo's further suggestion, the amount to be raised was cut down from eight billion to six billion dollars. At the same time the Administration conceived the idea of providing in this current tax legislation for the revenue to be collected

in 1920 as well—an additional year—and, in accordance again with Secretary McAdoo's suggestion, this second year's taxes were fixed at four billion dollars.

The Republicans' Object The point was made by the Administration that with the rapidly shifting demands of the Government it was essential for the interests of the business man that he should know well in advance what demands were going to be made on him. In the meantime, however, the country elected a Republican Congress (to sit after March 4th, if an extra session is needed); and Republican leaders have protested strongly against this anticipatory framing of the tax laws by a Democratic majority which will have ceased to exist more than a year before the tax which it is deciding upon will be collectible. These Republicans for a time threatened to hold up the Revenue bill that had been reported to the Senate, but they abandoned this purpose. Reports of taxable incomes must be made by individuals and corporations by March 1st; and if the bill is not passed early in February there will not be time for the Commissioner of Internal Revenue to get out the vast numbers of complicated forms used in collection. In such a contingency it seems to be agreed that the Commissioner would collect taxes under the old law, which applied to the business and incomes of 1917. This law would raise, it is estimated, about four billion dollars. To make up the additional two billion needed by the Treasury it was understood that Congress would hastily tack on to the old law an amendment providing for an additional tax of 80 per cent. on war profits—the excess of corporation and partnership incomes for the year 1918 over their average income for the pre-war years, 1911, 1912, and 1913.

The Zone Postal Plan Cut Out Even after lopping off the two billion dollars from the amount to be raised by the proposed bill, it is much the largest tax levy ever made by this or any other nation. It is equivalent to an average per capita payment of \$59 from every man, woman, and child in the United States. The reduction of the total from the original House bill designed to raise eight billion dollars was obtained by combining the excess profits with the war profits tax, a reduction of the postal tax, and a general cutting down of most of the schedules. Letter postage is to return to the old

THE GREAT TRANSATLANTIC LINER "MAURETANIA" ARRIVING AT NEW YORK ON DECEMBER 1, WITH THE FIRST AMERICAN TROOPS RETURNING FROM EUROPE

(For more than a year, and particularly since the German offensive of last spring, British as well as American transports had been making eastward voyages crowded with human freight in khaki, through a submarine-infested ocean. Now their peculiar war paint, to deceive German submarine commanders, is unnecessary. When the *Leviathan* arrived, two weeks later than the *Mauretania*, the war paint had been removed. While war was on it was not considered advisable to print pictures showing these so-called "camouflaged" vessels)

rates. Not so important in the total amount of money involved, from the Government's point of view, but of immense importance to the publishing business, is the doing away with the ill-advised second-class mail rate increase on the zone plan.

*Homeward
Looking
Soldiers*

The return of soldiers from the American camps to their homes is proceeding on a system carefully worked out by the War Department, and shows steady acceleration. As for the over-seas forces, almost every day witnesses the arrival here of one or more troop ships, preference being given to the wounded and sick. Mr. Hurley is in Europe, doing his best to secure tonnage for the more rapid movement homeward of those divisions and units that are now held abroad merely for lack of ships to bring them back. The retention of men in foreign camps in order to keep up labor scarcity and high wages here would not be justified in view of the intense desire of our men in Europe, now that the war is over, to come back to their homes. That rapid demobilization involves many difficulties is only too evident to all who have studied the problem. The Department of Labor, through its employment bureaus and

otherwise, is doing what it can to help in the readjustment of the supply of workers to the industrial demands of peace time.

*Schools
in Over-seas
Camps*

Meanwhile, it is intended by the War Department to take the best possible care of the soldiers who are destined to remain for some months longer in the army camps abroad. A very important general order (No. 192) was issued by General Pershing two months ago, relating to "the standardization of educational methods and the establishment of schools in all of the larger posts and camps and hospitals of the American Expeditionary Forces." The commander of every such post or camp was instructed to appoint a qualified member of his staff as school officer; proper rooms and equipment were to be provided, and instruction was to be standardized in accordance with a system arranged by the "Y. M. C. A. Army Educational Commission." Subjects of instruction include French language, history, civics, common school subjects, vocational work, and courses leading to army promotion, with further subjects to be authorized. The order goes on at length to specify many matters of detail, much discretion being vested in the com-

manding officer of each post or camp. The provisions of this order were to take effect January 1, 1919.

The Y. M. C. A. Project The Y. M. C. A. Commission, to which General Pershing's order refers, entered upon its work under the leadership of Mr. Anson Phelps Stokes, of Yale University, who was instrumental in organizing an active commission consisting of Professor John Erskine, of Columbia University, Superintendent Spaulding, of the Schools of Cleveland, Ohio, and President Butterfield, of the Massachusetts Agricultural College. These are very capable and practical men, and they have been working out a system in coöperation with the army authorities. Since the Y. M. C. A. was prepared to spend a great amount of money, it may readily be inferred that the commissioners have been able to secure a large staff of competent instructors, having in view the actual needs of men of all ranks and grades. The Y. M. C. A. has already ordered \$2,000,000 worth of text books, and the American Library Association is sending \$1,000,000 worth of reference books. The system, as planned, includes coöperation on the part of the French educational authorities, and extends also to the use of British schools and facilities.

Keep up Soldiers' Insurance! Inasmuch as thousands of soldiers and sailors are being discharged every week, it should be remembered that nearly every man has a Government insurance policy for \$10,000 or a less sum. Until their discharge, their premiums are paid through deduction from their monthly pay; but as they leave the Army, they will have to take the initiative, find the money themselves, and make payments to the Government; otherwise their insurance will lapse. It is important that local committees in communities or townships, or in particular cities and villages, should take an active interest in seeing that the soldiers do not let their insurance be dropped. The law permits them to carry the policies at the present low rates for five years; and then they have several privileges in the nature of conversions. For this converted insurance the Government will require them to pay much less than the premium rates of the regular insurance companies, and it is important that they should not relinquish such advantages. They may take out ordinary life policies, twenty-pay-

ment policies, endowment maturing at the age of sixty-two, or still other optional forms. It would be a patriotic thing for local committees to help discharged soldiers, by loans or gifts, to tide over a difficult period of a few months during which they may be short of money while adjusting themselves to civilian life.

The Washington Department The annual reports of the department heads at Washington are of exceptional interest, and include many topics to which we shall refer from time to time in future numbers. One such topic is Secretary Lane's fascinating plea for a land-improvement system to occupy many of the discharged soldiers at good wages, and later on to provide them with homes and occupations. There is no investment of public money that could pay better, from every standpoint, than this which the Secretary of the Interior so eloquently advocates. Mr. Houston, our sagacious Secretary of Agriculture, deals with actual farm conditions, and makes an encouraging survey. The Postmaster General is urging the merits of his policy for complete and permanent absorption of the telegraph and telephone systems by the Government. Mr. Daniels gives us a spirited picture of the achievements of the Navy in the war, and urgently recommends a policy of naval expansion on a three years' building program. The War Department has been canceling contracts for immense quantities of munitions and supplies, while trying to send soldiers to their homes as rapidly as possible. The Department of Commerce is wrestling with many complicated business conditions.

Chile and Peru Some forty years ago a conflict began on the west coast of South America which resulted in the acquisition by Chile of the seacoast provinces of Bolivia and of the southernmost provinces of Peru. The two Peruvian provinces of Tacna and Arica, by the settlement of 1883, were to be held for ten years by Chile, after which their destiny was to be settled by a vote of the inhabitants. Such a vote has never been taken, and Chile has held the provinces now for several decades. Last month the question became acute again, and there was danger of war. The United States counseled a peaceful settlement and tendered good offices, asking Argentina to join. Whatever method may be adopted, it seems probable that the matter will be settled and war averted.

(The palace and park at Versailles—twelve miles southwest of Paris—date from the time of Louis XIV, two centuries and a half ago. Besides its interesting French history, Versailles became the German military headquarters during the siege of Paris, and it was there that King William I of Prussia was proclaimed German Emperor)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From November 21 to December 17, 1918)

INCIDENTS DURING THE ARMISTICE

November 21.—The German High Seas Fleet is surrendered to a great Allied armada near the Firth of Forth, under the terms of the armistice; seventy-one vessels are surrendered—nine battle-ships, five battle cruisers, seven light cruisers, and fifty destroyers.

American troops enter the Duchy of Luxemburg.

November 22.—King Albert makes formal entry into Brussels, the capital, after four years of German occupation.

November 26.—French troops enter Strasburg, the capital of Alsace.

November 28.—King George and the Prince of Wales are warmly welcomed on a visit to Paris.

November 29.—The names of the representatives of the United States at the peace conference are announced—President Wilson himself, and Robert Lansing (Secretary of State), Henry White (former Ambassador to France), Edward M. House, and Gen. Tasker H. Bliss (military representative of the United States in the Inter-Allied War Council).

A Republic of Lithuania is proclaimed at Riga, with Karl Ullman as first President.

November 30.—American casualties in the war are announced as: killed in action, 28,363; died of wounds, 12,101; died of disease, 16,034; died of other causes, 1,980; missing in action, not known to be prisoners, 14,190; severely wounded, 54,751; other wounded, 135,204; total casualties, 262,623.

The new German Government makes public the text of a document signed by the former Emperor

William, at Amerongen, Holland, on November 28, renouncing forever his rights to the Prussian and German imperial crowns.

December 1.—The surrender of a fifth fleet of German submarines brings the total turned over to the Allies to 122.

American troops of occupation enter German territory from Luxemburg and establish headquarters at Treves.

The British transport *Mauretania* arrives at New York with the first American troops returning from Europe.

December 2.—King Nicholas is deposed by the Montenegrin National Assembly, it is reported.

December 5.—The British Admiralty estimates that the total war loss of merchant tonnage, by Allied and neutral nations, was 15,053,786 gross tons; new construction totaled 10,849,527 tons, while 2,392,675 tons of enemy ships were captured.

It is announced that all the Turkish warships have surrendered to the Allies for internment, including Russian vessels handed over to the Germans.

Winston Churchill (former head of the British Admiralty) declares that the British enter the peace conference "with absolute determination that no limitation shall be imposed on our right to maintain our naval defense."

December 6.—British troops of occupation enter Cologne, one of the three Rhine cities to be held by the Allies during the armistice.

December 8.—American troops of occupation reach Coblenz, the second of three Rhine cities

vessels; 82.75 per cent of the conveying was by the United States Navy.

The Prime Minister of Holland informs the parliament that the former German Emperor could not have been refused the right of asylum and that if demand for extradition is made a solution will be sought in accord with the honor and dignity of Holland.

December 11.—Premier Lloyd George declares that the war bill of the Allies against Germany will amount to \$120,000,000,000 (more than that country's entire estimated wealth), and that "Germany should pay to the utmost limit of her capacity."

December 13.—American troops cross the Rhine at Coblenz, and occupy the nineteen-mile zone around the bridgehead on the right bank, under the terms of the armistice.

December 14.—A general election is held throughout Great Britain, the Lloyd George government appealing for the return of a coalition (Unionist-Liberal) majority in the House of Commons; there will be delay in counting the votes.

British troops cross the Rhine at Cologne, to occupy the bridgehead on the opposite bank; the French complete their occupation of the bridgehead opposite Mainz.

The duration of the armistice (expiring December 16) is extended one month.

Dr. Sidonia Paes, President of Portugal since the revolution of June, is assassinated in Lisbon, the murderer is himself put to death by the crowd.

Premier Orlando informs the Senate that Italy is not in position to demobilize a single man; he states also that Italy had more men under arms than any other nation, in proportion to population.

December 15.—Casualties of the United States Marine Corps for the five months to the end of August are announced as: 1,160 killed in action and 2,908 wounded—23 per cent of the Marines' gross strength.

The Government of Poland, under domination of Gen. Joseph Pilsudski at Warsaw, appeals for recognition by the Allies.

December 16.—Delegates from Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils throughout Germany met at Berlin, in the chamber formerly used by the Prussian Diet; the Radicals are in the minority.

Reports from Berlin state that the general strike urged by the Radical Socialists, under leadership of Dr. Karl Liebknecht, has become widespread and serious.

PRESIDENT WILSON IN EUROPE

December 4.—President Wilson sails from New York for Europe, to attend conferences on the larger phases of the treaty of peace.

December 13.—President Wilson lands at Brest, the French port used during the war as the principal debarkation point for American troops.

December 14.—President Wilson and President Poincaré speak of mutual ties that bind the United States and France, at a luncheon in Paris.

December 16.—President Wilson is made a citizen of Paris at a formal reception in the City Hall; later he visits Premier Clemenceau at the War Ministry.

GEN. ARMANDO DIAZ, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ITALIAN ARMY

(After the disaster at Caporetto, just a year before the end of the war, General Diaz succeeded Cadorna as commander-in-chief of the Italian armies and began the work of restoring their morale. He emerges from the war as a national hero, and will be one of Italy's delegates at the peace conference)

to be held by the Allies pending the conclusion of peace.

December 10.—The French army of occupation enters Mayence (Mainz), the German city and crossing of the Rhine which had been assigned to them.

It is officially announced that of the 2,079,880 American troops transported to France, 46.25 per cent were carried in American ships, 48.5 per cent in British, and the rest in French and Italian

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 2.—The Sixty-fifth Congress assembles for the short session.

Both branches meet in the House chamber and are addressed by the President, his sixth annual message; he speaks of reconstruction matters, including shipping, taxation, and railroad control, and declares it to be his paramount duty to leave the country and discuss with representatives of the Allies, at Paris, the main features of the treaty of peace.

December 6.—The Senate Finance Committee reports the Revenue bill, after virtually rewriting the measure passed by the House; the Senate bill would yield \$6,000,000,000 for the current fiscal year and \$4,000,000,000 for succeeding years (compared with \$8,000,000,000 in the war measure passed by the House).

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 21.—The President signs the Food Stimulation bill, with its provision for nationwide prohibition from June 30, 1919, until the army is demobilized.

William G. McAdoo resigns the offices of Secretary of the Treasury and Director-General of Railroads.

November 25.—The Secretary of the Navy informs the Treasury that, because of the signing of the armistice, estimates of naval appropriations required have been reduced from \$2,644,000,000 to \$1,464,000,000; the two-year construction program is retained by the Navy Department.

November 26.—The United States Shipping Board announces its purpose to take over 85 merchant ships, of 1,000,000 deadweight tons, rather than permit their sale to a British syndicate.

December 2.—The Florida House (following similar action in the Senate) passes a "bone dry" liquor bill effective January 1.

December 5.—Carter Glass, Representative in Congress from Virginia, is named by the President as Secretary of the Treasury.

December 10.—The first session of the Cabinet held during the President's absence is presided over by Vice-President Marshall, at the request of the President.

The annual report of the Secretary of Commerce shows a trade balance in favor of the United States (during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1918) amounting to \$2,982,226,238; total exports \$5,928,285,641; imports \$2,946,059,403.

December 11.—The retiring Director General of Railroads, Mr. McAdoo, recommends to Congress the extension of the period of Government control for five years (existing law limiting control to twenty-one months after the treaty of peace, at the maximum).

The Department of Agriculture estimates that the nation's principal farm crops were worth to the farmers \$12,272,412,000.

December 16.—Carter Glass enters upon the office of Secretary of the Treasury.

Colorado becomes "bone dry" with the signing of a prohibition measure by the Governor.

Postmaster-General Burleson, director of the "wire" services while under Government control, urges permanent Government ownership in the interest of efficiency and economy.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 23.—Anti-Peruvian rioting occurs in Iquique, Chile, growing out of a renewal of the controversy over the border provinces of Tacna and Arica, held by Chile since 1883.

December 5.—Count Alvaro de Romanones again becomes Premier of Spain, as a result of the second cabinet reorganization within three weeks.

December 7.—The American Ambassador to Chile submits an offer of mediation in the controversy with Peru, made by President Wilson.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

November 23.—Production of anthracite coal in the United States is officially stated to have fallen off one-half of one per cent in the present year, whereas production of bituminous coal increased 12 or 15 per cent.

November 27.—A new type of American naval airplane makes a trial flight off the coast of Long Island, carrying fifty passengers.

December 4.—Deaths from influenza and pneumonia since September 15 are estimated by the Public Health Service to total 350,000 throughout the United States, exclusive of 20,000 deaths in the military camps (see page 69).

December 8.—The Food Administration announces that the American public saved 775,000 tons of sugar by limited consumption during the five months ending with November.

December 17.—Admiral Canto y Castro is elected President of Portugal.

OBITUARY

November 22.—William D. Hoard, publisher of *Hoard's Dairyman* and former Governor of Wisconsin, 82.

November 25.—William T. Evans, New York dry goods merchant and noted collector of American paintings, 75.

November 26.—Rose Elizabeth Cleveland, sister of President Cleveland, at one time "mistress of the White House," 72.

December 1.—Major Willard D. Straight, the New York banker and authority on Far Eastern questions, 38. . . . Joseph Raphael de Lamar, prominent in the copper and silver mining industry, 78.

December 2.—Edmond Rostand, the noted French poet and playwright, 50. . . . Rt. Rev. James Bowen Funston, first Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Idaho, 62.

December 5.—Dr. Samuel Abbott Green, ex-Mayor of Boston, 88.

December 6.—Alfred Reed, former Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, 78.

December 7.—Joseph F. Scott, former State Superintendent of Prisons in New York, 57.

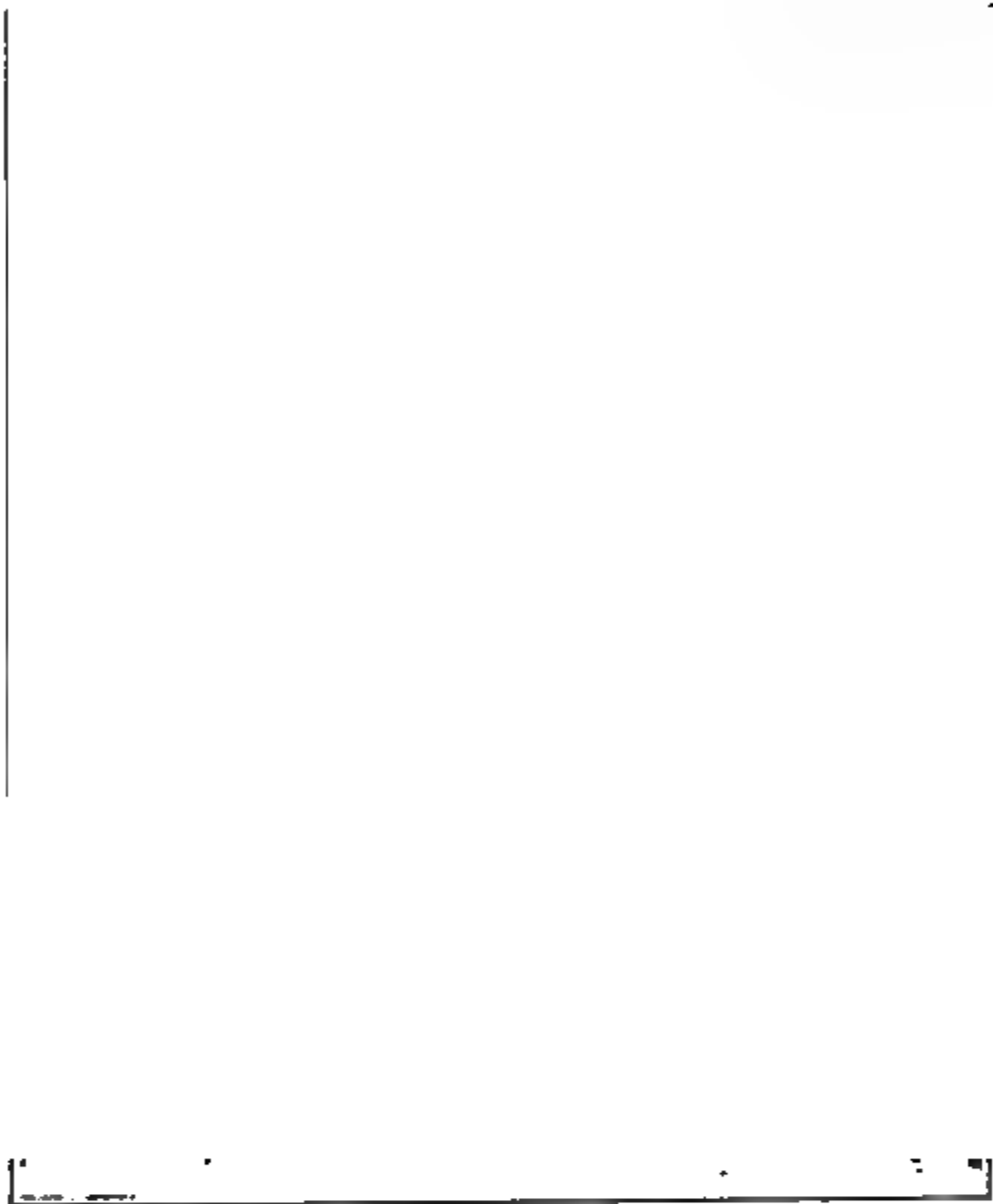
December 9.—Nicholas Murray, former librarian of Johns Hopkins University, 76.

December 11.—William Agnew Paton, a veteran newspaper and magazine publisher, and author of books of travel.

December 14.—Dr. Sidonio Paes, President of Portugal, 45. . . . Stephen O'Meara, Police Commissioner of Boston since 1906, 64.

December 16.—John Sterling Deans, a noted bridge builder and designer, 60.

KING ALBERT RETURNS



A RECENT SNAPSHOT OF THE KING
OF BELGIUM

QUEEN ELIZABETH IN THE MIDST OF HER RED CROSS WORK FOR
WOUNDED BELGIAN SOLDIERS

THE TURN OF THE YEAR IN CARTOONS

VICTORY!
From Punch (London)

HIS OWN AGAIN
(To the King of the Belgians)
From Punch (London)

WILSON THE JUDGE!
From *L'Asino* (Rome, Italy)

THE FRIEND OF THE WHOLE UNIVERSE—A SPANISH
CARTOONIST'S TRIBUTE TO PRESIDENT WILSON
From *Blanco y Negro* (Madrid, Spain)

WHICH ONE WILL GET IT
From the *Daily News* (Chicago)

1
THE GROANING BOARD
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

"YES, BUT WHERE CAN I GO?"
From the *World* (New York)

THE NEW GERMANY AND THE BOLSHEVIK WOLF
From the *News* (Chicago)

"VAIT! VAIT! DON'T YOU KNOW YOUR MASTER?"
From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)



OUT AT LAST!
From the *World* (New York)

NOBODY HOME
From the *World* (New York)

LIBERALISM IN SPAIN
"Let us sing the 'Marseillaise'. It's safe to do so now."
From *Esquella* (Barcelona, Spain)

"WHO CAUSED THE WAR?—'T WAS HIM"
From the *Times* (New York)

CHRISTMAS
A contrast between the German soldier returning and the Belgian
from the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

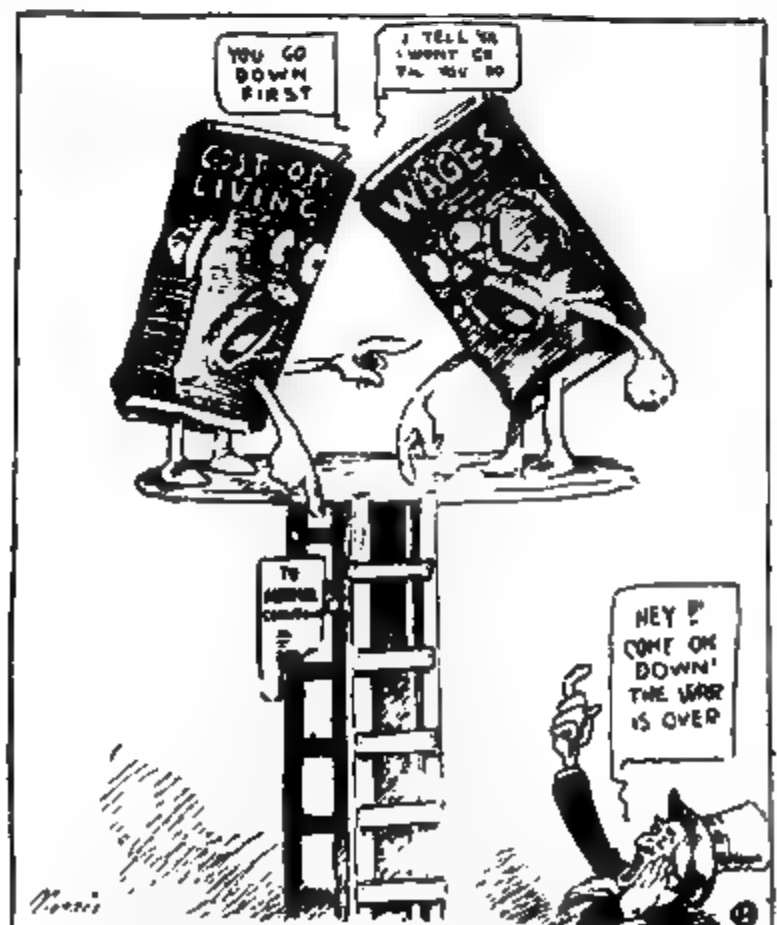
HIS CREDENTIALS: AN HONORABLE DISCHARGE
From the *Bayonet* (Camp Lee, Va.)

ONE MORE AUTOCRAT WE MUST GET—THE NOTORIOUS
HIGH COST OF LIVING
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)

A MERICA'S reconstruction problems are

THE NEXT BIG JOB
From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)

industry; permanent government ownership, or the immediate abandonment of the recent attempt at government operation of national public utilities—these are some of the problems to be met.



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WHY NOT GO DOWN SIMULTANEOUSLY?
From the *Citizen* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

CANADA'S AFTER-WAR PROBLEMS

BY SIR PATRICK T. McGRATH

[Sir P. T. McGrath, for many years editor of the St. John's, N. F., *Herald*, has frequently contributed articles to this REVIEW on subjects connected with Canada and Newfoundland.—THE EDITOR.]

CANADA opens the new year with problems confronting her, perhaps the most serious in her history. During the war she has accomplished wonders, and still greater wonders will probably have to be accomplished by her. The population of Canada totals about eight million, and she enlisted for active service roundly 400,000 or one in every twenty. Of these, 55,000 have died and probably 45,000 more have been so physically impaired as to be comparatively useless for practical industrial endeavor.

Canada has thus to face a net loss, on one side, of 100,000 able-bodied effectives, besides paying a heavy burden on their account, either as pensions to themselves if alive or to the dependents they leave if dead. On the other side is the fact that Canada, during the war, has been transformed from an agricultural to a manufacturing country. Vast industries have been called into being, such as those for making munitions, and now these must be resolved back into agencies of peaceful industrial progress.

Great Industrial Changes

In the manufacture of munitions were employed some 250,000 workers, with probably 75,000 more engaged in the output of other war materials. The shutting down of these factories will mean the throwing out of employment of a total working force equal in number to that of the entire Canadian army to be brought home for demobilization. Even if these factories be kept going, the continuance will solve only one aspect of the industrial problem, namely, the keeping employed of those who have entered these works since the war began, leaving the returning soldiers to be provided for. But obviously these soldiers are, above all others, the ones most entitled to first consideration.

The same issue will have to be faced in the United States; but the proportion of the population enlisted for active service is not

so great, the period of the country's participation in the war has not been so long, and the resources and opportunities for overcoming the obstacle are more varied and effective. In Canada, counting the dependents of both soldiers and "war workers," it is safe to say that some two million people, or about one-fourth of the entire population, will be affected by the new conditions now arising.

Reassembling of Parliament

The Federal Parliament at Ottawa meets early in the new year and will have to undertake some formidable tasks. Demobilization of the armed forces will be no light one. Re-employment of hundreds of thousands of men will tax the resources of every industry in the Dominion. Reconstruction plans on an exhaustive scale will have to be worked out. The re-education and re-establishment in civil life of disabled soldiers will be another and especially difficult task; and Labor views with grave concern the effects of all this on the existing wage scales and industrial markets.

Capital is clamoring for the abrogation of the Excess Profits Tax introduced during the war, and respecting which more or less qualified promises were made of its repeal at the close of hostilities. Labor is chafing at this on the ground that if such a policy is adopted it will mean that the burden of taxation must be borne by the masses. Many critics condemn the system of raising Victory Loans, which left these bonds free of income tax, arguing that this meant presenting the best-off elements in the country with large sums of money and weighting the poorer classes unduly.

Incidentally, the Provincial Governments have been calling for a revision upwards of the subsidies they receive each year from the Federal Treasury, and an alteration of the basis of taxation and of their relations with the Central Administration. A conference

was recently held for the purpose of solving these problems, if possible, but without attaining the desired result.

Criticism of the Union Government

In Dominion politics the position is that, the war being over, the Union Government now holding office, and little over twelve months in power, is being subjected to much criticism and seems likely to attract more as the months go by. Certain elements therein desire to return to the old-time party lines, and the extremist wing of the Conservatives (Premier Borden's Party) is threatening revolt and the formation of a new political group. On the other hand, the Liberals (Ex-Premier Laurier's party) are manifesting increased activity following upon a project for a National Convention advocated by him in Ontario recently. He strongly condemned the alleged violation by the Union Cabinet of its pledge not to conscript the farmers for the trenches. This pledge was made before the need for men became pressing last April, and Sir Robert Borden then enforced the conscription law against farmers as well as other classes. Partly as a result, no doubt, a by-election recently in that Province which gave Borden 70 out of 83 seats in the General Election of October, 1917, saw a Laurierite returned handsomely. A like result ensued in a contest in Alberta, though there, it was claimed, the "alien enemy" vote went for him.

Prospects of the Liberals

Some observers suggest the prospect of another appeal to the country by Premier Borden in the near future to obtain a further mandate to direct its affairs during the reconstruction period, it being argued that his present mandate was only to finish the war. This would mean, in other words, that the Government, after further reorganization, would face the electorate on two grounds: (1) that only by such a course could Canada safely weather the storms which the new conditions will probably occasion, and (2) that those unwilling to join that party would gravitate into the ranks of the Opposition.

Just what this would mean can best be realized by remembering that at the present time, out of 225 members in the Federal House, 135 nominally are Liberals—"Win the War" Liberals or "Laurier" Liberals. None of the latter are expected to join the Government now, but some of the former may, it is thought, return to their former al-

legiance. This would clear the air on the one side, but it would add to the complexities of the situation just the same. Laurier leading the Liberals would mean a solid Quebec—solid as now, with 62 out of 65 members—and, so some maintain, many seats at present held by small majorities or by the "oversea soldiers'" votes. On the other hand, the cry of Quebec domination with Laurier in control is expected to seriously hamper the Liberals in "English" constituencies.

At the same time it is difficult to see how this cry can be more effective to-day than in the height of the war, and consequently the conclusion is compelling that the Liberals would stand to gain by any new election. But it is even more manifest that they would gain still more under an "English" leader on whom that chieftain would have dropped his mantle, and preferably one from the West, which, growing in population and importance, now thinks the time ripe for it to achieve the primacy in the affairs of the Dominion.

East versus West

Hence we find daily increasing evidences of a cleavage between the East and the West—the West, for this purpose, being the Provinces beyond Lake Superior, peopled with farmers in the main, and desirous of free trade with the American Republic, and the East being the older and more densely settled provinces which have built up a manufacturing interest that champions Protection as the ideal policy. This indicates a return to the conditions existing when the Liberals launched their reciprocity campaign in 1911, and when the Eastern Provinces, by what their opponents called a "flag-flapping" campaign on the "loyalty" issue, swept the Liberals out of power.

The selection of a western Liberal as leader of the party in the future is strongly advocated in some quarters, and is likely to shape ere long, not necessarily because a Westerner is a better man than an Easterner, but because the four Western provinces have each to-day a Provincial Administration (equivalent to the American State governments) of the Liberal creed, and the eastern sections are expected to acquiesce heartily in the claim that the time has now arrived for the West to have a turn at the direction of the public affairs. The West, too, looks to welcome within its borders most of the returning soldiers, 105,000 of whom have al-

ready intimated their intention to settle themselves on the land.

Lands for Returned Soldiers

It is admitted that not enough tillable land remains in possession of the Dominion at present to satisfy all these claimants, unless areas previously considered unfertile are reclaimed for the purpose. But it is held that this can be done without serious drawbacks and that a like policy is now being successfully adopted in the United States. The conclusion therefore appears to be reasonable that the Liberals are likely to gain ground with a Western leader, and a Western policy; though they are naturally embarrassed by the physical and intellectual activity of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, despite his more than seventy-seven years. The West looks, moreover, to a Westerner for the settlement of the railroad difficulty, one of Canada's most serious problems.

Nationalization of the Railroads

The West, the least settled section of the country, has the greatest railway mileage. Canada notoriously over-built herself in that respect in the years before the war. This world-convulsion, among other things, brought virtual bankruptcy to some of her largest railroading projects. This, in time, led to Government acquisition of some of the railroad systems, and will probably compel their direction as a state-owned enterprise hereafter. The plan, briefly, appears to be to nationalize all the railroads of the Dominion except the C. P. R., and to use the latter system as a competitive agency to maintain the efficient operation of the C. G. R. (Canadian Government Railways), while the latter in turn would be used as an agency to keep the rates below what might rule if the C. P. R. had undisputed dominance in the railway enterprise, or was faced only with competing lines with which combinations might be made for the maintenance of high freight and passenger tariffs.

It is argued that the tendency of the hour is towards the nationalizing of all railroads. Such is the condition in Germany and in the main in France, with the prospect of all her new war railroads and others being nationalized in the near future. Britain's railroads were taken over for the period of the war, and their return to private ownership is likely to be strongly resisted, especially by the Labor and Socialist elements. The United States, too, has had Government control for

the past twelve months, and has just been invited by President Wilson, in his latest message to Congress, to give this problem further study, so that if Canada decides upon this step she will not be without example

Speeding Up Production

Not the least of Canada's after-war problems will be that of stimulating production, and especially agricultural production, for years to come. The present shortage of foodstuffs in Europe, the needs which the rebuilding of the devastated countries will give rise to, and the essential changes which will be compelled if prices are ever to be reduced and normal conditions restored to the world, will make this a task whereby Canada cannot alone gain substantial benefit for herself but earn the warmest thanks of the other nations. In carrying out this task it will be essential to consider the bearing of the changed conditions on the industrial classes, and especially to give heed to the growth of what is known as Bolshevism, examples of which are now being seen in some of the Canadian cities. Many far-sighted observers are disposed to think that the next few years will be marked in a special degree by the problem of unemployment and that in the endeavor to overcome this difficulty projects may be launched which cannot be commended from the viewpoint of sound judgment, wherefore a note of caution is needed in the efforts to strike the happy mean.

In other words, the creation of the machinery for accomplishing this is not to be effected on the spur of the moment, but must be devised cautiously by men of sound judgment and ripe experience. An organization must be prepared to utilize the labor of the unemployed, and especially of the returning soldiers, in the production of food and its distribution and transportation to the great markets abroad, and also in manufacturing much of the machinery and other accessories which Europe will need if it is to regain its economic vitality in the near future. By this means the period of strain and uncertainty which must immediately follow the war will gradually pass away and normal conditions again prevail. Canada is likely to have much immigration during the next few years. She can become a large manufacturing country, and thus help to absorb all these people as well as furnish an increased market for her food products; and therefore it inevitably follows that 1919 must be a critical year for the Great Dominion.

PROBLEMS OF PEACE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. FOREWORD

FOR more than four years, now, I have month by month been writing for the readers of this magazine upon the progress of the war. In the nature of things these comments have been in the main military. Now, with a new year and a new situation I am going to try to discuss the political questions growing out of the war, the problems of peace, which have been raised by the swift termination of the struggle and the modification in action which has followed.

In a sense there is no real separation between the military and political events, for in every military combination political considerations have played a part. It was the political, even more than the military, considerations which led Germany to the Balkans and to Asia Minor. The armies which won battles for the Kaiser in the earlier half of the gigantic struggle were merely executing the plans of the politicians, who from Wilhelmstrasse not only willed the war, but saw in the military aspects only a brief stage intervening before the real task of organization and transformation began.

So, in the present hour, while we are to deal with political problems, military aspect will remain in the minds of those who meet at Versailles. The occupation of the left bank of the Rhine, the presence of French soldiers in Budapesth, the occupation of Constantinople these remain solid military facts. The German battle fleet which is now at anchor in Scapa Flow is a military fact with which the Peace Congress must deal. In making frontiers, in settling the vexed questions of colonies, in the building of new states and the rearrangements of old states, military considerations will have their place.

There is, then, no sudden and complete transformation, vastly as the whole outward appearance of things has changed in the past two months. Underneath the many problems, economic and political, there will be found military aspects. A great nation's lust for world domination has led it to supreme disaster. But, while the work of peace-making goes forward, mighty armies will re-

main in being. Possibilities, also, of enforced occupation of Germany, and of a military campaign against anarchy in Russia, will survive. An armed world is going to strive to make peace, but it will remain an armed world for a long time hereafter.

If there is a great hope in the world that from Versailles will proceed a new order of international organization, an effective League of Nations, there is still the unmistakable apprehension that the end of the most momentous congress in human history may leave us with as little permanent gain as did the Congress of Vienna, or even with nearly as much cause for future quarrels as the Congress of Berlin.

In a certain sense, most but not all of the questions which arise at Versailles will be but new phases of campaigns which, with the readers of the REVIEW, I have studied in recent years. The strivings of the smaller peoples for national unity, which had so much to do with Polish, Rumanian and Balkan campaigns, are to find a new expression at Versailles. The campaigns of Allenby and Maude in Palestine and Mesopotamia, even the remote African wars, so little observed in the press of greater events, are now to be the basis for world debate. The decisions of the sword are now to be registered by the pen. But what is to come is merely a logical extension of the military phases.

We all of us recognized that the battles of armies were after all merely a physical expression of the battle of ideas; and what I am going to try to do now, is to make the accounts which I shall write of the political events—writing at first in America and after a little from Versailles itself—follow logically and naturally the accounts which I have already written in this REVIEW, and thus supply a complete history of the war both on the military and the political sides. The things this war has really meant for the future will be largely revealed in the peace terms. The campaign of Versailles will be in many ways the most interesting and the most critical of all the campaigns.

It has been a great pleasure as well as

a privilege, through all these months, to go on writing for an audience which has come to have a very definite meaning for me. It has been a very real joy to be able to do it in a magazine which has given me ever the freest hand and kindest support, and to do it in association with Dr. Shaw, whose staunch Americanism and unswerving support of the principles championed by our Allies have been a steady source of help to me in all the critical days of the past four years. His calm judgment and wise suggestion have helped me as month by month we planned the articles which I have written, always with his agreement and never with anything but the most cordial coöperation.

II. VIENNA AND VERSAILLES

In all minds the Congress of Versailles must suggest the memorable Congress of Vienna, just a little more than a century ago, when Europe liquidated twenty-odd years of war stretching from the outbreak of the French Revolution to the First Abdication of Napoleon. In many respects the problems were alike. Napoleonic France had sought to dominate the world. Revolutionary and Napoleonic France had swept up and down the Continent from Madrid to Moscow, while Napoleon himself had fought in Egypt and Syria.

The story of the rise and fall of Napoleon as Emperor is written in the decade between 1804 and 1814. In a real sense it began at Ulm and Austerlitz, and ended with the abdication of Fontainebleau, although Waterloo and the Hundred Days were a fitting epilogue. But the great peril and the great period were over when Napoleon set out for Elba. World power was no longer a possibility when he fought his final campaign.

His conquerors, on the morrow of their victory, had before them three problems. (1) They had to deal with France, just conquered. (2) They had to face and solve all the intricate and enormous problems raised by two decades of war and conquest which had changed the whole map of Europe, obliterated states, and raised new creations, utterly changing the whole course of human existence between the Pyrenees and the Russian frontiers. And (3) beyond this, they had to deal with the old familiar question of how to prevent future wars, the problem expressed to-day in our formula by a League of Nations, and by them in the Holy Alliance.

In doing these three things the conquerors of Napoleon did only one thing well. In dealing with France they acted wisely and generously. They elected to believe that their foe was not France but Napoleon. In placing a Bourbon on the French throne, they returned to him, practically intact, the territorial divisions of the Ancient Monarchy, as it existed at the outbreak of the Revolution. Neither in indemnities nor by annexations did they seek to offend the spirit of the people of the country they had overwhelmed.

This was a singular piece of moderation, but it had its basis in the clear recognition that if France were dismembered or plundered, the Bourbon King, whom they had placed upon the throne, would be an early sacrifice to national indignation and patriotic vengeance. Thus though the Germans clamored for Alsace-Lorraine, and many voices clamored for some compensation for the vast injuries suffered at the hands of French armies in all the years of war, the Allies of 1814 made a just and generous peace with France. And they made it promptly after Napoleon set out for Elba; and, this question settled, gathered at Vienna to remake the map of Europe and provide against a new outbreak such as had just convulsed Europe. While they deliberated, Napoleon returned from Elba. Waterloo was not fought until they had adjourned. But the Napoleonic taunt—"The Congress of Vienna is dissolved," spoken by the Emperor in the hour when he landed on French soil, was an empty phrase. For he fell; and the decisions of Vienna endured.

These decisions consisted in a rigorous and almost Chinese restoration of Europe, outside of France, to the conditions of 1789. Scores of petty sovereigns were restored to thrones from which French armies had swept them amidst the jubilation of their subjects. Italy was redivided, with Austria established in Milan as well as Verona. Poland received a death sentence, and fell to a hundred years of agony. Prussia was advanced beyond the Rhine as a sentinel against French ambition. Belgium was turned over to Holland. Not the smallest concern was displayed for any claim of nationality; not the smallest mercy was shown to any republican sentiment.

And when this restoration of the chains was accomplished, the sovereigns bound themselves together in an Alliance—which was accepted as having a divine sanction—

to use all their collective strength to repress all the ideas and ideals which had their origin in the French Revolution. In a word, the sovereigns agreed to make a League of Nations to prevent future wars, but they knew no other cause of war than the democratic spirit of the Revolution; and they set their hands to an agreement to fight democracy.

Such was the Congress of Vienna and its immediate aftermath. It lasted unchallenged for less than fifteen years. In France it disappeared with the Revolution of 1830. In all Europe it was challenged by the risings of 1848. Italy won unity and liberty in 1866. But even to the hour of the outbreak of the present war, the influence of Vienna was revealed in the condition of Poland. The spirit of Austria and Germany was, in a very real sense, the protagonist before the world of the gospel of reaction, which dominated the Congress of 1814.

At Versailles, then, much that was done at Vienna will come up for review and for undoing. The wrongs of a hundred years ago have been in no small measure the cause of the present struggle. Had the Congress of Vienna erected a free Poland, had it created an Italy rescued from Austria and established within the eastern boundaries Napoleon gave to his Kingdom of Italy, had it declared a thought for other nations, these concessions to justice might have availed at Vienna to spare the Nineteenth Century from its worst and the present century from the worst conflict in all human history.

But save in the case of France, and for obvious reasons, the Congress of Vienna looked backward, not forward. It undertook to abolish the results of more than twenty years of intellectual and (in a degree) political freedom in Europe. And that is why, to-day, when men talk of the new congress, their first resolve is that it shall in no way resemble the similar gathering which liquidated the last general war.

III. THE NEW PROBLEMS

Now looking at the problems which are to be settled at Versailles, it will be seen, at once, that they fall into three divisions, wholly analogous to those of the Vienna problems. We have first to deal with Germany, overthrown in a super-Napoleonic adventure and now as completely in the hands of her conquerors as was France after Fontainebleau or even after Waterloo. We have next to redraw the map of Europe,

together with the maps of Asia and Africa, this time, dealing with conditions resulting from four years of struggle, which have as completely transformed the political situation as did the twenty years of the older era. Finally, we have to seek to frame some new association between nations which will dominate international relations and thus make another world tragedy impossible.

Now, taking first the problem of Germany, it is clear that the situation is totally different from that of France in 1814. In the older case the Allies had, in fact, made war upon Napoleon. He and not France had been their true opponent. They had conquered him in the end, mainly because France, now grown weary of the endless blood tax, sought peace, which Napoleon would not permit, and repulsed glory, which he continued to force upon his subjects. Before Napoleon abdicated, the Allies had recognized Louis XVIII and given formal pledge to liberate, not to punish, France.

Our situation is totally different. We do not recognize any distinction between the German people and the German sovereign, now in exile. We are not prepared to make William II the scapegoat for the past. We are sternly resolved that Germany shall pay both in territory and in indemnity—in territory, to the extent that German lands are rightfully the property of other nations; in indemnities, to the extent that Germany is capable of paying; for if it were conceivable that we could collect the last mark of German wealth, it would be insufficient to meet the burden of debt Germany has by this war and by her method of conducting it placed upon the people of the countries which have fought her.

The simple fact is that if the nations Germany has attacked have themselves to pay the costs of the war to them, they will be well-nigh ruined, or at the least crippled for generations to come. Therefore, our first interest is not in the form of government which shall prevail in Germany. Neither with a new empire nor a new republic, nor for that matter with the individual states of a dissolved Germany, shall we deal more gently than we should have dealt with the Hohenzollern state, had it survived defeat. France escaped in 1814 because Europe cared more for the French Monarchy than it did for its own claims. Germany cannot escape now, because her escape, under any form of government, would mean the proximate ruin of her victims.

And this is the great problem. Germany has dissolved into something not yet to be described, much less understood. It would seem that in the hope of making those sovereigns she willingly followed to war, and to successful war, the scapegoats for the past and in this manner escaping payment herself, Germany has cast out all her royalty. She had done what France did in 1814, with the same hope. But this hope is doomed to disappointment and the consequences of this disappointment within Germany raise a grave question.

As yet we have no government with which to negotiate peace. We have no assurance that a national government is even in the making. We cannot tell whether, when the real truth of the situation comes home to the German people, they will in deadly earnest embark upon revolution and Bolshevism or not. If they do, what then? We may occupy more and more of Germany, to the last province, but after occupation there must be operation, if indemnities are to be paid, for indemnities can only be paid by new German labor. There is no treasure or capital in the fallen empire which would be more than a drop in the bucket.

Terms we can impose upon Germany; we can take what territory we choose. The limitations placed upon this course are found in our principles, not in our power. We may occupy such portion of the Fatherland as seems desirable. But we must first find some government which is able to accept and perform, before any treaty written at Versailles is more than a parchment, more than "a scrap of paper."

And if we find such a government, evolved out of present chaos, and impose upon it the sentence of our court, will that government be able to survive the popular rage, when the treaty is at last revealed to the German people? Will it be able to

provisions, even if it acts in ally, will the German people, istly, enter any League of Nations matter of policy and for the ig its wounds, awaiting its , as Prussia waited for Leipzig after Jena and Tilsit?

It makes this war so different wars is the magnitude of the immensity of the destruction. The Napoleonic epoch almost Although Europe had been a nearly a quarter of a century, injured and none destroyed,

but in the present struggle provinces have been wasted and cities reduced to ashes. The whole capital of nations has been expended and the future mortgaged. Therefore, when the day of reckoning comes the burden placed upon the loser—and this time it is the instigator, the criminal—must be such as to threaten economic slavery for an indefinite period.

Therefore, the first of our great problems at Versailles is in a sense the most difficult in all history. We cannot make what is rashly called a "healing peace," because to make a peace which would heal German wounds would mean that France and Belgium might bleed to death. We cannot make an easy peace with a republican Germany, as Europe did with a Bourbon France, because we invite for ourselves, for our European associates, internal insecurity, disorder and anarchy, if we shift from German to French and Belgian backs the burden of paying for this German-made struggle.

We must make Germany pay. Territorial changes are relatively minor. The question of the form of government in Germany has ceased to have more than an academic interest. What is important is that there shall be some government with which we can make peace and some government which, when peace is made, can comply with the terms and control the nation it has represented. I enlarge upon this circumstance because it seems to me the most bewildering of all the problems. And to-day Germany has no government. All its machinery of industry is idle. It has neither credit nor raw materials. Popular sentiment in advance of governmental inhibitions bars its products from enemy nations. Never in modern history has any nation found itself in such a plight.

IV. THE NEW MAP

Aside from dealing with Germany, we have to make a new map. In doing this two different sets of questions are to be dealt with. In the first place, new settlements are to be had of old disputes between countries which in one form and another have dwelt in discord over centuries. In the second place, new nations are to be erected on the territory of countries which have disappeared, new nations erected on the foundation which is loosely described as the right of self-determination, that is, based upon the desires of certain men and women to live

under laws of their own making expressed in a common language.

Of the former division it is easy to speak briefly. Most of the changes that are sought have already been accomplished. Alsace-Lorraine has already been restored to France as of right, restored as were provinces occupied in 1914. This dispute may be marked settled and will not come before the Peace Congress in any way, save as minor economic questions may be raised. The same is true of Trieste and the Trentino. Italy has them. She not only has them, but she has marked out wide areas about them. We may hear discussed at Versailles where the Trentino ends, whether at the Brenner Pass or at Botzen, where the language frontier is. We shall certainly hear discussed what are the frontiers of justice between the Jugo-Slavs and the Latins along the Dalmatian Coast, but this will be a new dispute between the Latins and the Slavs. The old debate between the Houses of Savoy and Hapsburg has been closed. Italy has won and the *Irredenta* is a thing of history.

We may say the same for the Danes of Schleswig. After half a century they are to have their plebiscite promised by Bismarck. They will unquestionably elect to return to Denmark and something like a quarter of a million people will be returned to the Northern Kingdom from which their grandfathers were wrongly torn in the first of Prussia's three wars of aggression.

In this category we may place the demand of the German-speaking people of Austria to be permitted to join themselves to their brethren of what was until the other day the German Empire. The demand is natural and logical. It affects something like six millions of people who are German by race and by history. To compel them to go elsewhere, or even to remain separated from the German tribes, would be but to lay the foundation for later troubles. Their right of self-determination cannot be denied, if we are to apply the principle elsewhere in Europe.

Conceivably the Austrian Germans may join with the South Germans in forming a new state, including Baden, Bavaria and Wurtemberg, recalling Napoleon's Confederation of the Rhine, but restoring an old alliance in sympathy, in religion, which was only overturned when Prussia seized the supremacy in Germany after the War of 1866.

We shall doubtless hear some echo of the old French ambition to regain the left bank

of the Rhine, held in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic periods from Switzerland all the way to the sea. But, aside from the Rhine frontier in Alsace, I do not believe the French will urge any claim. Nor do I believe any real effort will be made to push Belgium eastward and add millions of Germans to her population. The experiment is an old one and it always fails. It was tried at Vienna when Belgium, herself, was turned over to Holland, and it had a very unhappy ending.

Britain has renounced even the claim to Heligoland, and this was the sum of her possible ambitions in European map-making. Thus France with Alsace-Lorraine, Denmark with the most if not all of Schleswig, Italy with a frontier following the crest of the mountains from Switzerland to the Adriatic about Fiume—these are the relatively minor changes in familiar frontiers and between existing states. There is only one other possibility and that is the union of Luxemburg with Belgium. But it can only come on the decision of the people of this little state itself. If Luxemburg wills it, all the Allies will be glad to see Belgium receive a valuable and material addition to her European area and the French will welcome the closing of one of the roads by which German armies have frequently entered France. I think this change is likely, but it is relatively unimportant as it does not affect the territory of a great power.

Bearing in mind the ambitions of Germany, her expectations, in the early years of the war, it will be seen that the maximum of possible changes affecting Britain, France, Italy and Belgium among the combatants and Denmark among the neutrals is not great.

V. NEW NATIONS

But if the task of rearranging old boundaries in western Europe is relatively insignificant, the labor of creating new nations in the east and the south is almost beyond measurement. It is a task utterly unlike any faced before in modern history. Even at Vienna, where large difficulties were wrestled with, these difficulties were mainly incident to restoring, not creating.

But at Versailles we have to make a new Poland, which, to be sure, is founded upon a past, which supplies sure landmarks, even though they be confusing. But making a new Poland is a simple task beside creating out of Austro-Hungarian territory a

Czechoslovakia, a Jugo-Slavia and, in conjunction with old Rumania, erecting a new Latin state which shall include Russian, Austrian and Hungarian territory. There is, beside this, the problem of Albania, bound to be in some measure an Italian protectorate, certain to be a thorny problem because of the Serb and Greek claims. Finally there is the claim of Greece which extends to Constantinople in Europe and with even better right fixes upon Smyrna in Asia.

The Polish state which is to be created will include all of Russian Poland, part of Austrian Galicia, most of Prussian Posen, all of Upper Silesia, the Mazurian districts of East Prussia. So far the road is clear. But if it is to have access to the sea, then it must march north astride the Vistula, reach Danzig, and either annex or isolate the purely German districts about Königsberg. Southeastward, too, we already have news of the Poles and Ukrainians fighting for Lemberg. The Russian district of Cholm, between Lublin and the Bug, claimed by the Poles and the Ukrainians, has been a matter of debate since the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Finally there is the question as to whether Lithuania shall rejoin Poland, as in the remoter days, or be joined with Esthonia, the Courland and Livonia in a new Baltic state.

A strong Poland is vital to the peace of Europe. It will constitute a barrier to a new German expansion eastward into Russia, seemingly destined to continue in anarchy for many years. But how strong shall it be made? Shall one sacrifice the Poles or the Prussians, by including or excluding East Prussia with Königsberg from the new state? If Germany keeps a foothold east of the Vistula, she will indubitably seek to return in the footsteps of Frederick the Great, who engineered the First Partition of Poland, that he might have land connection with East Prussia. Nor is it easy to draw a frontier about Posen and Upper Silesia, which will not provoke present bitterness and future wars.

The Rumanian difficulties are slighter. Bessarabia and Transylvania, both Rumanian in population, although with strong Magyar and Saxon minorities in the case of the latter, have already declared their union with Rumania. The Bukovina, which has a far more mixed population, the Slavs exceeding the Latins, has been occupied. There remains the Banat, which is a curious Tower

of Babel with Germans, Magyars, Rumanians and Serbs, no race having a majority. Rumania claims all of it; Hungary claims all of it; Serbia, whose claims will not be inherited by Jugo-Slavia, claims certain regions, unmistakably Serb. But only the Versailles Congress can settle the debate.

As for Jugo-Slavia, already much has been accomplished in the creation of the new state. Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Croatia, Slavonia and the Slovene provinces of Austria have declared for unity and have taken the first steps toward consolidation. But this new state finds itself instantly in conflict with the Italians from Cattaro to Gorizia. Tentative compromises of the rival claims have so far led to nothing and one of the angriest of all the disputes to be heard will be the dispute between the Slavs and the Latins. Indeed, there seems to be less hope of a real settlement here than almost anywhere else, because Polish claims in Prussia and Rumanian claims in the Banat can be enforced against enemies; but on the Adriatic, the dispute is between states which are allied with the victors.

Italy, too, finds her plans in conflict with the Greeks in Northern Epirus. She has asserted the right, which has not been challenged and will hardly be now, to protect Albania and to occupy Valona, which is the key of the entrance to the Adriatic. But she claims for Albania the regions of Northern Epirus, included in Albania by the Conference of London, after the Balkan Wars, but occupied by Greece after the outbreak of the present war. The Greek claim seems to be by all odds the juster, the inhabitants are Hellenic and their desire to be Greek again is conceded by all save Italians. Italian possession of the Egean, including Rhodes and the Dodecanesus, resulting from the Italian War with Turkey, is a cause for protest at Athens, which will be voiced at Versailles. Here, again, on the basis of self-determination, the Greek claim would seem beyond debate. But the possession is Italian and Italy is an ally.

The creation of a Czechoslovak state brings up an age-long fight between the Slavs and the Germans. Bohemia and Moravia are overwhelmingly Slav, but a considerable minority of their population is Teutonic and certain regions are wholly German. Moreover, the Slovak country has been a portion of the Hungarian state for many centuries. In creating a new Slav state, as the Allies

certainly will, they will have to face the certain enmity of the German and the Hungarian peoples. The new state will contain a strong German element, and it may be economically at the mercy of the Germans and the Hungarians, who will expect to control all its outlets. It will be like Switzerland, a state without a seaport, but unlike Switzerland, it will not be surrounded by four strong nations all eager to preserve its independence, but set between two strong states each eager to destroy it and both ready to share it.

Only Hungary will be as badly placed as the Czech state, if the New Europe is built upon the present specifications. It, too, will have no seaport, most of its old conquests will be partitioned between the Northern and Southern Slavs and the Eastern Latins, who will control its outlets on the Adriatic and the Danube. But it will retain a common frontier with its old Teutonic allies and there is sound reason for fearing that it will look once more to German support in an effort to destroy the order created at Versailles and fatal both to Hun and Hungarian desires.

VI: AFRICA AND ASIA

But the European problems by no means exhaust the difficulties to be surmounted at Versailles. Only less troublesome will be the ultimate disposition of German colonies and the liquidation of the estate of the Osmanli Turk. In Africa the Germans held colonies with an area of above 1,000,000 square miles and a population of at least 12,000,000. In addition there were island colonies in Asiatic waters, Samoa and New Guinea and the Kiaou Chaou concession, which has now passed to Japanese control.

First of all it must be decided whether these colonies or any of them are to return to Germany. This question is complicated by the fact that in the main the conquest of these German lands has been made by British colonial forces and the opposition to a return of the conquests in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa is overwhelming. The reason is simple. If the colonies are to be returned to Germany, then Australia will have to maintain a naval establishment and an army against possible German difficulties in the future. South Africa will have to make even greater sacrifices, having already been compelled to endure a revolution within its boundaries instigated by Germans in Southwest Africa, and thereafter a costly

campaign which ended in the conquest of the German colony. The invasion and conquest of German East Africa was, also, almost exclusively a South African venture.

To all the demands of other powers that the German colonies be returned, to any American suggestions of this sort, the British Government will find itself compelled to respond with an emphatic negative, because to insist upon this would be to invite grave difficulties with British colonies which have given generously of their blood and treasure in winning the war. Neither Australia nor South Africa desires German neighbors, and they are resolved not to allow the colonies to go back. Prime Minister Hughes of Australia, when in the United States last summer, spoke many times on this subject without the slightest hesitation.

It is, therefore, not a case of dealing with Britain but with the British commonwealths, who can claim and will demand the support of the mother-country. Of all the German colonies, all save a portion of Togoland and the larger half of the Kamerun, which will fall to France, have been conquered by British colonial arms. That Germany will make a desperate effort to recover them is certain. That she may enlist a measure of American support is possible, but at the risk of differences with America Britain will have to stand by her colonies.

As to the Turkish problem, it is clear that the French and the British have already been working for a long time upon a clearly defined understanding, which recognizes the right of France to protect and organize the Syrian littoral from the Gulf of Alexandretta to the boundaries of Palestine, which assigns Mesopotamia to Great Britain, and which provides for the organization of Palestine into some form of internationally guaranteed state, in which British interests will be controlling, by reason of the proximity of Egypt.

In reality this is but the recognition of the age-long supremacy of French influence in Syria, which has survived all the changes since the days of the Crusades. The peculiar rights of France in Syria, particularly in the Lebanon, have been acknowledged by treaties; and all the railways of the region, save the Hedjaz line, constructed by the Germans, were built by French capital. As for Mesopotamia, it is an outpost to India conquered by British arms and already becoming reconciled to British rule. South of Palestine and Mesopotamia an Arab state,

independent of the Turks and containing the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, is assured, under the rule of the King of the Hedjaz, who has fought with the British and French in recent days.

Between the Gulf of Alexandretta and the Black Sea an Armenian state is likely to be created, backed by the guarantee of the great powers. Its exact frontiers remain problematical, as does the question of including within it the Armenian provinces of Russia. But this last step is logical and just.

There remain Greek and Italian claims to the littoral of Asia Minor; and Italian claims have been recognized to some extent at least along the Gulf of Adalia and the southern shore of Asia Minor, while Greek claims upon Smyrna are certain to gain at least a hearing. In its last, as in all its phases, the Turkish problem promises to be thorny; and it includes the decision as to the Straits and Constantinople. But with Russia gone, Bulgaria crushed, Germany eliminated, a solution is not impossible, in accordance with justice and reason.

VII. QUESTIONS OF PRINCIPLES

Such in a very brief compass are the material problems of the Versailles Conference: the question of peace with Germany, the difficulties incident to the reorganization of Europe, the creation of new nations and the expansion of old, in accordance with the desires of millions of people. Such, too, are the questions of Asiatic and African colonies, which must be faced and answered. To these must be added the tremendous puzzle of Russia, claiming ever more insistently the attention of the statesmen of the world, but furnishing no sufficient basis even for intelligent discussion.

There remains the third division of the great task. This is the creation of some international organization to preserve world peace, a League of Nations, comparable in purpose to the Holy Alliance of the Congress of Vienna, but this time expressing, not the selfish ambitions of a few sovereigns, eager to preserve their power, but the aspirations of millions of free people striving to make a repetition of the recent world calamity impossible.

It is to frame such an international agreement that President Wilson has gone to Europe. He regards it as the supreme duty of the Versailles Conference. Yet who can measure the obstacles that lie in the path-

way? At the present hour we have no German Government—no organized Germany with which to make peace, let alone a new international compact. We purpose in our peace treaty to deprive Germany of much territory unjustly taken in the past, and we purpose to make her pay a large part of the burden resulting from her wanton destruction, if not a considerable share in the actual costs of the war to the nations she has attacked.

So great has been the German devastation that it is clear that mere reparation for this will exhaust the possibilities of German resources. In addition, the nations which have conquered Germany are resolved that they will not hereafter permit German manufactures to compete with their own on equal terms in their own markets; and the French and British are resolved that their ports and colonies shall not be the bases of German commercial fleets. All of this means but one thing: it means that the Germany which emerges from Versailles will be struck alike in territory and in wealth. She will emerge showing the unmistakable effects of a righteous but terrible judgment visited upon her.

But such being the case, will Germany willingly enter a League of Nations dominated by her recent enemies, who have just exacted from her terrible payment for her crimes? Remember that in 1814 and 1815 Europe let France go almost scot-free in order that they might win the French people away from Napoleon and persuade them to accept the rule of a Bourbon sovereign, who would join with the other kings in the Holy Alliance, which was the League of Nations of that hour. And despite this leniency, France broke away in just fifteen years and upset the Bourbon.

Further than this, are the nations which have conquered Germany in any mood to welcome Germany as an equal, after the record of recent years, even if she came purged and repentant, which is excessively unlikely? Or will the bitterness and resentment, above all the suspicion, endure for a generation to come? These questions are pertinent because the success of the League of Nations rests upon the essential condition that all nations enter it with equal willingness and mutual trust. They are pertinent because they are based upon the history of the last League of Nations, which fell to ruin in a decade and a half after the Congress of Vienna.

Beyond these difficulties lies the question of the "freedom of the seas," which has already been excluded from the list of points formulated by President Wilson and accepted, otherwise, by the nations associated with the war. Just what the "freedom of the seas" means, remains problematical. But the British interpret it to mean a surrender on their part of some fraction of their naval supremacy, the basis of the victory in this war and the basis of British security. Ready to join with the United States in an alliance to police the seas, willing to share with the United States the domination of the oceans, the British seem totally unwilling to resign to the League of Nations any control of their fleet. But here, again, is a fatal obstacle; for the League of Nations, to be successful, must not be merely universal, it must also be supreme. In a word, it must include all nations; and all nations must be subject to its power without any reserved powers of their own permitting them to resist its decisions, if they choose.

This problem the Congress of Vienna failed to solve. It relied upon the community of interest of all kings to provide agreement and concerted action. But France and Britain, lacking this interest, soon escaped from the Holy Alliance, which itself became thereafter impotent as a guarantor of world peace or royal security.

It is well to have the problem clearly in mind. A League of Nations must be everything of international power and right to nations. It must be within and the Parliament of nations. It must be an international power having the right to enforce its decisions upon all nations, large and small, and it must be able to resist the resistance of the ships of all the Parliaments of small nations with the

large—Bolivia with Britain, for example? Or will it be exclusively a body composed of representatives of the Great Powers, as was the Holy Alliance?

Speculation on these phases would be endless, but it is necessary to indicate some of the principal obstacles which will doubtless fill the debates of the immediate future. Meantime behind all the discussions rises the shadow of Bolshevism, which may yet dissolve the Congress of Versailles as Napoleon's return from Elba ended the Congress of Vienna. If Europe, east of the Rhine and north of the Alps, and the Carpathians, falls into anarchy and chaos, new military operations may become inevitable and the first task of the League of Nations, if then constituted, may be to wrestle with the new enemy, which is daily gaining strength in Germany, while retaining a firm grip upon unhappy Russia.

Therefore it is at least possible that the Congress of Versailles may be unable to restore peace in the world, however sincere its efforts; and it may well be that the failure will not be due to the rivalries of the nations represented but to the consequences of the storm which Germany loosed four years and a half ago.

In saying this last, I do not mean to be understood as forecasting failure. The very magnitude of the task inevitably involves the possibility. But as I close this article the French nation is giving President Wilson a welcome forever memorable. In Britain the spirit of eager conciliation is manifest.

Whatever the obstacles, it is at least to be said that the peace negotiations are beginning under circumstances which are most promising. The desire to make peace, and a just peace, is unmistakable. A better beginning it would be impossible to imagine, and this is a source of optimism priceless now, when the history of a century is to be shaped.



1. Wellington; 2. Lobo; 3. Hardenberg; 4. Saldanha; 5. Lowenhielm; 6. Nonlle; 7. Metternich; 8. Dupin; 9. Nesselrode; 10. Palmella; 11. Castlereagh; 12. Dalberg; 13. Wessenberg; 14. Rasoumofsky; 15. Stewart; 16. Labrador; 17. Clancarty; 18. Wacken; 19. Genls; 20. Humboldt; 21. Cathcart; 22. Talleyrand; 23. Stackelberg.

The dominating figures at the Congress were Prince Metternich, the Austrian Minister of State, who acted as President of the Congress; Prince Talleyrand, the French diplomat; Castlereagh and Wellington, representing Great Britain; Hardenberg and Humboldt, from Prussia; and Nesselrode, from Russia.

THE CONGRESS OF NATIONS, PAST AND PRESENT

BY TALCOTT WILLIAMS

THE Congress of Nations which meets in France in the first week of January parts out Europe and distributes colonies around the world. Its decisive voice is shared by fewer nations and victorious powers than ever before and the scope of its decisions is wider. After two and a half centuries of such meetings of the nations of power to part among them the fruits of victory, a Congress meets within whose jurisdiction all lands fall and from whose decisions no nation can appeal with success except to the future. From the future, the decisions of no Congress can escape. The future has

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all failed. Their one happy and hopeful fruit was that they led President Monroe to lay down the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 at the suggestion of Canning, Premier of England. The United Kingdom had refused to enter the Holy Alliance or to share in all of the gatherings that planned and pledged mutual support to legitimacy against liberalism wherever the former was attacked by revolution.

Remaking the Map of Europe

Five times before the gathering of the nations now about to sit, a Congress has remade the map on some historic principle whose application changed the minds and lives of men, whose fall ended the system of which it was the guiding rule.

Religious liberty was settled by the Congress of Westphalia, 1746, which really met at Münster and Osnabrück. The colonial supremacy of the English-speaking folk was established by the Congress of Utrecht, up to the present hour and age. What may come fifty years hence when 120,000,000 Germans have about them a Slav world divided between Serb, Pole, Czech, Ruthenian, Ukrainian "new" Russian centering at Moscow, no one will rashly predict who has read the history of the past. The Congress of Vienna, 1814, portioned Europe on dynastic principle and failed. The Congress about to meet portions and allots Europe on the principle of language and race, national desire, and consciousness. No one nation anywhere in the territory seeks a population undivided or a territory unchallenged. The Congress of Vienna, built on the rights of Kings, forgot the rights of the people and nations. These, as they grew, have rent asunder the skilled joiner-work of Metternich and of Talleyrand, the claims and divine rights of Alexander of Russia, William of Prussia, and Francis of Austria bequeathed to descendants now fugitive, discredited, dead, or facing the criminal bar.

The Congress now to meet proposes to put

rigorously in practise the rights of nations and of peoples in a new fabric framed of self-determination and self-government. Between Vienna and Versailles, if the coming Congress meets there, lie the Congress of Paris, 1856, when Western Europe (France and England) sought to settle the "Eastern Question" which centers about the disposition of the Ottoman Empire, and the Congress of Berlin, where Central Europe (Prussia and Austria) sought to settle the same question. Both have failed. Neither the Congress of Paris nor the Congress of Berlin built an enduring fabric. Western Europe failed in 1856 and Central Europe in 1878 to redistribute Southeastern Europe.

Western Europe saw the work of the Congress of Paris destroyed in twenty years by the growth of Central Europe. The plans of Central Europe were destroyed in forty years after the Congress of Berlin by the growth of Russia, of Western Europe, and the entrance of the United States in European affairs. Can the Congress of 1919 build an enduring fabric if it forget on one side the certain growth of Germany, rid of the chains of Kaiser, royal caste, Junkerthum, dead-weight all, or the possible growth of the central Russian people, "Holy Russia," under the new economic system which is shaking the minds and fears of men as did the French Revolution, one hundred and thirty years ago?

Political and Economic Systems

In the French Revolution economic causes were doubtless at work. Economic causes always are at work. So is the attraction of gravitation. Men build domes, arches, and bridges in spite of it. The attraction of gravitation is not all of life. So with economic causes. The major cause and factor of the French Revolution were political. It was political privilege, political rights and political wrongs to which men had addressed themselves. Were these changes and political justice secured, world opinion, so far as it was conscious and articulate, believed in 1789 that all would be well. A century has deprived men in Europe of confidence in political change. Faith still remains in a political system in America; but it is waning here. In Russia, no such faith exists. Political reform, as a social remedy, is sharply challenged in Germany. A mingled cross struggle between political systems and between economic systems is in progress in many.

As on a darkling plain
Swept with confused alarms of struggle and flight,
Where ignorant armies clash by night.

The central shock is between two social systems, conservative Socialists and the extreme Spartacides—Bolsheviks. The struggle over a mere political system is in the shadow.

The Congress about to sit proposes only changes political. To all the forces which have sapped the foundations and destroyed the structures built by one and another Congress now past—Vienna, 1815; Paris, 1856;—Berlin, 1878—there is added that the next Congress after this will deal primarily with social issues, not political. Exactly as at Vienna men built on a dynastic foundation, already doomed and neglected, the upheaval of races, tongues, nationalities, and at Paris diplomats assumed the supremacy of Western Europe in the Mediterranean, which began at Lepanto and passed from Spain and Italy to France and England, and at Berlin Bismarck and his associates assumed that the new Central Empires could dominate the Balkan Peninsula and the Euro-Asian waterways, so now the massed 100,000,000 of Americans behind an united 115,000,000 in England, France, and Italy, the four having half the world's thousand billions of wealth, seem equal to a world rule; but this wealth and the political institutions of all these rest on an economic system of work, wages and credits, challenged in half Europe. It is gone in Russia and can be rebuilt only when the experiment in progress fails. No one knows if it will fail or how soon.

I believe it will fail and our systems, political and economic, survive. So did the men of my age in Vienna, Paris, and London in 1815 of their age-long dynastic system. The newspapers were with them; in this country with a few discredited exceptions; in England all the press. Europe had no free press left. Its newspapers were then led by the logic of de Maistre, the romantic heats and chills of Chateaubriand, the dreams of Czar Alexander and Madame Krudener. Even in England Wordsworth was a "lost leader" to a liberal, Coleridge, a conservative editorial writer, and Byron still hymned the triumph of dynasties and despotism. They were sure they were right. So are we. The past centuries looked with approval on them. So with us. But it is the future centuries that make history. The past centuries are epitaphs only. Epitaphy is

always a dreaming lie, or a lying dream. On dreams and lies none can build.

No one can expect Versailles to be permanent in its work any more than Vienna unless it lays the foundations of a new world order and frankly recognizes the necessity of preserving the shorter hours, the higher wages and the accent of command, labor has won in war, and must keep in peace, or a new economic order will destroy what labor cannot share. Heavier burdens for massed capital and amassed capital; harder still, to bear, a levelling down of household and domestic conditions for the favored tenth that has had domestic service, ceiled chambers and in all lands but ours a practical monopoly of higher education and the opportunity and advantage it gives,—all this looks near.

Westphalia and Utrecht

The Congress of Westphalia (which met at Münster and Osnabrück) drew the boundary between Catholic and Protestant Europe where it runs to-day. This post-mortem triumph of Gustavus Adolphus (he fell at Lützen, 1632) made it clear the new faith was too strong to make it safe for despotic France to compromise with the Huguenot. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes followed. If Sweden and Protestant

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lish flag to the African slave-trade of Spanish colonies in the treaty with Spain in 1714 gives us to-day our one great problem at home and at Versailles our greater opportunity in Africa to end the age-long exploitation of the negro in the equatorial span of his continent.

The Congress of Westphalia and the Congress of Utrecht accepted new forces as a foundation and built a new future. The congress at Vienna, at Paris and at Berlin built on the old, compromised with the new and their fabric fell. Little is left of any article in any one of the treaties of 1814-15, 1856 and 1878. Versailles may, but probably will not, profit by their example. If the congress of to-day refuses to satisfy new perilous and violent social forces, but seeks instead to suppress them, instead of meeting with just remedies the needs which set these forces in battle; it may create "order"; it will not create peace.

A Congress, however, by its very existence, shows that countries and nations are growing few enough and big enough to deal, first, with a continent as a whole—which was all the Congress of Westphalia could do in the middle of the Seventeenth Century—and next with the world, which began in Utrecht at the opening of the Eighteenth Century. There are to-day from sixty to sixty-five separate countries that can or do make war and peace. Of these, five can decide for the world, Italy, France, England, America and Japan. To this brief list may eventually be added a German and a Russian power, seven in all. Seven great powers and fifty-eight or so small; these figures are to-day the limits of the human family of nations.

When the delegates to the Congress of Westphalia met in two places, thirty miles apart, the reason was simple. There were so many "powers" engaged in the war, big and little, principally little, and they were criss-crossed in so many alliances, hostile operations and treaties, that the Emperor Ferdinand II could not meet at one place the envoys of Sweden and France, in alliance and at war with the Emperor. The Emperor himself was a polynomial. He was "Roman" Emperor, successor of the Caesars, holding possessions dotted all over Central, Southeastern and Northwestern Europe (part of Belgium to-day), and in Italy, Milan for one place. He was the elected King of Hungary, a fragment of which had just been wrested from the Turk. Bohemia had also

elected him King, and Bohemia then included besides, Silesia (now part of Prussia) Moravia and Lusatia (to-day split between Prussia and Saxony), and each of these three was held by a differing title. He held Austria by a score of titles, archduke, duke, prince, marquis, as the case might be, titles of earlier separate rulers of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Tirol, Alsace, Breirgan, etc.—a line or two more of titles. Ferdinand II was always at war with the Ottoman Sultan in Hungary, but not always in Austria. He might be at war as Emperor and at peace as King of Bohemia. He made war by sections and peace by driblets. Some 200 rulers in "Germany" had the right to go out and kill people. Two centuries before there were 400; in 1871, only twenty-six. The trade of killing people at will on the battlefield is, of course, the supreme hall-mark of sovereignty. None genuine unless this right is blown in the bottle which holds the essential oil of rule.

Large and Small States

In the Seventeenth Century none would give up this right. It took three years, 1638 to 1641, before it was possible after thirty years of war to find two places where peace could even be talked of. Sweden and France did not wish to meet the imperial envoys together. The Roman Emperor, whose capital was at Vienna, whose family possessions on the Rhine had been seized by Louis XIV, whose army had been beaten by the Swedish line, commanded by Gustavus Adolphus could not wisely negotiate with both France and Sweden together.

The earliest diplomat of the modern school, Count d'Avaux (French), conferring at Hamburg with Conrad Lützow, the Emperor's envoy, after three years wasted in triple communications between Paris, Stockholm and Vienna, proposed two places near each other in Westphalia. Sweden and Sweden's allies met at Osnabrück and France and the French allies at Münster, to each went the representatives of the Empire. The Pope sent his Nuncio to secure the suppression of Protestantism, when the "Eldest Son of the Church," his Most Christian Majesty of France, made a peace with the "Holy Roman Emperor" and the "Most Catholic" King of Spain. Venice was represented as an honest broker doing the carrying trade of both Empire and Kingdom on the Mediterranean. All states, large and small, in Continental Europe, save Eng-

land, Poland, Russia, and Turkey, sent envoys; but Count d'Avaux, wise besides, set the rule for every future Congress by providing that only belligerents should be invited, and an elaborate procedure for separate treaties between the principals practically excluded lesser lands from the direct negotiation which fruited in agreement. The decisive authority of three powers, France, Sweden and the Empire settled the final conclusions. For France, Louis XIV spoke, for Sweden, Queen Christine, as regent, guided by the wise Oxenstiern and the Emperor Ferdinand II decided the fate of all the great area between the Carnic Alps, and the Carpathians, the Danube and the march which touches on its headwaters and those of the Rhine and the Elbe.

Every Congress since has witnessed this concourse of lesser lands and the decisive voice of the few caused by the gradual emergence of governments so small in number and so strong in power that they alone, if they act together in Congress or League, constitute the supreme rulers of the hour of destiny in the assemblage of nations. This has been the evolution of the World Congress from the very first. Two and a half centuries ago, though Spain and its vast colonial empire, Portugal, holding Brazil, and foremost in India and Africa, the States general of Holland and Venice, still holding "the East in pawn," Denmark having the strongest fleet in North Europe, and for the German Empire 26 votes of its Diet at Münster and 40 at Osnabrück gathered to the Congress of Westphalia—these all were set aside in the ultimate action taken by France, Sweden, and the Empire.

Small states were numerous at the Congress of Westphalia and their presence made every step cumbrous. First proposed and under negotiation in 1636, the mutual agreements to meet were not signed until July 22, 1641; the imperial delegates appeared July 11, 1643, and the ratifications of treaties were not exchanged until February, 1649, thirteen years from the first inception.

A Few Powers Decide

The Congress of Berlin met June 13, 1878, and adjourned in a month, July 13, its work done in a single treaty. The scores and scores of small powers, two centuries earlier, had vanished. Instead, six great powers, England, France, Italy, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia, decided all. Four

small powers, Greece, Montenegro, Serbia and Rumania, interested in the result, were not represented in the Congress. Their representatives held watching briefs outside. Turkey, invited to the Congress and present, was not consulted as to the sauce with which an empire, once great, should be served. Only five powers, Japan, America, England, France and Italy will decide the Congress of Versailles, and of these the action of only four will be effective. Were the United Kingdom and the United States to agree with emphasis on any one point, it would not be easy for the other three to say them nay. In the great war, the twain could have done without the three; the three could not have done without the twain.

The small powers at Westphalia cumbered the ground at every turn. Numerous, scattered, their patches of territory not contiguous, at war by fits and starts, by sections with various belligerents, months that ran into years were consumed in arranging safe-conducts across these various territories for the envoys of belligerent lands. Other months were used in correspondence over the invitations. When the Congress met, months—nearly two years, went deciding how to

Observe degree, priority and place
Insisture, course, proportion, season, form
Office and customs, in all line of order.

Some "insisture" was unsettled after two years. In the middle of the Seventeenth century there were, the world around, from 2500 to 3000 small States, at least. No World Congress was possible. Europe was, 1636, boiled down by the fiery furnace of war to some 200 to 250 states, not less. This was enough to make a congress feasible in Europe, but such a congress took thirteen years from start to finish, from the Pope's proposition to treaty ratification. Europe began the war with twenty countries enjoying full diplomatic relations. The war will close with about thirty-five separate integers claiming independent diplomatic initiative. The experience of two and a half centuries unfalteringly and unhesitatingly points to the conclusion that a given area and population short of the great power standard, if it goes alone, may be protected, but it cannot hope to have a voice in a World Congress save those innocuous international assemblages that deal with mails, postal affairs, sanitation and other technical issues. In the real conduct of the world's affairs, they can be heard. They cannot act. They may

furnish arbitration and aid to fill a World Court. Even this is dubious. In the Alaska Arbitration, the Chief Justice of England had a weight no other judge, the world around, could have possessed.

The application of the example of the United States in this particular is wholly fallacious. In the United States the same language is spoken by more and over a larger area, than elsewhere in the world in the sense that language is understood by hearing. China has one written language; but the spoken tongue is not understood over its area. To language, there is added in the United States a common standard of education, of law, of family conditions, of institutions, of clothing, of personal habits and of religion. Nothing comparable with this exists elsewhere over 4,000,000 square miles and 100,000,000 people. Even with this we have had a civil war which set more men in battle line than any but two conflicts in modern European history, the Napoleonic wars and the struggle just over. The logic of experience is inevitable. In any League of Nations, any cunningly devised apportionment of representation will break down. Speech may go to the many; power will go to the few.

Pan-American Experience

Give each nation, large and small, a single vote, and the small will combine against the powerful. The United States has had its experience. Once it has called and twice it has sat in a Pan-American Congress endeavoring to make Latin-America and our America see eye to eye. Neither the eloquence, idealism, enthusiasm and bounce of James G. Blaine, nor the sagacity, shrewdness, and compelling personal force of Elihu Root could prevent all the small lands combining to thwart the one world power of the West. Yet in the Western Hemisphere the United States has 80 per cent. of the white population, 63 per cent. of the total population and of wealth, military power and material resource 90 per cent. Even this leaves it powerless in a Pan-American Congress. Until the world is as homogeneous as the United States the governance of the world must rest with the few great.

The Perennial Hope of Peace

The big three at the Congress of Westphalia talked from start to finish of lasting peace and believed they had closed a generation of war with continuing concord. Every

THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN, 1878. WHICH SETTLED TERRITORIAL QUESTIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE AFTER THE RUSSO-TURKISH WAR

1, Count Karolyi (Austrian); 2, Count de Launay (Italian); 3, Prince Gortschakov (Russian); 4, M. Waddington (French); 5, Lord Beaconsfield (British); 6, Prince Hohenlohe (German); 7, Count Corti (Italian); 8, Count de St. Vallier (French); 9, Baron d'Oubril (Russian); 10, Count Andrássy (Austrian); 11, Prince Bismarck (German); 12, Count Shuvalov (Russian); 13, General von Bülow (German); 14, Sadoullah Bey (Turkish); 15, Lord Russell (British); 16, Lord Salisbury (British); 17, Karatheidori Pasha (Turkish); 18, Mehmet Ali Pasha (Turkish)

Congress has met with this desire and ended with this hope. Thus also the Congress of Utrecht. There had been war again from 1689 for twenty-two years, when, October 11, 1711, the preliminaries of a Congress were signed. The contest had smouldered and flamed in two vast curves by land and sea, one by land from the Netherlands bending in a great arc through the German Empire across North Italy to Savoy, and the other curve where the fleets of England beleaguered the French and Spanish coasts from Dunkirk to the Balearic Islands and beyond.

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to-day surviving. The eastern boundary now sought by France was established. The House of Hohenzollern became royal. It had reached the Rhine at Westphalia, the treaty of Utrecht extended those scattered Rhenish possessions whose boundaries sixty years ago taxed the memories of the students of primary geographies. Bavaria became definitely German. Holland won that control of the Scheldt at which Belgium now protests. Austria took over from Spain that control of Italy which only ended in 1870. The English flag was planted at Gibraltar. The assured possession of Newfoundland, Acadia and Nova Scotia began the winning of North America for the composite English-speaking peoples of our day. The entrance of the English flag on the slave trade between Africa, the Spanish Main and Brazil opened the North and South Atlantic to the joint naval supremacy dominant to-day, and made secure the sea-path to India for the greatest trading corporation ever known, the East India Company, then six years old.

Vienna Congress and Its Results

These great changes curbed privilege, pruned the rights of princes and pedigrees, and began the recognition of local, popular claims and mutual religious toleration. Reaction came and reaction brought the successive explosions of 1776 and 1789 and war again for twenty-five years, when the Congress of Vienna met with new dreams of peace. The precedents of Westphalia and Utrecht were exhumed. The invitation issued by Austria to all its diplomatic visiting list except France brought together a concourse of victorious powers determined for one thing to "punish" France and on the other side to establish kingdoms, principalities and powers, an automatic protection against democracy, exactly as the lesser peoples are being staked out now as an automatic protection against autocracy. The Holy Alliance was an attempt to provide these new thrones and territories born of privilege with adequate defense through a League of crowns. This League broke down, first, because it was narrow, so organized that England would not enter, and, second, because its makers believed that the defeat in war of the beginnings of self-rule would end the future progress of the principle. Not war but time makes history. No Congress can change the forces of the day. It can only direct and reorganize them and any league of powers, to be effective,

must exclude no great power because of current disagreement.

The pitiless logic of every Congress of Nations brought it about also that four powers, England, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, stood apart in control. They divided and Talleyrand's skill brought in France. The five powers laid out Europe, and in the next half century Europe laid itself out and left unchanged no boundary which did not rest on self-determination, self-expression, and self-rule. The Vienna Congress made it clear that you can exclude no great power in this angerful pride of victory, deny no small people of its future rights, but turning and overturning will come until permanent forces rule. Whatever a Congress may wish to exclude, the world as a whole has to go on doing business with everybody. Italy and Germany were cut out in 1814 on dynastic consideration and they united on lines lingual and racial. The weak peoples of all Southeastern Europe who had fallen among royal and imperial thieves for a thousand years were parcelled between Russia, Austria, and Turkey, and all three royal and imperial houses are gone from power.

Failures at Paris and Berlin

On the same false basis as at Vienna, Europe met in Congress to deal with the same peoples at Paris after the Crimean War and at Berlin after the Russo-Turkish War, and failed again. The dominion of the great powers was now accepted and complete. For a network of treaties in the past, a single instrument was submitted. The five great powers pledged themselves at Berlin to enforce its provisions. They made no provision for the regular assembly of the powers, for the ordered consideration of new issues, for a permanent military and naval force provided by the powers and acting under the command of a permanent council.

War has brought this precise instrument shared by five great powers. The United States contributes its army and navy and accepts this command, without a treaty and

with no published agreement. President Wilson has decided our policy in war as in peace President Monroe did in 1823, launching as executive, acting alone without consulting Congress or asking its sanction, a policy, the Monroe Doctrine, more momentous, more far-reaching, better observed than any treaty ever ratified by the United States Senate.

As at Westphalia, at Utrecht, and at Vienna, it is plain enough before the present Congress meets what the general settlement must be and will be.

Need of a Permanent Council

But the experience of 277 years makes it certain that this settlement will be worthless unless the President of the United States, and the four Premiers of Japan, England, France, and Italy, or their representatives, meet regularly. The world is visibly a better place for us all because the five meet now. Visibly it would be a safer place for us all if they met once a year. What harm could such a meeting do? What untold good could it not accomplish?

Create any central organization of the great powers and the peace of 1919 may and probably will be kept. How difficult war would have been in 1914 if there had been such a meeting yearly, say for twenty years from the settlements of the Spanish War, China, or even from that of Morocco in 1906? Give no such organization and we may look for a war as certain between 1960 and 1980, and such a war! Imagine it. Count its dead. Consider its shattering wrack.

Above all, and beyond all, unless new economic demands are met, war and smash are certain. Labor, production, manufacture, distribution—these are all to-day international and the world will not be safe for democracy until the organization and control of these agencies are made democratic and rest on the coöperative will of the employed. Unless this is begun by evolution, it will come by dire revolution.



GEORGES CLEMENCEAU, PREMIER OF FRANCE

BY HENRI-MARTIN BARZUN

(Former Secretary to the Minister of Labor and assistant to Premier Clemenceau as editor-in-chief of *L'Homme Libre*)

AMERICAN opinion follows eagerly current events in Europe, whose capital to-day is Versailles. All the world knows that in this historic city of fifty thousand inhabitants, ten miles from Paris, the heads of the coalition which has won the war are about to meet several times a day to determine the destinies of the universe.

It is there that President Wilson will discuss with Clemenceau the clauses of the decisive peace which is going to establish the status of the world.

Under these truly exceptional circumstances the REVIEW OF REVIEWS has thought that its many readers would be interested to know better the great and extraordinary figure of the Premier of the French Republic whose guest and co-worker at this moment is the President of the United States.

Clemenceau's Popularity

Little has been left unsaid in these last months about the public and private life of the man, his energy, notwithstanding his age, his good humor, his animated rejoinders, his general "tiger" characteristics. The story has been told many times of his sojourn and marriage in America when as a young man he gained a livelihood by teaching French in a girls' school.

Finally, he has been deservedly praised for his admirable rôle during the most critical months of the war at the head of the French Government, up to the time of victory and peace.

But beyond all the sympathetic traits that have made the man so popular, Clemenceau is and remains one of the greatest characters of contemporaneous Europe, and one of the greatest leaders of men of all times and all lands.

It is this political character of the man which history will preserve and determine in the immediate future.

His Intellectual Tradition

The admiration generally shown for France is founded on the secular idealism which this country has never ceased to manifest, in favor of every great cause of humanity, because this country is a fount of ideas.

But American criticism does not often enough insist on this fact, which explains the successive revolutions of France and her rôle in civilization ever since the Communes of the Middle Ages.

Whether Encyclopedists of 1789 or democrats of 1830, 1848 or 1871, the initiators of great epochs in France have always at the same time been writers, philosophers, and public men, and sometimes president, as Lamartine, of the Second Republic, or founder, as Victor Hugo, of the Third—both being the greatest of our national epic poets.

How could men called to political and moral leadership of a country fail to impregnate their public activities with the lofty thoughts guiding their personal lives according to this logical and natural tradition?

Hence America should not be surprised to find French statesmen to be men of the highest intellectual stamp, giving historical contribution to the renovating current of idealism with which this country has filled democracy throughout the world.

Three Magic Words the Guide of His Life

Georges Clemenceau belongs to this admirable line that has come down from the Revolution. Philosopher, writer, man of science, orator, author, he testifies through his entire public career to the fact that *ideas guide the world*, drawing men and their interests in their train.

Without doubt the war just ended has been an immense economic conflict, but it has been directed and won by intellectual, philosophical and moral forces since it was in the name of *Democracy, Justice*, and

Liberty, that the entire world rose to win it.

It is in the name of these three magic words that Georges Clemenceau has fought all his life, in untiring opposition to everything which could limit their promise or dull their glow. Also of all the political heads of the Third Republic, he is the one who has exercised the greatest influence on the present generation and who has most vigorously directed the people of his country towards democracy.

The Father of Radicalism Came into Political Power at Sixty-six

Perhaps not without reason Clemenceau has been reproached for his uncompromising individualism. The same criticism called in question his most significant virtue, the one by which he was able in a now far distant past to hold his own against the forces of conservatism. He founded radicalism through precisely such Jacobin proclivities; and for twenty years he alone in the Chamber constituted by himself the opposition, but with such a vigor and with so much personality that it would be unjust to separate his rôle from the reform action exercised since then by the radical party.

At the time of his first advent to power in October, 1906, Clemenceau was sixty-six years old. For a man who had compassed the fall of twenty ministries whose conservative opportunism he was fighting, this advent may certainly be considered belated, but all the more public-spirited.

The Founder of the Ministry of Labor Introduced Socialism

However, by a singular irony Clemenceau, the Father of Radicalism, took office with a party whose chief aim was the affirmation of essentially republican principles at the very time when the Socialist party took definite shape, with the avowed mission of enriching those principles with certain new economic realities.

Clemenceau understood this, and from his first ministry he called to him two young heads of the Socialist movement who were at the time unknown and made them his collaborators; namely, Aristide Briand and René Viviani.

To the first he confided Public Instruction; for the second he created an entirely new ministry—the Ministry of Labor.

This double choice roused indignation among conservative critics, but it bore the clear injunction of Clemenceau: "You are

young, you want to reform our public instruction? our labor system?—Go to it! That's been my business for thirty years."

Such was the stand of Clemenceau, always seeking for simple solutions and for young men loving responsible positions. And it was thus that the "Old Tiger" introduced government socialism into the country's rule.

Since then, Briand and Viviani have both had successful careers, even to presidency over the Council of Ministers.

Clemenceau, Reformer of Manners

But in his great ministry of 1906, Clemenceau himself assumed the portfolio of the Interior, with the obvious purpose of plying his most cherished sociological and philosophical ideas in the direction of social reforms.

Clemenceau the physician interested himself particularly in social questions such as arise from environment, poverty and heredity. He thought that as Minister he could realize great things; even at the age of sixty-six he had his dreams. He wanted to reform the police system, suppress the evil of prostitution and fight alcoholism. And he added some splendid pages on these poignant subjects to all the fine pages already written by his predecessors.

Reform our social life? no; but environment, and Clemenceau the Darwinian knew it better than anyone. And once in power, he admitted, "there is no time for such things," because one must attend to politics.

Such were the ideas characteristic of this first term of office as Premier, which lasted less than three years, from October, 1906, to July, 1909.

Once Again Becomes "The Free Man"

And so Clemenceau dropped his power at the age of sixty-nine, and all his adversaries, then quite numerous, looked on him as definitely interred politically. According to the most reactionary, it was the end of a negative career, and a nefarious one in the opinion of the stand-pat conservatives who called him *the demolisher, the Jacobin, the tyrant*; but for all the young forces of democracy, Clemenceau remained the Chief, the Leader, the true Republican. Clemenceau again took up his journalistic pen and continued his pitiless combat against all the weaknesses of power and obstacles of justice, in the organ which he created in 1912, "*L'Homme Libre*."

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Pelletan, Louis Ranc, and Anatole France, all of whom were later to fight in the first ranks with him in behalf of Justice.

Ten Years Outside Parliament—Constancy in Misfortune

"*La Justice!*" Such was the title of the second journal which Clemenceau founded at middle age, when his reputation as an orator in the Chamber and controversialist in the press was undisputed. But his campaigns against the governments, defending the last manifestations of Progressivism at its decline, and his violent personal polemics could only rouse rancor against him.

Through defeat at elections, Parliament was closed to him for ten years. It is in these hours of misfortune that Stephan Pichon gave him, in the midst of desertion by all his friends, the proof of his staunch fidelity. To-day Stephan Pichon is his Minister of Foreign Affairs.

A New Career; The Writer Reveals Himself

At the age of fifty ought one to begin a political career again? Clemenceau took up the challenge and triumphed over his misfortunes, his adversaries, and public opinion. In meeting the taunts now raised against him, having no longer a platform nor a paper from which to fight, Clemenceau again took his writer's pen in hand and in these years produced several volumes of which three would be sufficient to establish his renown: "*Dans la Mêlée*" (In the Fray), "*Le Grand Pan*," (The Great Pan), "*Les Plus Forts*" (The Strong). Giving once more through them expression to his life's most cherished ideals against social injustice, legal inequality, and the oppression of the weak, he faces all the grave problems of a society in the process of transformation and gives his vigorous solutions without sparing privileged interests, announcing to Conservatism the dangers of its uncompromising attitude and even its catastrophes if these forces should attempt to arrest the irresistible flood of mounting democracy.

Clemenceau had been thought dead—already! and his admirable literary works resurrected him. On the threshold of the sixties he reconquered the press, fascinated intellectuals, and aroused the best elements in the masses by his zeal as reformer.

Leader of the People Against Injustice

His hour sounded anew. To struggle and struggle again—such has been his des-

tiny. In 1897 a great military trial was about to end in the sentence to perpetual exile of an officer (Captain Dreyfus) for the crime of high treason.

In the course of a long-debated case political passions were unloosed dividing the country into two camps. Clemenceau left his books, founded a new newspaper, "*L'Aurore*" (The Dawn), and walked out into public life to proclaim the innocence of the condemned man. He denounced the errors and the illegalities of the trial, revealed complicity, and appealed to the people to demand the granting of a new trial.

This was an epochal period in which Clemenceau and his old fellow workers on "*Le Travail*," all of them now leaders of public opinion, headed by Émile Zola supported a campaign of unheard-of violence, the result of which was a new trial and the rehabilitation of the prisoner.

Leading the agitators in defiance of the military and the police, having behind him the intellectual world of Paris, the working class, and the youth of the universities, Clemenceau made his stand. Due largely to his championship, justice won; and this tragic struggle was a decisive influence in the lives of the young men of my generation who had the honor of participating in it, for it won them over forever to the cause of democracy.

The Philosopher of Pity and Pardon

Alone with himself, Clemenceau indulges in no self-deceptions. In the preface of the "*Great Pan*" he has written pages so free from illusion about the human race, the folly and the vanity of men clinging to the sides of our planet in endless strife, that the verbal and philosophical magnificence of this preface makes one oblivious to the author's essential disenchantment.

But in this preface, Clemenceau, writer and thinker, attains a lofty peak. Dare I express my surprise that, so far as my knowledge goes, no American publisher has thought of translating this preface famous throughout Europe and worthy of its anthology.

However, Clemenceau never gives vent to the "What is all this worth?" of Faust or the "Abandon all hope" of Dante. He is not resigned; he wants to believe, to believe in himself—that is, in mankind. And he brings to the stage this dream and faith of his, in the "*Reve du Bonheur*" (Dream of Happiness) recently played in New York, he makes plain that he has dedicated him-

self to wisdom and pity. Not to see ugliness in life is his message; but to instil optimism in one's self—that is to say, hope expressed in action; and when poor humanity weakens, to forgive; thus Clemenceau leads us back to the highest tradition of human generosity.

And it is by a like inspiration toward nobleness that it is possible to explain why from the platform of the Senate some weeks before the armistice, at a time when public opinion was ignorant of everything that made the victory inevitable, Clemenceau uttered in advance words excluding all idea of vengeance, or of reprisals in his address to the vanquished, and did not sully the glory of his country by the barbaric cry: "Vae Victis!"

Other Difficult Tasks

But the most difficult tasks have not been accomplished. To restore a country to normal conditions of life after such a time of trial is a task still more difficult than the tasks of war properly so-called.

Social readjustments will be the most delicate of all. Political rivalries and class antagonism will certainly be more acute by reason of the economic difficulties created by four years of war, and the great ideals for which the peoples have been fighting

PREMIER CLEMENCEAU WITH FIELD MARSHAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG

will call for new realities in the material and social order.

A Second Time in Power During the Tragic Days

During the first three years of the war he had not ceased to point out through his daily editorials in *L'Homme Libre* the dangers and the weaknesses of a vacillating war policy, criticizing errors, proposing daring solutions, sustaining the public morale during unhappy days. He wrote more than a thousand of these editorials, which contributed, in the general estimation, to uphold confidence in the destinies and the righteous cause of our country.

Then, being called to power a second time, at our most crucial hour, when nobody dared face the test, Clemenceau, seventy-eight years old, left his editorial chair and said: "I accept." He was installed in the Government on the 17th of October, 1917; and dared without a tremor the outbursts of the double offensive of March and May, 1918, which almost lost us the war. Hold on! Hold on! had been the daily cry of Clemenceau. Hold on! was yet his cry at the helm of the ship of state; Hold on, for America comes! Fol-

lowing the example of its leader, public opinion did hold on, the army held on, the country held on. All was won.

History Will Duly Value His Work in the War

Impartial history will some day perhaps tell what struggles this man had to undergo in the inter-Allied councils as well as at the head of the Government, in order to make certain ideas and solutions prevail,—like those of unity of command and the appointment of Foch—which were invaluable. It will relate what fatiguing physical effort was exacted of him in his uninterrupted visits to the front, questioning the soldiers and exhorting the commanders, exposing himself to first-line fire; doing this in spite of all advice to spare himself, simply to fill his rôle as a chief knowing the immense power of personal example—the embodiment to all eyes of the spirit of duty.

Hence what an expenditure of intelligence, of wit, of daring, of cleverness in the formidable questions of interior policy, relating both to labor and military affairs. This is neither the time nor the place to expatiate on these delicate subjects.

If all these active virtues constitute genius, that of Clemenceau is undeniable, after seeing him face such a situation with such success, obeying his clear intuition as to men, choosing commanders, rallying the young about him, infusing in all his confidence and his faith.

Victory and Alsace-Lorraine!

Such is, summarily evoked by the successive steps of his public life, the character of the man who will have the honor of signing the Treaty of Peace in the name of France.

But the most sceptical cannot keep from pondering over the course of this astonishing career.

Clemenceau already in political life at twenty-five, mayor of a Parisian district in the darkest days of the Franco-Prussian war; the invasion in 1870, the tragic Commune, the Civil War born of these disasters in 1871; finally the loss of Alsace-Lorraine.

And since then, for half a century battling in the van of democracy, it is he, still he, who providentially assumes the reins of power, in 1917, to make an end to the war, prepare the peace, and recover the lost provinces!

No public man ever realized a like destiny—none ever knew such a consecration to a life-time of effort.

And already public opinion sees him entering into the presidency of the republic with the coming of 1920!

Champion of Democracy

Thus, far from being the man elevated by chance during exceptional circumstances, Clemenceau has been the man who for fifty years prepared himself to answer his country's call when danger arose. He, and he alone, could accomplish this task, for circumstances do not create men if they do not already exist. They do demand imperiously those who *dare* because they *can*.

A whole existence of struggles without other personal profit than insults and injustice from his fellow-men, unwavering fidelity to the ideals which he embraced from his youth, and which the titles of the four papers animated by his valiant spirit sum up admirably: Labor, Justice, Dawn, the Free Man; indestructible confidence in the republic which he helped to found, and defended unceasingly against every assault;—all this predestined Clemenceau to the great historic rôle which he has just played in these last months.

He was ordained by fate to meet Wilson; the two are worthy of standing face to face and of deliberating on democracy's future.



WITH PERSHING IN FRANCE

DISTANCE and the censorship, while the war was on, sufficed to keep the stay-at-homes on this side of the water in dense ignorance of what was being done in France by the American Expeditionary Force. When we read and rejoiced in the reports of hard-won victories, we had no conception of the long months of arduous preparation on the part of staff and army that preceded success in the field. The very immensity of the task that the Americans had set themselves precluded any attempt, save by military experts, to form a picture of the details. So it resulted that most of us had only the vaguest notions of what the American commander-in-chief and the general staff were about during the year that intervened between their arrival in France and the active participation of our troops in the fighting on the Western Front. We were amazed and thrilled by the transportation overseas of two million American soldiers, but we gave scant heed to the rather obvious consideration that, without a perfected army organization to absorb and utilize these units furnished by the draft, the perilous crossing of the Atlantic would have been in vain.

There are only a few men, after all, who know the whole story of America's part in the war. Those who know it best are the members and attachés of the General Staff. It is a happy circumstance that one of these, Major Frederick Palmer, is an experienced writer, trained to observe and report facts, and particularly to make military facts intelligible to the general public. His new book, "America in France,"¹ is not only readable and inspiring; it is authentic, from cover to cover. Major Palmer went with General Pershing to France in the early summer of 1917 and remained on duty until the signing of the armistice. As a correspondent who had witnessed every war for twenty years, he was keenly alive to the developments of the greatest of all wars, and it may be assumed that very little of what was going on at headquarters escaped his observation.

Because Major Palmer's book pictures

¹America in France. By Frederick Palmer. Dodd, Mead and Company. 479 pp. \$1.75.

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GENERAL PERSHING ADDRESSING THE WINNERS OF
THE DISTINGUISHED SERVICE CROSS IN FRANCE

General Pershing's activities in France more adequately than anything else that has been published, we reproduce several passages that give intimate glimpses of the "C.-in-C." about his daily tasks.

When General Pershing was selected "to command all the land forces of the United States operating in Continental Europe and in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland," to quote from the official orders, most Americans knew of him only as the commander of the Mexican expedition with a background of successful administration in the Philippines and a promotion by President Roosevelt over the heads of aspiring army officers. They did not think of

him as a much traveled man of the world who would be as much at home in Paris as in the jungles of Mindanao, where the natives called him "Datto." Major Palmer presents this side of Pershing's character and reminds us moreover that as American military representative with the Japanese army in Manchuria fourteen years ago the General had the opportunity of observing the first great war fought with modern arms. General (then Captain) Peyton C. March, now our Chief of Staff, shared that opportunity.

Our leader in France, then, was to be, according to Major Palmer, "a man thoroughly trained for his task since the day he left Missouri to go to West Point, intrinsically American and representative of our institutions."

WHY FRANCE "TOOK TO" PERSHING

No soldier could have criticized his speeches for length, and no diplomat for lack of appreciation of his position as the ambassador of the hundred millions. France looked him over, and liked his firm jaw, his smile, his straight figure and his straight way of looking at everyone he met. He brought cheer and promise of the only aid which France could understand, that of an armed force which fights on land. For France is of the soil and vineyards and well-tilled fields and thrifty peasants and thinks little of the sea.

THE "C-IN-C." AS LEADER AND ORGANIZER

General Pershing, who had urged the sending of the million and still another and yet another million, in order the sooner to end the struggle, welcomed each addition to his family, while he was undaunted by the new burdens which they and the command in the field of his trained forces actively engaged brought to his leadership. Other Allied commanders directed old and fully trained integral armies operating on familiar ground. They were in as immediate touch with their governments as General Pershing would be if his headquarters were only a few hours' distant from Washington by automobile. His isolation from home made his position unique in its manifold requirements. He had to iron out many wrinkles of controversy. Conferences with premiers as well as with generals called for his counsel; for it would be ridiculous to conceal the fact that when several great nations are in alliance, differences of conception in policy, if not innate difference in national interests, require negotiations in effecting understandings and harmony of action on many subjects.

Our general must see his troops, too, the newly arrived divisions as well as the divisions which were fighting. His insistence upon going under fire was a part with his desire for a close view of the work of his commanders and their troops. Officers who knew that there was something wrong with an organization and yet hesitated to impart their view to him, were amazed to find

how soon he diagnosed the situation after a few minutes of personal observation. His long experience as a general officer, the thoroughness of his training as a soldier and his keen understanding of human nature were applied to those essentials which are immutable whether an army numbers ten thousand or a million men.

Even a fast automobile flying over the good roads of France cannot entirely eliminate time and distance. The amount of traveling and the amount of work he was able to do were amazing. The drive that he gave the A. E. F. was largely due to his own example of industry. From seven in the morning until after midnight, with the exception of his mealtimes, he was unceasing in his application. Yet he never seemed to be hurried, he never showed the signs of war fatigue which brought down many strong men. In any event, we were always certain, too, that the man at the top was keeping his head; and one took it for granted that his recreation must be in his occasional horseback rides and walks, and his time for reflection while he sat silently with the aide-de-camp in his long motor rides.

That is, he was never hurried, unless after a hard day in the office, he was away to the troops, when the eagerness for departure possessed him in a fashion that made him as young in spirit as when he was a lieutenant of cavalry. The soldiers knew that he was their general. He looked as a commander-in-chief ought to look, to their way of thinking; and this means a great deal to the men who bear the burden of pack and rifle and the brunt of battle.

BUILDING OUR WAR MACHINE

As the pressure from his scattered and growing forces increased, no one person saw much of him except the members of his immediate personal staff and the indefatigable aide-de-camp who was always with him. In the early days he had foreseen the demands which would require the delegation of authority in the future. With the aid of Major-General Harbord, his first Chief of Staff, he had built a machine which would automatically expand to meet the requirements of the million and the two million men who were to come while he was left free to direct his army in action. Major-General William McAndrew, who had established and directed the system of schools which were to be the guide of our army's tactics, came to take General Harbord's place as the general manager of the unprecedented organization; while General Harbord, after his command of a brigade and then of a division in the field, was given the task of commanding the S. O. S., which, with its giant problem of supplying the millions with their food and all that they needed for the spring offensive, was the second most responsible post in France.

Wherever the C-in-C. went he always carried his book of graphics, which kept him informed up to date of the exact numbers and stations of all our troops and the state of shipping and supplies, although his memory seemed to have these facts in call. Couriers overtook him at the day's end, wherever he was, with papers which required his decision; the telephone could reach him if something vital required immediate attention.

To men working in compartments, who forgot that he had the key of inquiry into all compartments, it was surprising how much the C-in-C. knew and sometimes how he managed to know it; so very surprising that it became embarrassing for certain officers. Subordinate chiefs might explain difficulties to him, but they learned to beware of saying that a thing "can't be done." He would not admit that anything could not be done. They learned, too, that they must not bring any air of pessimism into his office, where his own supply of vitality for communication to others seemed inexhaustible.

All this leaves us with an impression that in modern war the part taken by the general in command is something quite different from the kind of "day's work" that Grant and Lee did—at least so far as external appearances go. We should not, however, make the mistake of assuming that General Pershing was ever a mere slave of routine. Major Palmer tells us that the General was interested in all the chaplains and the welfare workers and in everything that pertained to the care of the soldiers. No commander in history ever placed a higher estimate upon the morale of the men in the ranks.

There could be no firmer advocate of thorough training than General Pershing; yet no soldier ever believed in swift, hard, aggressive blows more indomitably than he. He is not a man of halfway measures. Later, when German officers said that our army was methodical in preparation and bold in action, it was merely an expression of simple, immutable military principles.

After many months spent in training and organizing an army the time at last came when that army could be used against the common foe. From Major Palmer's book we learn that General Pershing had long meditated an attack on the St. Mihiel salient. In June last, when Marshal Foch and Premier Clemenceau came to American headquarters for conference, General Pershing reiterated his belief that the salient could be broken and urged an attack. What was later done on that salient by the American troops is now a matter of history, and is related by the General himself in his report to the War Department, which follows.

GENERAL PERSHING'S STORY

HIS REPORT TO THE WAR DEPARTMENT

ON November 20 General Pershing cabled to the Secretary of War a summary of the operations of the American Expeditionary Force from the date of its organization, May 26, 1917, to the signing of the armistice, November 11, 1918. This remarkable statement was made public on December 5 as an appendix to Secretary Baker's annual report. General Pershing's account of the active military operations is reproduced herewith:

COMBAT OPERATIONS

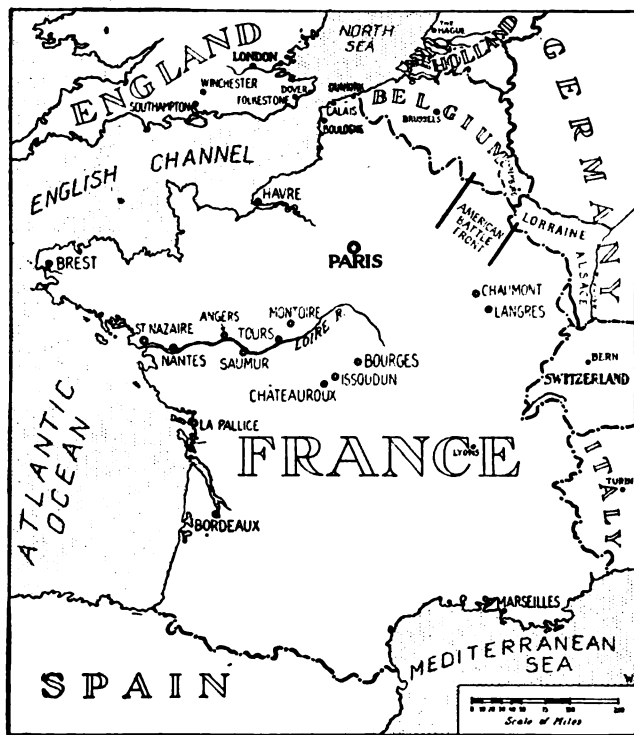
During our period of training in the trenches some of our divisions had engaged the enemy in local combats, the most important of which was Seicheprey by the 26th on April 20, in the Toul sector, but none had participated in action as a unit. The 1st Division, which had passed through the preliminary stages of training, had gone to the trenches for its first period of instruction at the end of October, and by March 21, when the German offensive in Picardy began, we had four divisions with experience in the trenches, all of which were equal to any demands of battle action. The crisis which this offensive developed was such that our occupation of an American sector must be postponed.

On March 28 I placed at the disposal of Marshal Foch, who had been agreed upon as Com-

mander-in-Chief of the Allied Armies, all of our forces to be used as he might decide. At his request the 1st Division was transferred from the Toul sector to a position in reserve at Chaumont en Vexin. As German superiority in numbers required prompt action, an agreement was reached at the Abbeville conference of the allied Premiers and commanders and myself on May 2 by which British shipping was to transport ten American divisions to the British Army area, where they were to be trained and equipped and additional British shipping was to be provided for as many divisions as possible for use elsewhere.

On April 26 the 1st Division had gone into the line in the Montdidier salient on the Picardy battle-front. Tactics had been suddenly revolutionized to those of open warfare, and our men, confident of the results of their training, were eager for the test. On the morning of May 28 this division attacked the commanding German position in its front, taking with splendid dash the town of Cantigny and all other objectives, which were organized and held steadfastly against vicious counterattacks and galling artillery fire. Although local, this brilliant action had an electrical effect, as it demonstrated our fighting qualities under extreme battle conditions, and also that the enemy's troops were not altogether invincible.

The German Aisne offensive, which began on May 27, had advanced rapidly toward the River Marne and Paris, and the Allies faced a crisis



PORTS AND BASES CHIEFLY USED BY THE AMERICAN ARMY

troops were to be given some preliminary training before being put into action, their very presence warranted the use of all the older divisions in the confidence that we did not lack reserves. Elements of the 42d Division were in the line east of Rheims against the German offensive of July 15, and held their ground unflinchingly. On the right flank of this offensive four companies of the 28th Division were in position in face of the advancing waves of the German infantry. The 3d Division was holding the bank of the Marne from the bend east of the mouth of the Surmèlin to the west of Mézy, opposite Château-Thierry, where a large force of German infantry sought to force a passage under support of powerful artillery concentrations and under cover of smoke screens. A single regiment of the 3d wrote one of the most brilliant pages in our military annals on this occasion. It prevented the crossing at certain points on its front while, on either flank, the Germans, who had gained a footing, pressed forward. Our men, firing in three directions, met the German attacks with counterattacks at critical points and succeeded in throwing two German divisions into complete confusion, capturing 600 prisoners.

The great force of the German

equally as grave as that of the Picardy offensive in March. Again every available man was placed at Marshal Foch's disposal, and the 3d Division, which had just come from its preliminary training in the trenches, was hurried to the Marne. Its motorized machine-gun battalion preceded the other units and successfully held the bridgehead at the Marne, opposite Château-Thierry. The 2d Division, in reserve near Montdidier, was sent by motor trucks and other available transport to check the progress of the enemy toward Paris. The division attacked and retook the town and railroad station at Boursies and sturdily held its ground against the enemy's best guard divisions. In the battle of Belleau Wood, which followed, our men proved their superiority and gained a strong tactical position, with far greater loss to the enemy than to ourselves. On July 1, before the Second was relieved, it captured the village of Vaux with most splendid precision.

Meanwhile our 2d Corps, under Major-General George W. Read, had been organized for the command of our divisions with the British, which were held back in training areas or assigned to second-line defenses. Five of the ten divisions were withdrawn from the British area in June, three to relieve divisions in Lorraine and in the Vosges and two to the Paris area to join the group of American divisions which stood between the city and any further advance of the enemy in that direction.

AMERICAN DIVISIONS IN THE FIGHTING

The great June-July troop movement from the States was well under way, and, although these

Château-Thierry offensive established the deep Marne salient, but the enemy was taking chances, and the vulnerability of this pocket to attack might be turned to his disadvantage. Seizing this opportunity to support my conviction, every division with any sort of training was made available for use in a counteroffensive. The place of honor in the thrust toward Soissons on July 18 was given to our 1st and 2d Divisions in company with chosen French divisions. Without the usual brief warning of a preliminary bombardment, the massed French and American artillery, firing by the map, laid down its rolling barrage at dawn while the infantry began its charge. The tactical handling of our troops under these trying conditions was excellent throughout the action. The enemy brought up large numbers of reserves and made a stubborn defense, both with machine guns and artillery, but through five days' fighting the 1st Division continued to advance until it had gained the heights above Soissons and captured the village of Berzy-le-Sec. The 2d Division took Beau Repaire farm and Vierzy in a very rapid advance and reached a position in front of Tigny at the end of its second day. These two divisions captured 7000 prisoners and over 100 pieces of artillery.

The 26th Division, which, with a French division, was under command of our 1st Corps, acted as a pivot of the movement toward Soissons. On the 18th it took the village of Torcy while the 3d Division was crossing the Marne in pursuit of the retreating enemy. The 26th attacked again on the 21st, and the enemy withdrew past the Château-Thierry-Soissons road. The 3d Division, continuing its progress, took the heights

of Mont St. Père and the villages of Chartèves and Jaulgonne in the face of both machine gun and artillery fire.

On the 24th, after the Germans had fallen back from Trugny and Epieds, our 42d Division, which had been brought over from the Champagne, relieved the Twenty-sixth, and fighting its way through the Forêt de Fère, overwhelmed the nest of machine guns in its path. By the 27th it had reached the Ourcq, whence the 3d and 4th Divisions were already advancing, while the French divisions with which we were cooperating were moving forward at other points.

The 3d Division had made its advance into Roncheres Wood on the 29th and was relieved for rest by a brigade of the Thirty-second. The Forty-second and Thirty-second undertook the task of conquering the heights beyond Cierges, the Forty-second capturing Sergy and the Thirty-second capturing Hill 230, both American divisions joining in the pursuit of the enemy to the Vesle, and thus the operation of reducing the salient was finished. Meanwhile the Forty-second was relieved by the Fourth at Chéry-Char treuve, and the Thirty-second by the Twenty-eighth, while the 77th Division took up a position on the Vesle. The operations of these divisions on the Vesle were under the 3d Corps, Maj.-Gen. Robert L. Bullard commanding.

BATTLE OF ST. MIHIEL

With the reduction of the Marne salient, we could look forward to the concentration of our divisions in our own zone. In view of the forthcoming operation against the St. Mihiel salient, which had long been planned as our first offensive action on a large scale, the First Army was organized on August 10 under my personal command. While American units had held different divisional and corps sectors along the western front, there had not been up to this time, for obvious reasons, a distinct American sector; but, in view of the important parts the American forces were now to play, it was necessary to take over a permanent portion of the line. Accordingly, on August 30, the line beginning at Port sur Seille, east of the Moselle and extending to the west through St. Mihiel, thence north to a point opposite Verdun, was placed under my command. The American sector was afterward extended across the Meuse to the western edge of the Argonne Forest, and included the 2d Colonial French, which held the point of the salient, and the 17th French Corps, which occupied the heights above Verdun.

The preparation for a complicated operation against the formidable defenses in front of us included the assembling of divisions and of corps and army artillery, transport, aircraft, tanks, ambulances, the location of hospitals, and the molding together of all of the elements of a great modern army with its own railroads, sup-

MARSHAL FOCH WITH GENERAL PERSHING

plied directly by our own Service of Supply. The concentration for this operation, which was to be a surprise, involved the movement, mostly at night, of approximately 600,000 troops, and required for its success the most careful attention to every detail.

The French were generous in giving us assistance in corps and army artillery, with its personnel, and we were confident from the start of our superiority over the enemy in guns of all calibers. Our heavy guns were able to reach Metz and to interfere seriously with German rail movements. The French Independent Air Force was placed under my command which, together with the British bombing squadrons and our air forces, gave us the largest assembly of aviation that had ever been engaged in one operation on the Western front.

From Les Eparges around the nose of the salient at St. Mihiel to the Moselle River the line was roughly forty miles long and situated on commanding ground greatly strengthened by artificial defenses. Our 1st Corps (82d, 90th, 5th and 2d Divisions), under command of Major-Gen. Hunter Liggett, restrung its right on Pont-a-Mousson, with its left joining our 3d Corps (the 89th, 42d and 1st Divisions), under Major-Gen. Joseph T. Dickman, in line to Xivray, were to swing toward Vigneulles on the pivot of the Moselle River for the initial assault. From Xivray to Mouilly the 2d Colonial French Corps was in line in the center, and our 5th Corps, under command of Major-Gen. George H. Cameron, with our 26th Division and a French division at the western base of the salient, were to attack three different hills—Les Eparges, Combres and Amaramthe. Our 1st Corps had in reserve the 78th Division, our 4th Corps the 3d Division, and our First Army the 35th and 91st Divisions, with the 80th and 33d available. It should be understood that our corps organizations are very elastic, and that we have at no time had permanent assignments of divisions to corps.

After four hours' artillery preparation, the

seven American divisions in the front line advanced at 5 A. M. on September 12, assisted by a limited number of tanks manned partly by Americans and partly by French. These divisions, accompanied by groups of wire cutters and others armed with bangalore torpedoes, went through the successive bands of barbed wire that protected the enemy's front line and support trenches, in irresistible waves on schedule time, breaking down all defense of an enemy demoralized by the great volume of our artillery fire and our sudden approach out of the fog.

Our 1st Corps advanced to Thiaucourt, while our 4th Corps curved back to the southwest through Nonsard. The 2d Colonial French Corps made the slight advance required of it on very difficult ground, and the 5th Corps took its three ridges and repulsed a counterattack. A rapid march brought reserve regiments of a division of the 5th Corps into Vigneulles in the early morning, where it linked up with patrols of our 4th Corps, closing the salient and forming a new line west of Thiaucourt to Vigneulles and beyond Fresnes-en-Woevre. At the cost of only 7000 casualties, mostly light, we had taken 16,000 prisoners and 443 guns, a great quantity of material, released the inhabitants of many villages from enemy domination, and established our lines in a position to threaten Metz. This signal success of the American First Army in its first offensive was of prime importance. The Allies found they had a formidable army to aid them, and the enemy learned finally that he had one to reckon with.

MEUSE-ARGONNE OFFENSIVE, FIRST PHASE

On the day after we had taken the St. Mihiel salient, much of our corps and army artillery which had operated at St. Mihiel, and our divisions in reserve at other points, were already on the move toward the area back of the line between the Meuse River and the western edge of the forest of Argonne. With the exception of St. Mihiel, the old German front line from Switzerland to the east of Rheims was still intact. In the general attack all along the line, the operation assigned the American Army as the hinge of this allied offensive was directed toward the important railroad communications of the German armies through Mézières and Sedan. The enemy must hold fast to this part of his lines or the withdrawal of his forces with four years' accumulation of plants and material would be dangerously imperiled.

The German Army had as yet shown no demoralization, and, while the mass of its troops had suffered in morale, its first-class divisions, and notably its machine-gun defense, were exhibiting remarkable tactical efficiency as well as courage. The German General Staff was fully aware of the consequences of a success on the Meuse-Argonne line. Certain that he would do everything in his power to oppose us, the action was planned with as much secrecy as possible and was undertaken with the determination to use all our divisions in forcing decision. We expected to draw the best German divisions to our front and to consume them while the enemy was held under grave apprehension lest our attack should break his line, which it was our firm purpose to do.

Our right flank was protected by the Meuse, while our left embraced the Argonne Forest, whose ravines, hills, and elaborate defense, screened by dense thickets, had been generally considered impregnable. Our order of battle from right to left was the 3d Corps from the Meuse to Malancourt, with the 33d, 80th and 4th Divisions in line, and the 3d Division as corps reserve; the 5th Corps from Malancourt to Vauquois, with 79th, 87th and 91st Divisions in line, and the 32d in corps reserve, and the 1st Corps, from Vauquois to Vienne le Château, with 35th, 28th and 77th Divisions in line, and the 92d in corps reserve. The army reserve consisted of the 1st, 29th and 82d Divisions.

On the night of September 25 our troops quietly took the place of the French who thinly held the line in this sector, which had long been inactive. In the attack which began on the 26th we drove through the barbed wire entanglements and the sea of shell craters across No Man's Land, mastering all the first-line defenses. Continuing on the 27th and 28th, against machine guns and artillery of an increasing number of enemy reserve divisions, we penetrated to a depth of from three to seven miles and took the village of Montfaucon and its commanding hill and Exermont, Gercourt, Cuisy, Septsarges, Malancourt, Ivoiry, Epinonville, Charpentry, Very and other villages. East of the Meuse one of our divisions, which was with the 2d Colonial French Corps, captured Marcheville and Rieville, giving further protection to the flank of our main body. We had taken 10,000 prisoners, we had gained our point of forcing the battle into the open, and were prepared for the enemy's reaction, which was bound to come, as he had good roads and ample railroad facilities for bringing up his artillery and reserves.

In the chill rain of dark nights our engineers had to build new roads across spongy shell-torn areas, repair broken roads beyond No Man's Land, and build bridges. Our gunners, with no thought of sleep, put their shoulders to wheels and drag-ropes to bring their guns through the mire in support of the infantry, now under the increasing fire of the enemy's artillery. Our attack had taken the enemy by surprise, but, quickly recovering himself, he began to fire counterattacks in strong force, supported by heavy bombardments, with large quantities of gas. From September 28 until October 4 we maintained the offensive against patches of woods defended by snipers and continuous lines of machine guns, and pushed forward our guns and transport, seizing strategical points in preparation for further attacks.

OTHER UNITS WITH ALLIES

Other divisions attached to the allied armies were doing their part. It was the fortune of our 2d Corps, composed of the 27th and 30th Divisions, which had remained with the British, to have a place of honor in coöperation with the Australian Corps on September 29 and October 1 in the assault on the Hindenburg Line where the St. Quentin Canal passes through a tunnel under a ridge. The 30th Division speedily broke through the main line of defense for all its objectives, while the 27th pushed on impetuously through the main line until some of its elements

reached Gouy. In the midst of the maze of trenches and shell craters and under crossfire from machine guns the other elements fought desperately against odds. In this and in later actions, from October 6 to October 19, our 2d Corps captured over 6000 prisoners and advanced over thirteen miles. The spirit and aggressiveness of these divisions have been highly praised by the British Army commander under whom they served.

On October 2-9 our 2d and 36th Divisions were sent to assist the French in an important attack against the old German positions before Rheims. The 2d conquered the complicated defense works on their front against a persistent defense worthy of the grimmest period of trench warfare and attacked the strongly held wooded hill of Blanc Mont, which they captured in a second assault, sweeping over it with consummate dash and skill. This division then repulsed strong counterattacks before the village and cemetery of Ste. Etienne and took the town, forcing the Germans to fall back from before Rheims and yield positions they had held since September, 1914. On October 9 the 36th Division relieved the 2d, and in its first experience under fire withstood very severe artillery bombardment and rapidly took up the pursuit of the enemy, now retiring behind the Aisne.

MEUSE-ARGONNE OFFENSIVE, SECOND PHASE

The allied progress elsewhere cheered the efforts of our men in this crucial contest, as the German command threw in more and more first-class troops to stop our advance. We made steady headway in the almost impenetrable and strongly held Argonne Forest, for, despite this reinforcement, it was our army that was doing the driving. Our aircraft was increasing in skill and numbers and forcing the issue, and our infantry and artillery were improving rapidly with each new experience. The replacements fresh from home were put into exhausted divisions with little time for training, but they had the advantage of serving beside men who knew their business and who had almost become veterans overnight. The enemy had taken every advantage of the terrain, which especially favored the defense by a prodigal use of machine guns manned by highly trained veterans and by using his artillery at short ranges. In the face of such strong frontal positions we should have been unable to accomplish any progress according to previously accepted standards, but I had every confidence in our aggressive tactics and the courage of our troops.

On October 4 the attack was renewed all along our front. The 3d Corps, tilting to the left, followed the Brieculles-Cunel Road; our 5th Corps took Gemes, while the 1st Corps advanced for over two miles along the irregular valley of the Aire River and in the wooded hills of the Argonne that bordered the river, used by the enemy with all his art and weapons of defense. This sort of fighting continued against an enemy striving to hold every foot of ground and whose very strong counterattacks challenged us at every point. On the 7th the 1st Corps captured Chatel-Chénéry and continued along the river to Cornay. On the east of Meuse sector one of the two divisions, coöperating with the French, captured Consenvoye and the Haumont Woods. On the 9th the

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GENERAL PERSHING DECORATING A SOLDIER WITH THE D. S. C. FOR BRAVERY AT CHÂTEAU-THIERRY

5th Corps, in its progress up the Aire, took Fléville, and the 3d Corps, which had continuous fighting against odds, was working its way through Brieculles and Cunel. On the 10th we had cleared the Argonne Forest of the enemy.

It was now necessary to constitute a second army, and on October 9 the immediate command of the First Army was turned over to Lieut.-Gen. Hunter Liggett. The command of the Second Army, whose divisions occupied a sector in the Woevre, was given to Lieut.-Gen. Robert L. Bullard, who had been commander of the 1st Division and then of the 3d Corps. Major-Gen. Dickman was transferred to the command of the 1st Corps, while the 5th Corps was placed under Major-Gen. Charles P. Summerall, who had recently commanded the 1st Division. Major-Gen. John L. Hines, who had gone rapidly up from regimental to division commander, was assigned to the 3d Corps. These four officers had been in France from the early days of the expedition and had learned their lessons in the school of practical warfare.

Our constant pressure against the enemy brought day by day more prisoners, mostly survivors from machine-gun nests captured in fighting at close quarters. On October 18 there was very fierce fighting in the Caures Woods east of the Meuse and in the Ormont Woods. On the 14th the 1st Corps took St. Juvin, and the 5th Corps, in hand-to-hand encounters, entered the formidable Kriembilde line, where the enemy had hoped to check us indefinitely. Later the 5th Corps penetrated further the Kriembilde line, and the 1st Corps took Champigneulles and the important town of Grandpre. Our dogged offensive was wearing down the enemy, who continued desperately to throw his best troops against us, thus weakening his line in front of our Allies and making their advance less difficult.

DIVISIONS IN BELGIUM

Meanwhile we were not only able to continue the battle, but our 37th and 91st Divisions were hastily withdrawn from our front and dispatched to help the French Army in Belgium. Detraining in the neighborhood of Ypres, these divisions advanced by rapid stages to the fighting line and were assigned to adjacent French corps. On October 31, in continuation of the Flanders offensive, they attacked and methodically broke down all enemy resistance. On Nov. 3 the 37th had completed its mission in dividing the enemy across the Escaut River and firmly established itself along the east bank included in the division zone of action. By a clever flanking movement troops of the 91st Division captured Spitaals Bosschen, a difficult wood extending across the central part of the division sector, reached the Escaut, and penetrated into the town of Audenarde. These divisions received high commendation from their corps commanders for their dash and energy.

MEUSE-ARGONNE—LAST PHASE

On the 23d the 3d and 5th Corps pushed northward to the level of Bantheville. While we continued to press forward and throw back the enemy's violent counterattacks with great loss to him, a regrouping of our forces was under way for the final assault. Evidences of loss of morale by the enemy gave our men more confidence in attack and more fortitude in enduring the fatigue of incessant effort and the hardships of very inclement weather.

With comparatively well-rested divisions, the final advance in the Meuse-Argonne front was begun on November 1. Our increased artillery force acquitted itself magnificently in support of the advance, and the enemy broke before the determined infantry, which, by its persistent fighting of the past weeks and the dash of this attack, had overcome his will to resist. The 3d Corps took Ancreville, Doulecon and Andevanne, and the 5th Corps took Landres et St. Georges and pressed through successive lines of resistance to Bayonville and Chennery. On the 2d the 1st Corps joined in the movement, which now became an impetuous onslaught that could not be stayed.

On the 3d advance troops surged forward in pursuit, some by motor trucks, while the artillery pressed along the country roads close behind. The 1st Corps reached Authe and Châtillon-Sur-Bar, the 5th Corps, Fosse and Nouart, and the 3d Corps, Halles, penetrating the enemy's line to a depth of twelve miles. Our large-caliber guns had advanced and were skillfully brought into position to fire upon the important lines at Montmedy, Longuyon and Conflans. Our 3d Corps crossed the Meuse on the 5th and the other corps, in the full confidence that the day was theirs, eagerly cleared the way of machine guns as they swept northward, maintaining complete coordination throughout. On the 6th, a division of the 1st Corps reached a point on the Meuse opposite Sedan, twenty-five miles from our line of departure. The strategical goal which was our highest hope was gained. We had cut the enemy's main line of communications, and nothing but surrender or an armistice could save his army from complete disaster.

17 all forty enemy divisions had been used at us in the Meuse-Argonne battle. Between

September 26 and November 6 we took 26,059 prisoners and 468 guns on this front. Our divisions engaged were the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 26th, 28, 29th, 32d, 33d, 35th, 37th, 42d, 77th, 78th, 79th, 80th, 82d, 89th, 90th and 91st. Many of our divisions remained in line for a length of time that required nerves of steel, while others were sent in again after only a few days of rest. The 1st, 5th, 26th, 77th, 80th, 89th, and 90th were in the line twice. Although some of the divisions were fighting their first battle, they soon became equal to the best.

OPERATIONS EAST OF THE MEUSE

On the three days preceding November 10, the 3d, the 2d Colonial and the 17th French Corps fought a difficult struggle through the Meuse Hills south of Stenay and forced the enemy into the plain. Meanwhile my plans for further use of the American forces contemplated an advance between the Meuse and the Moselle in the direction of Longwy by the First Army, while, at the same time, the Second Army should assure the offensive toward the rich coal fields of Briey. These operations were to be followed by an offensive toward Château-Salins east of the Moselle, thus isolating Metz. Accordingly, attacks on the American front had been ordered, and that of the Second Army was in progress on the morning of November 11, when instructions were received that hostilities should cease at 11 o'clock A. M.

At this moment the line of the American sector, from right to left, began at Port-sur-Seille, thence across the Moselle to Vandières and through the Woëvre to Bezonvaux, in the foothills of the Meuse, thence along to the foothills and through the northern edge of the Woëvre forests to the Meuse at Mouzay, thence along the Meuse connecting with the French under Sedan.

RELATIONS WITH THE ALLIES

Coöperation among the Allies has at all times been most cordial. A far greater effort has been put forth by the allied armies and staffs to assist us than could have been expected. The French Government and Army have always stood ready to furnish us with supplies, equipment and transportation and to aid us in every way. In the towns and hamlets wherever our troops have been stationed or billeted the French people have everywhere received them more as relatives and intimate friends than as soldiers of a foreign army. For these things words are quite inadequate to express our gratitude. There can be no doubt that the relations growing out of our associations here assure a permanent friendship between the two peoples. Although we have not been so intimately associated with the people of Great Britain, yet their troops and ours when thrown together have always warmly fraternized. The reception of those of our forces who have passed through England and of those who have been stationed there has always been enthusiastic. Altogether it has been deeply impressed upon us that the ties of language and blood bring the British and ourselves together completely and inseparably.

STRENGTH

There are in Europe altogether, including a regiment and some sanitary units with the Ital-

ian Army and the organizations at Murmansk, also including those en route from the States, approximately 2,053,347 men, less our losses. Of this total there are in France 1,338,169 combatant troops. Forty divisions have arrived, of which the infantry personnel of ten have been used as replacements, leaving thirty divisions now in France organized into three armies of three corps each.

The losses of the Americans up to November 18 are: Killed and wounded 36,145; died of disease, 14,811; deaths unclassified, 2204; wounded, 179,625; prisoners, 2163; missing, 1160. We have captured about 44,000 prisoners and 1400 guns, howitzers and trench mortars.

COMMENDATION

The duties of the General Staff, as well as those of the army and corps staffs, have been very ably performed. Especially is this true when we consider the new and difficult problems with which they have been confronted. This body of officers, both as individuals and as an organization, have, I believe, no superiors in professional ability, in efficiency, or in loyalty.

Nothing that we have in France better reflects the efficiency and devotion to duty of Americans in general than the Service of Supply, whose personnel is thoroughly imbued with a patriotic desire to do its full duty. They have at all times fully appreciated their responsibility to the rest of the army, and the results produced have been most gratifying.

Our Medical Corps is especially entitled to praise for the general effectiveness of its work, both in hospital and at the front. Embracing men of high professional attainments, and splendid women devoted to their calling and untiring in their efforts, this department has made a new record for medical and sanitary efficiency.

The Quartermaster Department has had difficult and various tasks, but it has more than met all demands that have been made upon it. Its management and its personnel have been exceptionally efficient, and deserve every possible commendation.

As to the more technical services, the able personnel of the Ordnance Department in France has splendidly fulfilled its functions, both in procurement and in forwarding the immense quantities of ordnance required. The officers and men and the young women of the Signal Corps have performed their duties with a large conception of the problem, and with a devoted and patriotic

spirit to which the perfection of our communications daily testifies. While the Engineer Corps has been referred to in another part of this report, it should be further stated that the work has required large vision and high professional skill, and great credit is due their personnel for the high proficiency that they have constantly maintained.

Our aviators have no equals in daring or in fighting ability, and have left a record of courageous deeds that will ever remain a brilliant page in the annals of our army. While the Tank Corps has had limited opportunities, its personnel has responded gallantly on every possible occasion, and has shown courage of the highest order.

The Adjutant General's Department has been directed with a systematic thoroughness and excellence that surpassed any previous work of its kind. The Inspector General's Department has risen to the highest standards, and throughout has ably assisted commanders to the enforcement of discipline. The able personnel of the Judge Advocate General's Department has solved with judgment and wisdom the multitude of difficult legal problems, many of them involving questions of great international importance.

It would be impossible in this brief preliminary report to do justice to the personnel of all the different branches of this organization, which I shall cover in detail in a later report.

The navy in European waters has at all times most cordially aided the army, and it is most gratifying to report that there has never before been such perfect coöperation between those two branches of the service.

As to the Americans in Europe not in the military service, it is the greatest pleasure to say that, both in official and in private life, they are intensely patriotic and loyal, and have been invariably sympathetic and helpful to the army.

Finally, I pay supreme tribute to our officers and soldiers of the line. When I think of their heroism, their patience under hardships, their unflinching spirit of offensive action, I am filled with emotion which I am unable to express. Their deeds are immortal, and they have earned the eternal gratitude of our country.

I am, Mr. Secretary, very respectfully,

JOHN J. PERSHING,
General, Commander-in-Chief,
American Expeditionary Forces.

To the Secretary of War.



PRESIDENT WILSON'S SERVICE TO THE WORLD

BY A. MAURICE LOW

[Mr. Low, who contributes the following interpretation of President Wilson's influence and place in the Great War and its results, is a distinguished English publicist who has done much to make the British and American peoples understand each other. For some years he has been the Washington correspondent of a leading British journal.—THE EDITOR.]

PROVERBIALLY, lookers-on see more of the game than the players, and an Englishman who takes a very real interest in American politics, but has not the least interest in American political parties, may be permitted to point out to his American friends what some of them, their vision perhaps clouded by prejudice or partisan consideration, may as yet have been unable to see.

What I think many Americans fail to see is the great, the almost immeasurable service President Wilson has rendered to the morality of the world. The Allied Nations, Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium; the smaller states, such as Serbia and Rumania; those Republics of South America who joined in this great war for freedom, appreciate the material assistance of the United States. We know that America threw in her force at a time when it was badly needed; we know what Americans have done on land and sea. We should have defeated Germany had America continued her neutrality, for since the signing of the armistice it has been revealed that British sea power was slowly strangling Germany to death; that Germany was starving as the Confederacy starved under the resistless pressure of the Northern blockade; that the battle of Jutland, proclaimed to the German people as a great German naval victory, was the death blow to German hopes.

These things we know, but it does not lessen our gratitude. Without the material assistance of America, without her money and her abundant resources, without her inventive genius and ready adaptability, our task would have been much harder. Without the coöperation of the American army and the American navy, without the ships that rose like magic from American shipyards that seemingly were created by some invisible power, so quickly were barren places

transformed into great workshops; without the food that America denied herself so that the Allies might be fed, we should not be celebrating peace. These things we know.

A Lone Instance of National Altruism

But the great work performed by Mr. Wilson was not in giving the strength of a powerful country to a common cause, but in investing the war with a moral grandeur. The verdict of history will be—in the certitude of that verdict we can rest secure—that Germany forced the war upon the Allies, that when France had no alternative except to fight, and England must fight or lie under the imputation of cowardice and mercenary desire; England and France (and later Italy) were driven to war in self-defense; just as Belgium, earlier confronted with the choice between safety purchased at the price of dishonorable surrender or honor bought at the price of blood, counted not the price of blood so long as her honor was untarnished. The Allies were truly animated by motives of morality, and they were resisting aggression and opposing the forces of civilization against the forces of barbarism. But as the war developed, as it was seen that it was to be a war to the death, the prime motive became self-defense. The Allied nations were battling for their very existence. If defeated, they would be crushed, their liberty lost, they would be slaves to the German taskmaster.

Forced into the war by Germany, as England, France and Italy had been, the United States might coin victory into profit by territorial or other gains, or seek its profit in altruism. The long record of history affords few examples of a nation going to war, knowing that it would be compelled to make great sacrifices, but asking no reward other than the privilege of disinterested service. In all the long record of history there is

nothing quite parallel to the action of the United States when, on April 6, 1917, it took up the challenge that Germany had so insolently flung down. There is, I think, no similar case of a nation asking for nothing and declaring it would accept nothing. Never before, I believe, has a nation joined an alliance without treaty or engagement. The United States pledged its word, and that was sufficient.

In asking Congress to declare war against Germany Mr. Wilson said on that memorable night of April 2, 1917: "Our object is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power, and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth ensure the observance of those principles. . . . The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and freedom of nations can make them."

In that spirit America went to war, largely, I think, because of the influence Mr. Wilson exercised. From the first day of the war, almost, he had preached from this text of unselfishness, this desire to serve, the high privilege to champion the rights of mankind. When war broke out he had tried to play the part of mediator, and his offer was declined. When he issued his appeal to his fellow-citizens exhorting them to observe neutrality, to be neutral in thought as well as in action, it was because he hoped that by remaining neutral they might be ready "to play a part of impartial mediation and speak the counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend." Many Americans condemned Mr. Wilson for counseling neutrality. They were not neutral even in August, 1914, they were even then either pro-Ally or pro-German; and it seemed the policy of caution akin to cowardice for America to remain neutral instead of having the courage to stand with one side or the other. Yet to Mr. Wilson it was clear that the world could be better served by a friend than a partisan. That the United States was not able to play this rôle of friend, that

she was forced to become a partisan, Germany is alone to blame.

Advantage of Delayed Entrance into the War

As we look back we can see how fortunate it was that the United States did not take up arms in 1914, and that more than two years and a half were to elapse before America was to play her part in the great cause. Those two years and a half were not wasted, there was neither material nor spiritual loss. Had the United States declared war in 1914 or in the early months of 1915, when the great and very costly and tragic experience of England and France was still to be learned, America, like them, would have paid the price of her ignorance. American armies, insufficiently trained, insufficiently equipped, knowing little or nothing of the art of modern warfare, would have been thrown into that furnace of death, to be slaughtered as the British and French were, bravely to face machine guns, but their bravery futile. When America marched her legions, the technical superiority of Germany was no longer to be feared. The advantage Germany had at the beginning, because she alone of all nations was prepared, had passed.

But even more than that was the spiritual strength gained by delay. What Mr. Wilson said in his appeal for neutrality in August, 1914, and what he said in his Address to Congress on April 2, 1917, he had said scores of times in the intervening months, and he was to say again and again between the time America declared war and Germany, broken and defeated, was forced to sign the armistice. He preached morality. There was no selfish purpose that could carry the United States into war, but if the United States was compelled to go to war, then it must be a war for the sake of morality. The moral duty imposed upon the world, upon the United States especially, was to uphold democracy against autocracy; to champion small and weak nations, to be the means whereby justice should be done.

The President's Spiritual Appeal

The great purpose Mr. Wilson had in view was not understood, nor is that surprising. Men's blood boiled when they heard of the crime of the *Lusitania*, and in their leaping passion they were ready to fight to avenge the crime. It was to them a cause that was holy; but to fight for a thing so abstract as international morality,

to be the champions of peoples with whom they had no intimate relations, of whose existence almost they were unaware, simply to spread the gospel of altruism, stirred no great emotion.

Yet Mr. Wilson stirred emotion as no man has in our day, as few men have in the age-long struggle between liberty and absolutism, which is the road civilization has traveled. Men will fight with the gallantry of their blood in defense of country or to avenge a long and deep-seated wrong; they will fight with the cool courage of grim determination when urged by patriotism; but they will fight more desperately and die more gladly for a principle. And it is that extraordinary trait in human nature, it is, perhaps, because in every man there is implanted the divine spark, it is because, perhaps, in every man, even the most material, there is a touch of the mystic, that a great spiritual cause, the meaning of which is only dimly revealed, makes its most powerful appeal. Men of learning and illiterate, men from the great cities and little rural communities, were thrilled and uplifted at the thought they were to carry the banner of freedom three thousand miles across the seas.

Across those three thousand miles of sea there flowed not only the troops that were to be the undoing of Germany, but the invisible ether was crowded with the waves of new thoughts. They spread and spread until they engulfed the world. In places and lands where Democracy had no meaning men were asking what was this force that could make a great nation take up arms; what new religion it was that could inspire men to sacrifice and devotion. Democracy might not reform the world, but it could be the means to cure many of its ills. The example was infectious. A great spiritual force was unloosed. The little stone in the sling was to bring the giant low.

This war has ended as no war in history has been brought to an end. After every other war new states have been created, for the victors have sliced up the territory of the vanquished to gratify their selfish interests or to take from the weak what they long coveted. This war sees new states created, brought into being by the spirit of Democracy. It is wonderful when one looks at the map of 1914 and compares it with the new map. Republics rising on the thrones of kings. Races long oppressed, in whom the aspiration for freedom has never been crushed, liberated from their bonds, and

turning not to kings to be their masters but to presidents to guide them. Mighty empires that have been created by fraud and force and cunning, that have lived by oppression and thrived on deceit, that have stood the storm and stress of centuries, that have met craft with intrigue and chicanery with duplicity, have crumbled. Verily the old era is passing, and we stand at the dawn of a new age and a better world.

Mr. Wilson lit a flame that ran around the world. America has been the promise of hope to the down-trodden and the despairing. Mr. Wilson's idealism, scoffed at and laughed at when to men of stunted vision it was the dream of a visionary, is now recognized as the words of the prophet inspired.

It is the dreamers weaving their dreams in the spiritual exaltation of their own high ideals who have brought progress to the world. It is the dreamers, the poets, the prophets, the statesmen of large imagination, endowed with the power to see the future, who have led mankind to their own high plane. It is the visionary who makes things real. In belligerent as well as Allied and neutral countries, even in the United States itself, in those places and among those peoples to whom Democracy was either meaningless or a word of little meaning, it was given a meaning, a vital force and substance, which has made the world incomparably richer. It has quickened thought. Even while men were fighting—forced against their will to fight because they were helpless in the grasp of an immoral and vicious system—the spiritual force of Democracy was sapping their *morale*. Men were reading and puzzled and in doubt. They were trying to find the truth. They were like little children in the fear of darkness groping for the light. Autocracy had brought its own condemnation. Might not Democracy be its own vindication?

The world is ennobled by its visions. Progress is measured by dreams transformed into actions. The dream and the vision are the parents of thought. At every supreme crisis, when the structure of civilization which men with bleeding hands have so painfully erected is in danger of destruction, there comes forward a man who gives a fresh impetus to thought and holds aloft the ideals which are to their fellow men their inspiration and their strength. The crisis broke upon the world, and the man was there.

THE RECENT EPIDEMIC OF INFLUENZA

BY HERMANN M. BIGGS, M.D.

[Dr. Biggs has long been recognized as one of the most eminent pathologists of the country. He served for fourteen years as the general medical officer of the New York Department of Health, and since 1914 has been State Public Health Commissioner. He is a leading authority on contagious diseases.—THE EDITOR.]

THE recent epidemic of influenza has brought to this country a disaster of great magnitude. The crest of the wave of the epidemic has passed, but the reappearance of influenza in somewhat less severe form in many localities throughout the country indicates quite clearly the fact that we shall have this disease to deal with for at least many months to come.

A Heavy Death Rate

In the last great epidemic, in 1890, 1891 and 1892, the greatest mortality occurred in 1891, the second year, although all three of these years showed a higher death rate from the acute respiratory diseases in New York City than had been experienced before for many years. It is not as yet possible to assess even approximately the extent of the loss which influenza has brought and will bring to the country before the sickness and death rates are freed from its malign influence. The present indications, however, would seem to show quite clearly that the immediate deaths resulting from influenza and its complications in the United States during the present year will probably exceed 300,000.

In the epidemic of 1891, it was the opinion of the best observers that the deaths caused by the disease and its immediate complications did not represent more than one-half of those which were properly chargeable to this cause. The sequelæ in many instances were so serious that a large number of persons who recovered from the immediate effects of the disease subsequently died from the remote results. It was well said some years after this epidemic by one of the keenest clinical observers in this country, that we had come to recognize in gripe, or true influenza, a most potent influence in the development of every form of latent weakness or disease.

In 1890 it was reported by the Registrar-General of England and Wales that the number of deaths directly ascribed to influenza was 45.2 per 10,000, but that an analysis of the vital statistics of the period showed that the number of deaths directly or indirectly attributed to it was 271 per 10,000, or more than six times the apparent rate.

The present epidemic has differed from the last in several respects and, so far as we are now able to judge, has been attended with a higher immediate mortality, but has apparently left less serious results on the health and vitality of those who have recovered. It seems likely, therefore, that we shall not be compelled to pay proportionately so heavy a penalty in subsequent years as we did in the last outbreak. In any event, however, so far as life and health are concerned, it is apparent that the toll of the epidemic measured in deaths and disabilities will be for the United States four or five times as great as that of the war.

These deaths, too, and the invalidism which will follow, like those of the war, have fallen for the most part upon the age groups of the population which are at the period of greatest usefulness, that is, in the age groups between fifteen and forty-five, and especially between the ages of twenty and thirty. The casualties of the war are in many respects far less serious than the disabilities which will be left from influenza.

How the Disease is Transmitted

The question naturally arises as to how such a pandemic of disease should be possible at the present time. It is a matter of common knowledge that extensive advances have been made in the last thirty years in our knowledge of bacteriology and the relation of microorganisms to the infective

diseases, and that the application of this knowledge in respect to so many other diseases has brought about an enormous reduction in the sickness and death rate caused by them and has placed in the hands of public-health officials adequate measures for their control. How then should it be possible that in spite of this knowledge every country in Europe and North America should experience an epidemic, which has been attended with the greatest loss of life that has occurred in a century?

The files of the daily papers during the month of October and early November, 1918, give full indication of the almost hopeless, helpless attitude of the authorities toward the outbreak. Still we know quite definitely that the disease is transmitted solely through the infective organisms contained in the discharges from the nose and mouth, and therefore, theoretically at least, should be preventable.

There may be, and undoubtedly there is, some question as to whether the cause of the disease is the influenza bacillus—the so-called "Pfeiffer Bacillus"—or is some as yet unrecognized organism; but there is no doubt whatever of the fact that the organisms causing the disease are contained solely in the discharges from the nose and mouth. Moreover, whatever their nature may be, it is quite certain that they do not undergo any multiplication outside of the living body and are quickly destroyed when the secretions are exposed to drying or to direct sunlight or even diffuse daylight.

Like measles, the period of the greatest infectivity in influenza comprises the early days of the disease, and the agency and the importance of "disease carriers" in its transmission are uncertain and somewhat doubtful. In sparsely settled rural districts, in several instances, it has been possible to trace every case to direct exposure to some previous case and the period of incubation was rarely longer than two days.

Vaccines of various kinds for the prevention and for the treatment of the disease have been extensively used. Small groups of workers have been engaged in the study of its pathology and bacteriology and have been endeavoring to definitely determine what the relation of the influenza bacillus is to it, but no definite conclusions have thus far been reached. This seems the more unfortunate because the most favorable opportunities for the study of the disease have already passed, and probably will not recur again until another epidemic appears. Very

little has as yet been added to our actual knowledge, although the disease has been prevailing almost continuously either in Spain or France or Great Britain or the United States for nearly a year.

No Organized Study of the Disease

Most unfortunate, too, it must seem to everyone who thoughtfully considers this question, that there has been during this time no systematic, concerted effort on an adequate scale by a highly qualified group of scientific men to solve this problem, although influenza presents a world health problem of stupendous importance and magnitude. But the reason for this is evident enough even on casual consideration. There does not exist in any country an institution or an organization which has the resources, the personnel, or the facilities for immediately taking up the study of such a problem, when it presents itself, or which contemplates within its program of work the investigation of such problems. It is manifestly not for our local or State authorities to undertake such a work and the Federal Government has no facilities for it. Neither the United States Public Health Service, nor the Medical Service of the Army or the Navy is equipped for such a study—and there is no scientific institution prepared for such work.

The Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research might be thought of in this connection, but this institution is primarily designed for special scientific investigations dealing with medicine and carried on for the most part in the Institute itself. Its resources, while large, are already heavily taxed by the great demands of the work which it is undertaking, and it could not now well add the heavy burden which the investigation of world health problems, such as this one is, would involve.

There are many public-health problems of other kinds which ought to be dealt with as research problems. Unfortunately, there has been very little real research devoted to the questions of public health, administration and policy. Public-health administrators have generally had neither the training, the facilities, nor the resources to undertake work of this kind, and they have been compelled to confine their activities solely to the practical aspects of their work. The methods employed and the results obtained in public-health work should be subjected to critical study.

There is, then, the greatest urgency for

providing in some way for an institution or an organization which can undertake the study of such world health problems as influenza presents, and which shall be prepared to take up the investigation at once, and anywhere and at any time, of health subjects which are of the first importance. In the present instance, if the real cause of this disease and the final solution of its prevention could not have been at once found (for we must all believe that eventually the explanation of every infectious disease will be discovered), yet the nature, the manner of spread of the infection, the best methods to be adopted for the prevention, the value of vaccines and the influence of various conditions on the development and the extension of the disease—these are questions to which most important contributions could have been made, and which would have been of incalculable value in all countries, when the health authorities were actually called upon to formulate administrative measures to deal with epidemics.

Transmission from Place to Place

The rapidity of the spread of influenza throughout a country is only limited by the rapidity of the means of transportation. The disease is carried from place to place by persons, not things. Its rapid extension is due to its great infectivity, the short period of incubation, usually two days or less, the mild or missed cases, and the absence of proper precautionary measures. There is no mystery about its spread, and it is perfectly possible by proper isolation, although it is not usually practicable, to protect a group or a community from the infection.

The epidemics in different regions bear an extraordinary similarity to each other, and finally check themselves. The whole period, from the appearance of the first cases in an outbreak to the subsidence, is rarely in excess of six weeks, and often not more than four or five weeks. There is first the appearance of a few cases, then a rapid rise, covering a period of ten days or two weeks, a short period of only three or four days in which the epidemic remains at a maximum, then a rapid decline for eight or ten days, which is followed by a further slow decline, and often by a subsequent recrudescence.

Vaccination is now practicable for several varieties of pneumonia, but as to the value of such preventive treatment in influenza,

we have even now no definite information. This is one of the problems which is being most earnestly studied by the New York State Commission appointed by Governor Whitman for the investigation of influenza. This commission numbers among its members many of the most distinguished bacteriologists, sanitarians and clinicians of the country.

The total number of deaths resulting from the present pandemic of influenza will never be known, even approximately. The disease has been more fatal through its complications apparently in this country than anywhere else, but recent reports show that it is reappearing in France and Great Britain in a more virulent form than was the case last year.

Conditions of Army Life

The experience during this epidemic in the camps and barracks, and among members of the student army training corps, and in institutions, has shown clearly the great infectivity at this time of the acute respiratory diseases, and the relatively high morbidity and mortality from these diseases where barrack living conditions exist; in other words, where comparatively large groups of persons live and sleep in single rooms.

It is estimated that in the army, in this country, the total death rate per thousand in the age group between twenty and thirty, was over twelve. This is at least twice the average mortality at this age group under ordinary civilian conditions, and is probably four times the mortality at this age group throughout the country. If it were maintained for the whole country it would mean that the mortality from the epidemic would be over 1,250,000.

Tremendous Economic Loss

It must be remembered, in addition to all humanitarian considerations, how great is the economic loss which has been encountered. The deaths have occurred at the period of life at which the greatest outlay has been made, and when scarcely any return has been received by the community for the investment. Human life is a great financial asset, and its value is rapidly increasing, for while the death rates have fallen steadily in these recent years, they have been constantly outstripped by the rapidity of the fall in birth rates.

THE GERMAN COLONIES AND THEIR FUTURE

BY CHARLES BURKE ELLIOTT, PH.D., LL.D.

(Formerly a member of the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands and member United States Philippine Commission)

[Judge Elliott, who writes the present article is the author of an elaborate work upon the Philippine Islands, and is a recognized authority in the field of colonial government. As respects the German colonies, there will be full and detailed discussion in the forthcoming Peace Conference. Probably the best disposal of German Southwest Africa would be its permanent annexation by the South African Union. Australia will naturally desire to have a determining part in shaping the destiny of islands in the Antipodes. Equatorial Africa ought to come under the authority of the League of Nations. The bad administration which Judge Elliott describes was a part of Germany's militaristic commercial system. A disarmed German Republic may not have imperial ambitions, and may not contend for the return of the colonies.—THE EDITOR.]

A LEAGUE to Enforce Peace presupposes a peace worth guaranteeing and preserving. It must be a peace which represents "a new international order based upon the broad and universal principles of right and justice." Peace in itself has no inherent merit; it can always be obtained by submission to force, tyranny, and injustice.

The present war was begun for conquest and dominion; it developed into a titanic contest between forces representing antagonistic political systems; it became simply a struggle between right and wrong. The Allies were fighting for the simple, elementary principles of common justice, and to bring about conditions under which another great war will be impossible. They will dictate a peace of victory, but unless it is a peace of justice the war will have been lost. Germany is an international criminal, and justice for a criminal implies punishment. Generosity must follow, not precede, punishment; otherwise it is mere maudlin sentimentalism—sending flowers to jails for efficient murderers and chivalric burglars.

The Holy Alliance of the Last Century

There is nothing novel in the idea of a federation of the world nor in an alliance of certain nations for worthy and unselfish ends. The idea of a League of Nations, such as has been approved by the Governments of the United States and France, and by statesmen and publicists the world over, had its theoretical counterpart in that Holy Alliance of evil memory, which for years after Napoleon had been sent to St. Helena maintained the

peace of Europe. Much of present value may be learned from the history of that League of Monarchs.

The Congress of Vienna remade the map of Europe arbitrarily as dynastic and princely interests required, without the slightest regard for the wishes or welfare of the people. Absolutism, which had been so rudely shaken by the French Revolution, was to be made secure; and for almost half a century the Alliance enforced peace throughout Europe. But it was a peace based on wrong and injustice, a curse instead of a blessing.

Among the extremely practical statesmen assembled at Vienna there was one war-weary monarch, who dreamed of a Europe in which kings and their subjects should live in peace and amity, according to the principles of the Christian religion. Metternich regarded the Emperor Alexander as an "eccentric" and "a madman," but, as he was "a madman to be humored," he gave verbal adherence to the proposal that the rulers of Russia, Austria, and Prussia should agree to conduct the domestic and foreign affairs of their kingdoms according to the principles of the Christian religion, and support each other in maintaining peace and justice on earth. So on the occasion of a review on the plains of Vertus the Holy Alliance was solemnly proclaimed. The Prince Regent of England approved the principles upon which it was based, and most of the states of Europe subsequently adhered to the treaty.

That the Czar was sincere is no longer questioned. But the King of Prussia was under the influence of the Emperor Francis

of Austria, whose master, Metternich, regarded the suggestion that Christian principles should be applied to politics "as merely the overflow of the patriotic feelings of the Emperor Alexander." According to the astute Chancellor, the alliance was not an institution designed "to keep down the rights of the people and to promote absolutism or any other tyranny." Certain it is, however, that he used it for that purpose.

Justice for All Races and Peoples

The complicated treaties which constituted the Peace of Vienna were designed to stereotype a medieval system of absolutism based on tyranny and injustice, and the result demonstrated that an unjust system can neither be operated on Christian principles nor permanently maintained by any measure of skill or force. Neither a selfish alliance nor the most altruistic and elaborately organized and sanctioned league of nations can enforce permanently a peace based on injustice. Hence a peace of justice must precede the formation of such a League of Nations as the Allies now have in contemplation. Only after great wrongs are righted can the organization of a League to Enforce Peace be brought within the sphere of practical world politics.

That the diverse cultural races must be protected in the right to determine their political relations is now conceded even by Germany. Many millions of people who are not sufficiently developed for self-determination will be represented in the peace council by those who hold dominion over them. But justice is universal, not tribal, racial or national, and no peace and no new international order will be worth preservation which does not protect and secure justice for these backward races.

Germany's Colonies Might Be Held Subject to a League of Nations

Germany will never willingly consent to the permanent loss of the colonial possessions to which she looks for the raw material essential for the rehabilitation of her commerce and industries. It will be one of her last ditches. As late as October 2, Foreign Minister Solf restated the demand for the return of the colonies and for a new partition of Africa, in order to consolidate Germany's scattered colonies. British and French sentiment is strongly in favor of holding permanently the German colonies. According to Mr. Walter Long, the British Colonial Secretary, the colonies should be held at least

until Germany demonstrates a willingness to "act in conformity with the ordinary rules that govern nations in their treatment of natives, and in their relations with other countries." General Smuts, the South African member of the War Cabinet, recommends that they be returned only when Germany "is run on the same lines as the British Empire." The scheme of the British Labor Party for the government of all colonies by an international commission has met with some degree of approval. Any arrangement such as suggested for holding the colonies while Germany is serving a reformatory sentence or on parole is utterly impracticable, unless supervised by a League of Nations.

Interests of the Native Populations

The fifth of President Wilson's principles, which have been accepted by Germany and Austria-Hungary as bases for peace negotiations, provides little more than a starting point for the discussion of the colonial problem. It reads:

A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

While this language is of general application, it is evident that only German colonial claims are under consideration. There is no intention of investigating and adjudicating the titles of the Allied nations to their various colonies and dependencies. A victorious Allied peace is implied, and the sovereignty of Great Britain over India, Egypt, and the Crown colonies, of France over Algiers and Tonkin, and of America over the Philippines and Porto Rico, is not involved. It is equally certain that in 1914 the title of Germany to her African and Pacific colonies was unquestionable under the established law of nations. The necessary inference is that President Wilson understood that Germany's sovereignty over the lands in question had been lost by their conquest (which of course is not true legally), and that her "title" and "colonial claims" were to be "determined."

Unfortunately in this statement the interests of the inhabitants are given *only equal weight* with the *equitable claims* (whatever they are) of Germany. Among the enlightened colonizing powers, the interests of the natives are now recognized as the primary

and controlling consideration, not to be outweighed by any equitable or other claims of a metropolitan state.

Germany's Faults as a Colonial Ruler

There can be no peace of justice which leaves ten million black and brown men to be exploited by Germany. The history of her three decades of colonization disqualify her for control over backward people, for whom and their possessions civilization is the trustee. If any doubts remained, they have been removed by the recent report of the Administrator of Southwest Africa, which is based largely on facts drawn from the German records left at Windhuk, and from the writings of Governor Leutwein, Karl Dove, and other recognized German authorities. As the *London Telegraph* says, it is a sad story of treachery and of "unashamed, calculated, and relentless cruelty and nameless atrocities."

The tropics, which socially and politically lie in the twilight zone of civilization, are inhabited by people who have been unable either to develop a distinct civilization of their own, to resist the onslaughts of disintegrating forces from without, or to accept and assimilate a foreign system. Their fertile lands, under native control, have not produced the products which the world requires from them. They have, thus, invited commercial and political exploitation. Weak politically and economically, and incapable of defense, they have been a standing invitation to the ambition of states and the cupidity of individuals. For centuries, they were harried, oppressed, and exploited, but during the last few decades people generally have been growing kinder, more sympathetic, more willing to aid in bearing the burdens of the weak and unfortunate, more willing to recognize the obligations of a common humanity.

The Modernized Spirit of Great Colonizing States

With this more generous and humane attitude there came a change over the spirit in which the great colonizing states had been dealing with their dependent people. Colonization came to signify the extension, by annexation or some form of protectorate, of the authority and activities of an established power over lands vacated, or inhabited to some extent, by people of a lower order of civilization, with the object of developing resources of the country and improving physical and moral condition of the na-

tives. They were to be uplifted instead of destroyed or converted into slaves.

Germany, alone, openly adhered to the theory that colonies exist solely for the benefit of the metropolitan state. She deliberately, and on alleged scientific grounds, adopted as a permanent policy the medieval plantation theory of colonization. In England, France, Italy, and the United States it had become the accepted view that the welfare of the natives was the primary consideration, and that the home state must be satisfied with incidental benefits. The stress was placed on the idea of duty toward the weak and undeveloped.

Of course, this was a modern conception, and it must be confessed that prior to the year 1900 it found little expression in practice.

The conversion of the natives to Christianity was a controlling motive in early colonization, but the idea of converting them into citizens as well as saints was still deemed ridiculous. Charles Dickens amused the public with his satirical portrait of the philanthropic Mrs. Jellaby, who was "devoted to the subject of Africa, with a view to the general cultivation of coffee and the natives." But the sense of obligation for the cultivation of the natives, as well as the coffee, developed with the growth of liberalism, and Lord Milner expressed the controlling thought of English statesmen when he said that in the rivalry between the nations "the one will be most successful which exhibits the greatest wisdom in its efforts to promote the welfare, and progress, and contentment of its subject people."

Self-Government as a Goal

It was thus generally recognized by statesmen, as well as by reformers, that the control of backward races involved moral as well as political and economic considerations.

The United States was the first great colonizing power to announce, in connection with its Philippine policy, that complete self-government and, ultimately, an independent state, was not only the incidental and possible result, but the direct object of its activities. The spectacle of a great nation deliberately assuming the task of training a dependent people for self-government had a tremendous influence upon the minds of the natives of the Orient, and the backward people of the world under the guidance of the United States, Great Britain, and France, were making great strides toward realizing their laudable desire for self-government.

The Teutonic Conception

Germany, who was assumed to be within the pale of the Christian civilization of the West, was trying to create a tribal civilization based on biological theories and the assumed superiority of the German blood, which, under the guidance of a God interested only in Prussians and the Kaiser, was to conquer and govern the world for its own good and the glory of militarism. It was to do this by force of arms and the elimination of the weak. For cold-blooded and scientific diabolism the conceptions on which this system rested were without parallel in human history. It was the very apotheosis of force. It worshiped the destructive forces of nature, while ignoring its altruistic and ameliorating forces. It discarded the sentiments of pity for the weak and unfortunate which the liberal spirit of the age had cultivated. It bowed before the shrine of the god of Efficiency, which was but another name for organized force. It trained and cared for the working classes solely in order that they might constitute a useful part of the machine.

Mastery of Inferior Races

After the defeat of France in 1870, and especially after the accession of William II in 1888, the glorification of Prussia and the Prussian spirit became an obsession. Arrogance and contempt for all that was not German reached incredible heights. As expressed by a distinguished author, "He who does not believe in the divine mission of Germany had better hang himself, and rather to-day than to-morrow." "God has taken the German nation under his special care," wrote Pastor Lehmann. Under such guidance, with the Kaiser assumed to be in personal relation with the German God, it is not surprising that Germany dreamed of conquest in Europe and beyond the seas. As expressed by Felix Dahn:

"... 'tis the joyous German right
With the hammer lands to win.
We mean to inherit world-wide might
As the Hammer-God's kith and kin."

In such a system there was, of course, no place for theories of colonization based upon humanitarian considerations, sympathy for the weak, and the mutual obligations of man to man, regardless of race. The undeveloped parts of the world were to be included in Germany's dominions. The inhabitants, being non-German in blood and culture, and

therefore of slight value, were to be taught the goose step and made to fight, fetch and carry for their masters, or be eliminated. Treitschke taught that the outcome of the next war "must be the acquisition of colonies *by any means.*" Ludwig Reimer argued that while *humanity may be very well for inferior races*, Germanicism may not be hampered by its restraints. "Do they stand in the way of our expansion, or do they not?" If they do not, Herr Reimer says, "Let them develop as their nature prescribes." If they do, "*it would be folly to spare them*, for they would be like a wedge in our flesh which we refrain from extracting only for their sake. If we found ourselves forced to break up the historical form of the nation, in order to separate its racial elements, taking what belongs to our race and rejecting what is foreign, we ought not, therefore, to have any moral scruples."

A Colonizing Power for Thirty Years

After the revolution of 1848, most of the German liberal thinkers and patriots who were not imprisoned or shot emigrated to America and the drain continued during the succeeding years. The industrial development, which was fostered and financed by the government, largely by means of the indemnity wrung from France, stopped emigration to some extent.

Bismarck was never in favor of an extensive scheme of colonization. He thought that Germany "had enough hay on her fork," and that colonies at her then stage of development would be like the ermine cloak of the Polish noble who had no shirt. However, under pressure and against his better judgment, he finally adopted the policy of expansion beyond European limits.

Having determined to acquire colonies, Germany acted with characteristic promptness and precision. In 1884, she held no lands beyond the seas. One year later she had acquired an exterior empire of more than one million square miles of territory, on which lived about ten million natives. With the exception of the Bismarck Archipelago and a few small islands such as those in the Samoan group, and Kiao Chau, which was her gateway to China, her possessions in August, 1914, were in Africa—Togo, the Kamerun, German East Africa, and German West Africa. She was, thus, in possession of a great territory in the tropics. The attempt to establish settlement colonies failed. Not only were climatic conditions generally

unfavorable, but the German workmen no longer cared to emigrate. Vast sums were expended by the government on these colonies. The burden on the treasury became serious, and it could be relieved only by the exploitation of the natives. The German has never been able to deal successfully with such people because he recognizes only force and frightfulness. He made himself hated and feared, and the atrocities committed behind the veil which enshrouded the dark continent merely foreshadowed those which have made the German name anathema throughout the world.

Exploitation versus Settlement

Germany's colonial methods were those of the Dark Ages of colonization; her theories made the development of the natives impossible; she expressly repudiated any obligation toward the natives as men; she thought of their well being only as it affected their value as forced laborers. She tried to make each colony a little Prussia. The colonial governments were military in form and character. The local officers were soldiers in full uniform. *Verboten* was as familiar in Kiao Chau as in Berlin. She built fine buildings, docks, and broad streets, but trade would not come. Even her own traders settled in Hong Kong, Singapore, and other British colonies where they enjoyed perfect liberty and equality with the British.

The German colonies were designed to produce raw material and develop markets for manufactured articles. The outlook was hopeless unless the natives could be so trained and disciplined as to render them efficient producers. About a year before the war, Professor Bonn, of the University of Munich, delivered an address at the Colonial Institute in London, in which he described the methods and results of German colonization. With reference to the natives, he said:

The question is, what are we to do with the natives when we have the power to shape their fate? We want them to be as numerous as possible and as skilful and intelligent as we can make them, for only their numbers and industry can make our colonial empire as useful and as necessary as it ought to be to us.

While a few enthusiasts still hoped to establish settlement colonies, Professor Bonn conceded that the government had "shown plainly enough that its idea of colonization is a policy of settlement, but one of *colonial exploitation*." It cared nothing for inhabitants as men. They were raw ma-

terial out of which, under German discipline, efficient laborers were to be made. They were also to be drilled and trained as soldiers, and an army of blacks, under German discipline, was to sweep the British, French, and Italians from Africa. English rule in India was to be overthrown and the wealth of that vast empire turned away from India and into the coffers of Germany. The facts of the conspiracy are slowly coming to light. August Thyssen, one of the leading financiers of Germany, has recently published a pamphlet in which he tells of the promises made by the Emperor to German business men, to induce them to aid in financing the war. The Kaiser said:

India is occupied by the British. It is, in a way, governed by the British, but it is by no means completely governed by them. We shall not merely occupy India, we shall conquer it, and the vast revenues which the British allow to be taken by Indian princes will, after our conquest, flow in a golden stream into the fatherland. In all the richest lands in the earth, the German flag will fly over every other flag.

For years before the war there had been peace, quiet and prosperity in every British, French, and American colony. The increase of population was normal. During that time Germany was systematically, with fire, sword, and poison, destroying the natives of her African colonies who resented her brutal methods. The German census of 1911 shows that between 1904 and 1911 the Hereros were reduced from 80,000 to 15,000, the Hottentots from 20,000 to 9800, and the Berg Damaros from 30,000 to 12,800.

The return of the colonies to Germany would again subject these poor people to the most cruel and ferocious system of government which has existed since the days of the Spanish *conquistadores*. Germany cannot act as trustee for the weak and defenseless.

Of course, the German colonies cannot be cast adrift, as the inhabitants are utterly incapable of governing themselves. Nor are they capable of deciding their own future. The most liberal interpretation of the right of self-determination cannot make it applicable to African savages. Evidently then the choice is between the retention of the colonies by Great Britain under some arrangement with her self-governing colonies and dependencies, or holding them for a chastened and reformed Germany. If the latter plan is adopted, they must be under the immediate supervision of an international commission or subject to the control of a League of Nations.

OUR MINERAL RESOURCES

HOW THE STIMULUS OF WAR DEMANDS DEVELOPED OLD
RESOURCES AND DISCOVERED NEW ONES

BY THEODORE MACFARLANE KNAPPEN

NOT many months ago the Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, advertised for the discovery of America. The advertisement brought prompt results. On the 426th anniversary of the geographical discovery of America, Mr. Lane was able to announce that the discovery had been accomplished—the discovery and utilization of America's natural resources—the discovery of the unknown America of mineral and metal and of metallurgical store, the America of latent power, untouched resource and wonder-working elements; the symmetrical terranean body with its primordial potentialities ready to be mobilized for the battle of the giants.

It had always been an American boast that we were a self-sufficient country—that we could independently maintain and sustain ourselves. The war jolted us out of this, as out of many other smug complacencies. We discovered that before the modern soldier can spring to arms myriads of complex activities must take place to provide the arms, and that creating armies was not merely calling out men but calling out mountain and valley, forest and plain, lake and river, the air above and the earth beneath. We found that warfare between men, become supermen and masters at last of the physical world, was a veritable hurling of mountain against mountain and continent against continent—that the whole physiographic basis of the nation is its vast arsenal. We found that our continental arsenal was neglected, unorganized and partly empty.

A Nation Dependent Upon Others

We discovered that in this war of the very elements we could not maintain ourselves militarily without the nitrates of Chile, and that the fertility of our fields was dependent on those nitrates and the potash salts of Germany itself. Loss of control of the seas or insufficiency of tonnage might cut us off from the Chilean sources of fertility and explosives, and the war itself de-

nied us the potash salts of Stassfurt in Saxony from which we have been wont to draw a million tons a year for the replenishment of our fields and the supplying of our chemical industries.

Nor was that all. We were dependent on Spain for part of the explosive energy that must be wielded against Germany. Sulphuric acid, indispensable in the making of explosives, is largely derived from iron pyrites, which came chiefly from Spain. So with many other minerals and metals, essential either to military purposes or manufacturing independence. We imported most of our requirements of manganese, essential in the manufacture of all steel; and it was likewise with chromite, tungsten, and antimony. We were utterly dependent on Russia and Colombia for platinum. We were short of mica. We did not have enough asbestos. Canada supplied our nickel and cobalt. Outside of the major metals—iron, copper, lead, and zinc—and the mineral fuels, of which the United States has an ample supply, the minerals essential to modern warfare, are sulphur, nitrate, platinum, and mercury, which are used in the manufacture of explosives; and the minerals essential for the making of steel alloys, which are manganese, tungsten, chromium, nickel, cobalt, molybdenum, vanadium, and uranium. Other minerals required in the manufacture of munitions and military equipment are aluminum and bauxite, antimony and magnesium. The minerals necessary to the essential industries in addition to the above are potash, nitrate, phosphate (the third of the chief fertilizers, of which the United States is the greatest producer), tin, graphite, mica, asbestos, magnesite, gold and silver.

We had most of these minerals and metals in our own country, but either they were not mined at all, or not in sufficient quantities. The demand for some of them was so small that they did not appeal to the wholesale American enterprise, and some

could be laid down from foreign countries in our Eastern ports, near the consuming centers, for less than the freight rates alone on the domestic products, hauled all or half way across the continent by rail.

The Awakening

With the possibility that the submarines of Germany might temporarily get control of the sea, and with the shortage in shipping acute at best, it became a matter of supreme importance to find out how, and to what extent, the United States could provide for itself all these things that it had been importing—to discover a materially autonomous America and conscript its resources for democracy's war. This was the war job of the Department of the Interior, operating through the Bureau of Mines and the Geological Survey. The Army for soldiers, the Navy for sailors, the Treasury for finances, the Interior for the ultimate material sinews of war.

The greatest weakness was in potash. We produced none ourselves and the world's supply was in the adversary's hands. We had the fields for food production but he controlled their fertility. We had the world's granaries but he held the keys. Lacking in many natural resources, largely dependent on foreign supplies for food, possessed of a poor and sandy soil, Germany had the good fortune to have within her borders practically the only known potash salts deposits in the world. The productivity of our cotton fields depends upon potash. It is necessary in potato culture. Worn-out wheat fields cannot be restored without it. It is an essential fertilizer for most fruit, truck, and garden crops. It is used in some forms of explosive manufacture, also in the manufacture of glass, as well in that of various chemicals.

Germany's Potash Monopoly

Germany was well aware of her advantage. Some of her sympathizers predicted that the war would end in 1917, because the outside world would be reduced to starvation for lack of an essential fertilizer. When we finally entered the war German scientists chuckled at our folly. "America went into the war like a man with a rope around his neck," said Dr. W. Ostwald, an imperial German Privy Councillor, "a rope which is in enemy hands, because Germany, having a world monopoly of potash, can dictate which the nations shall have plenty of food and

which shall starve." Professor Roth, of Greifswald University, declared that potash was Germany's strongest economic weapon. As the war went on, and the Allies managed to get along without German potash, the Germans fell back on the idea that their monopoly would be the great negotiative counter in the play for economic equality after the war. Now that hope, too, has been demolished. From nothing our potash (K_2O) production has risen to more than 60,000 tons annually, and to above 240,000 tons of all the potash salts. Secretary Lane declares that within two years we shall be producing all of the potash we require. Germany will thus have no natural resource with which to bargain at Versailles in the conferences that will determine her economic status after the war. She will not only have nothing to trade, but will even be in dire need of American phosphates to restore the wasted fertility of her own fields. Beaten Germany, on her knees, is begging humbly for food from the fields she sought to sterilize.

Germany's legislation governing the exportation of potash began to alarm American users of potash as long ago as 1910, and almost precipitated a diplomatic rupture at that time between the United States and Germany. In consequence, Congress made an appropriation in 1911 for potash research in the United States, and the Geological Survey took up the work. Attention naturally turned to the great basins, dried up lake beds of the Southwest, of the Salt Lake Valley, of the Nevada deserts, and to the alkaline lakes of the great plains.

A Potash "Boom" in America

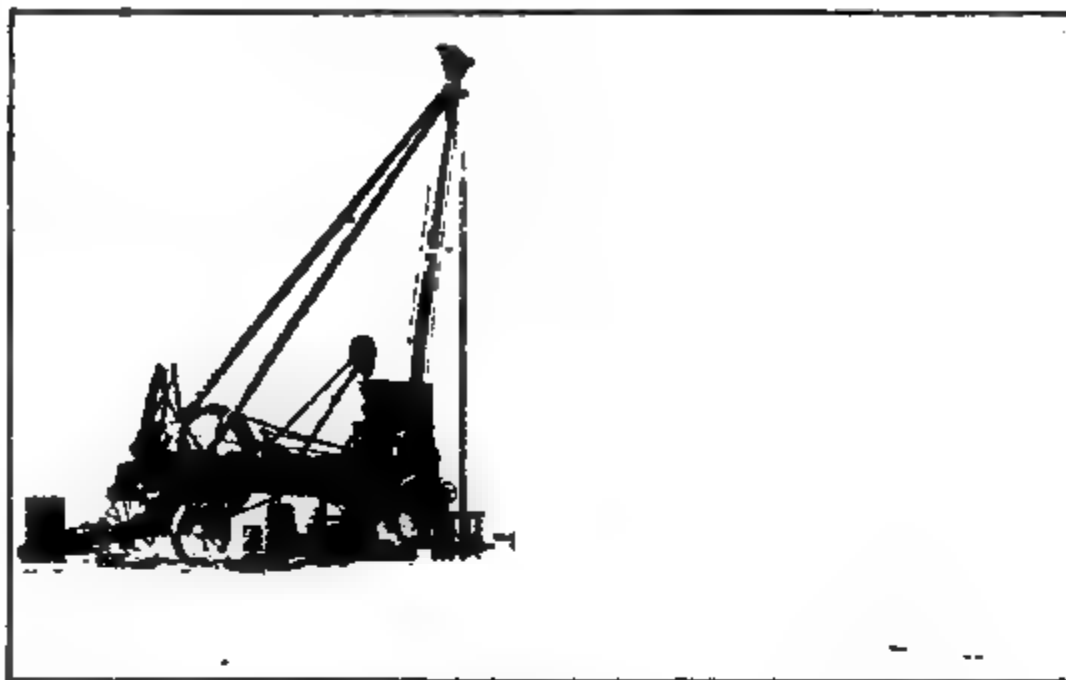
After the war in Europe began and the need of potash became acute, there was a potash boom throughout the regions where it was thought it might be found. Prospectors combed the Carson Sink, the Ralston Valley, Death Valley, the neighborhood of Great Salt Lake, the deserts of Southern California, and the shores of the alkaline lakes. They were lured on by the hope of acquisition of great wealth, as potash salts jumped from \$25 or \$30 a ton to as much as \$450. Reports came in from numerous quarters of promising discoveries. A potash land law was passed to encourage the prospectors, and representatives of the Geological Survey checked up all reported discoveries and undertook original investigations.

But out of all this turmoil and antici-

give hope came general disappointment, relieved by two discoveries—the saline lakes of the Nebraska sand-hills, and Searles Lake in California.

From the muck underlying the lakes of the sand-hill region in Nebraska there is pumped a brine which upon evaporation yields a precipitate that is stronger in potash than the salts of Stassfurt. These alkaline lakes saved the day. They are producing some 25,000 tons of potash annually. The brines underlying the ancient Searles Lake bed in California are also yielding 20,000 to 25,000 tons a year, and may, if economic conditions justify, yield as much as a million tons annually for twenty to forty years. The alkaline lakes, it is feared, will not last as a source of potash more than a few years.

With the further development of the Searles Lake fields, however, the United States can be made independent of Germany's potash for at least a generation. It would be a costly independence, for the California desert, like the lakes of Nebraska, is remote from the regions in which potash is chiefly consumed. Freight rates from these sources to the East and South are alone more than the cost of potash salts from Germany delivered at the Atlantic seaports. The cost will be nothing as a means of maintaining national independence in peace and war, but with the soft times of peace returning it may



SEARLES "LAKE"—WITH BILLIONS OF TONS OF POTASH DEPOSITS
(This veritable Dead Sea, in California, is an ancient lake of twelve square miles. The surface is hard, but underneath there is a brine rich in potash)

be a difficult matter to persuade our agriculturists to pay several times as much for California or Nebraska potash as they might pay for that from Germany. It was plain, therefore, that Germany's potash resources would still give her a great advantage in the bartering of economic materials at the end of the war.

More Potash—By Accident!

Then occurred a romantic accident of industry that forever laid the spectre of a beaten Germany holding the fertility of the world in her grasp and wrenching economic victory from military defeat. At Riverside, in the heart of the beautiful orange groves of Southern California was and is a cement factory. The dust from the kilns of this factory injured the orchards. The orchardists protested and litigation ensued. The owners of the plant, in self-defense, installed a device to suppress chemical fumes and dust—and found that they were getting potash! They sought to avoid losses, and stumbled into profits. They sought to save orange groves from pestiferous dust, and the dust turned into a benign mantle of fertility for the groves and all the plant life. A local eyesore became a national blessing.

To-day this Cottrell device, further elaborated and specialized, is making more money by far for the cement-

mill owners than their cement. Another cement plant, in Maryland, has found its by-product thus become its chief asset, and in two years it has made \$700,000 of profits besides fully amortizing its plant. A dozen other Portland cement plants are now installing the Cottrell apparatus. Simply as a cheap by-product of their regular business the cement mills of America will find it possible to produce from 50,000 to 100,000 tons of potash a year.

The Cottrell device is the invention of Dr. Frederick G. Cottrell—now chief metallurgist of the Bureau of Mines, then a professor in the University of California—who has made it available to all legitimate users through patents vested in the Research Corporation and the Western Precipitation Company under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution. So, out of a local neighborhood quarrel in California has come the overthrow of Germany's potash supremacy.

But that is not all. If the sand-hill lakes and the forbidding sink of Searles Lake held the potash pass to German economic victory, and the cement plant utilization turned the tide, the application of the Cottrell device to blast furnaces turns German defeat into disaster. Experiments conducted at the Bethlehem Steel Corporation's works showed that potash could be realized from the dust of iron ores, incidental to the production of iron. Moreover, it was found that the Cambrian iron ores of the Birmingham district in Alabama, right in the center of the chief potash consumption, were the richest of all in potash. As yet the production of cement by the blast furnaces is small, but in time it will likely exceed all other sources.

Complete Potash Independence

While these manufacturing sources of potash are developing, the natural sources already mentioned and other such sources are holding the fort. The Salduro Salt Marsh in bleak western Utah, and other saline marshes and sinks are yielding up quantities of potash. The alunite rocks of Utah are being systematically worked and in the greensands of New Jersey, the shales of Georgia, and the leucite hills of Wyoming, there are great possibilities of potash production when successful commercial processes of extraction shall have been evolved. Already they are yielding a certain quantity. Organic wastes, such as the molasses residues, wood ashes and wool-scourings, are giving some potash.

Even the ocean has been summoned to fight the German monopoly, and the giant kelps of the Pacific Coast are at present, in point of volume, the third source of potash. Steamboat harvesters put to sea and cut the giant weeds below the surface, and the resulting harvests are brought ashore in great barge loads. The kelp is put through an elaborate process which yields not only potash, but many other chemicals, including acetone, necessary to the manufacture of explosives. As the kelp renews itself from year to year, this source of supply is inexhaustible though expensive.

So it was that Secretary Lane was able recently to announce that within two years the United States will be self-sufficient in the matter of potash. The potash victory has been achieved by private enterprise, assisted and stimulated by the activities of the Bureau of Mines and the Geological Survey, but without Governmental financial assistance, and even without such coöperation as priorities and preferences in transportation and materials. The same is true of the wonderful things that have been accomplished in the production of manganese, iron pyrites, and chromite.

A Search for Rare Minerals

Although the Department of the Interior has been working almost since the beginning of the war for an appropriation and authorization to assist in and stimulate the production of necessary minerals and metals, which by being produced at home would save precious ship tonnage for immediate war uses and make America independent of outside supplies, it was not until the last days of September that Congress finally passed and the President approved a bill for those purposes, carrying with it an appropriation of \$50,000,000 for capital and \$500,000 for administrative expenses. Congress did, however, early appropriate \$150,000 for the Bureau of Mines to use in making a survey of developmental possibilities and for coöperative work with private producers. With this small fund the Bureau created an investigating corps of about fifty scientists, engineers, and helpers, supplemented by occasional coöperators. Directly or indirectly the mineral possibilities of the country were minutely examined from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from Canada to Mexico. Investigations even included Canada and Cuba, and Alaska was not overlooked. As a result of this work and the natural response to

A MANGANESE MINE IN THE CACTUS REGION OF ARIZONA

high prices the spirit of adventure has been aroused—prospectors have swarmed to the mountains and plains, and there has been an amazing increase in the production of some of the rare minerals essential in the manufacture of war materials, such as tungsten, molybdenum, mercury, magnesium, and magnesite.

Essential Steel Alloys

Perhaps the most gratifying advance has been made in regard to chromium. The only important source of the salts and alloys is chromic-iron ore, or chromite. Ferro-chromium, an alloy of iron, is essential to the manufacture of most alloy steel, particularly that used for projectiles, armor plate, cannon linings, high-speed tools, automobile axles and springs, locomotive frames and springs, and all steel parts that must stand hard usage. Chromite is necessary for the refractory brick of furnace linings in metallurgical plants, for certain chemical colors and dyes, and for special leather tanning. Most, if not all, of these uses are essential. Before the war the United States was consuming 65,000 tons of chromite annually and was producing only 250 tons. Now we are mining at the rate of 90,000 tons of all grades, chiefly on the Pacific Coast. Our importations have also greatly increased, but in a pinch we could get along with what we can now supply at home. The mines are so distant from the chief market that there is no hope for successful competition in peace, except through protection, which under the minerals development law may be

OPEN-CUT MINING OF MANGANESE ORE IN A WOODED SECTION OF NORTHERN CALIFORNIA

extended by the President for two years after the close of the war.

Manganese is absolutely essential to the manufacture of practically all steel. Though we are the greatest steel-producing nation, we imported before the war 576,000 tons of manganese ore alone, besides about 90,000 tons of ferro-manganese, and we produced only 27,000 tons. The chief sources of supply were India, Brazil, and Russia. The Bureau of Mines described the lack of manganese as fully as serious as that of potash and nitrate. Prices trebled and even quadrupled, and shipping difficulties practically confined the supply to Brazil, a very long haul at that. Despite long railway hauls and metallurgical difficulties, great progress has been made in home production. Manganese ores in silver and copper mines have been treated and made to yield manganese. Its production has been taken on as a by-product on a large scale by the Anaconda Copper Mining Company of Butte. A great manganese "camp," with twenty-eight mines, has been developed at Philipsburg, Mont. Progress has been made in working out metallurgical processes for extracting manganese from the manganiferous ores of Minnesota, and from the low-grade manganese ores which were found both East and West. The total production this year will be about 240,000 tons, or almost one-half of the country's requirements. The by-product operations will probably survive peacetime competition with the foreign product, but most of the exclusively manganese mines will probably shut down.

Sulphuric Acid and Graphite

Sulphuric acid, indispensable in the manufacture of explosives, is largely made from iron pyrites, which contain about 45 per cent of sulphur. In 1913 we imported some 850,000 tons of pyrite, mostly from Spain, and produced 341,000 tons. This year we will mine more than 600,000 tons, and under the stimulation of continued high prices we could easily meet all our requirements. In fact, the situation has already reached the point where the problem is one of protection of the pyrite properties that have been developed and the avoidance of stimulation of further costly production. The pyrite problem is closely associated with that of natural sulphur production. If sufficient natural sulphur can be produced at a reasonable price, it is not economical to mine pyrite at a higher relative price. The United States is rich in sulphur, and the already enormous production can be considerably increased. Moreover, tremendous quantities of sulphuric acid can be manufactured from the fumes of the smelters of Montana, California, Utah, and Arizona.

There are large deposits of graphite in the United States, but most of them are in the amorphous form, whereas the flake variety is needed for making crucibles for the manufacture of crucible steel, brass, bronze, and various other forms of alloys and metals. There has been a large expansion of production of flake graphite, however, and we could probably produce to-day half of our minimum requirements.

All the prospecting and research of a hundred years, together with the special efforts recently prompted by the needs of warfare, have failed to reveal appreciable or commercially competitive supplies of platinum, cobalt, tin, nickel, or antimony. For practically all of our needs of these metals and

for ample quantities of others, we are dependent on other countries. Of nitrate, necessary in the manufacture of explosives and as a fertilizer, there are no known domestic deposits of importance and there is little hope of ever finding any. The building of great government plants for the fixation of nitrate from the atmosphere will, however, solve that problem and make it possible for the United States to go to war and pursue agriculture without the consent of Chile. For nickel we shall always be dependent on Canada, and probably for cobalt, too. Platinum must come from Russia and Colombia.

What of the Future?

Thanks to substitutes or substitute processes, some of which our scientists have discovered or developed since we entered the war, we could get along in an extreme emergency without any of the minerals or metals that can not be obtained from our own mines. It is safe to say to-day that it would be possible for the United States successfully to conduct warfare, on the gigantic modern scale, without recourse to any other nation for mineral or metallic aid. Our case at the beginning of the war was utterly and deplorably different, and had Germany won control of the ocean routes we would have been helpless for a long time. Without Chile's nitrates our guns would have been impotently silent, and our deficits of pyrite, manganese, chromium, and graphite would have terribly crippled our war preparations.

There remains the question—now that the war and its imperative requirements of home production have ceased—of whether the newly discovered America shall be maintained by some suitable legislation, or whether the new continent of resources shall be allowed in the years of peace to sink again below the waves of the ocean of free competition in natural

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

CAN A LEAGUE OF NATIONS PREVENT WAR?

THE proposed establishment of a League of Nations to put a stop to all wars in the future, is studied in some of its aspects by Prof. G. Sergi, of the Royal University of Rome, in *Nuova Antologia*.

The writer recalls the efforts that were made not many years ago to broaden the scope of the various international scientific associations so as to make of them a foundation for an international association which, although not expressly a peace association should, nevertheless, lead the nations to this desired goal. In this connection he notes that even one of the ardent supporters of German Kaiserism, the eminent chemist, Professor Ostwald, had founded a journal to further the idea in Germany.

As regards the more direct and practicable realization of the project of a League of Nations that is now so much agitated, Professor Sergi recognizes that it cannot be formed in a single day, nor can the difficulties involved be overcome at a single conference, all the more so as they cannot all be foreseen before the application of the agreements.

The greatest of these difficulties will perhaps arise in what concerns the foreign relations of the several states, and as to their armaments; for the latter would constitute a serious danger if they were not limited to what is strictly necessary.

The chief problem, however, regards the execution of the international laws, and of the decrees and decisions. It would be a great delusion to believe that the League of Nations should rest upon moral foundations alone. The law for the private citizen of a state has a material sanction, and a force which operates in case of disobedience, and without this it would be altogether illusory. Now international legislation, and arbitration like that of the Hague Conference, or a supreme court, would be merely formal institutions, and would lack the support of any executive power, if there were not some

means of coercion, some means of enforcing the execution of what had been decreed, in case of refusal or disobedience.

Professor Sergi does not believe it possible to constitute an international army that could serve as a means of coercion for any member-nation which might become insubordinate. It would be an extremely grave measure to make war on a nation that should attempt to disobey the international decrees. Such a nation could only be one of the great powers which had in secret armed itself for defense, while the other members of the League would only have such forces at their disposal as were requisite for the preservation of order within their boundaries. A conflict of this kind would result in a war almost similar to the one that has just been waged. Germany planned and prepared for the war, while most of the other nations were striving in every way to maintain a durable peace. Thus the aggressive act found them unprepared for defense.

A possible solution of the difficulties involved in the coercion of a state that rebels against the decrees of the League is found by Professor Sergi in a proposition he has met with somewhere, but of which he cannot recall the origin. As the Romans had their "interdict of water and fire," so in the case of any state which refused to obey the international laws, there could be adopted an interdict of all commercial intercourse, a suspension of all international relations, which would paralyze all the external activities of the disobedient state, and would force it to yield to the will of the League.

One danger would always remain. Should there be a nation perfidious enough to prepare secretly for war, it would not only fail to obey, but it would attack the other unprepared nations unawares, and would perhaps overcome them, at least at the outset. However, this secret preparation is unlikely to escape the prudent vigilance of the other

states, and as soon as it was noted, it would serve as a signal for the proclamation of the interdict, which would be enforced after an interval, brief indeed, but sufficient to give the offending state an opportunity to come

to terms. Otherwise the interdicted nation would be constrained to cede, because of the grave situation in which it would be placed if cut off from all other nations, both by land and by sea.

LATIN VERSUS TEUTONIC IDEALS

A RECENT work by the distinguished historian Guglielmo Ferrero, is the subject of an article in *Rivista Internazionale* (Rome). The author seeks to present some of the striking aspects of European civilization in their relation to the great world conflict that has already passed through its most destructive phase, and we all hope is destined to eventuate in a better order of things for the entire world.

The view-point of Signor Ferrero is naturally rather that of the historian than that of the politician, and is perhaps none the less valuable on this account at a time when the events of the present moment are so overwhelmingly impressive that it is not easy to see them in the light of historic evolution.

He finds that what the ancients in the period of Rome's greatness pronounced to be corruption is what the world of to-day regards as progress, namely, the striving after increasing comfort, luxury, and pleasure; the headlong race for success, and the heaping up of money, which brings no peace to man.

If these defects should prove grave enough to destroy the fabric of nations, our vaunted progress might not unjustly be termed corruption, for wealth is no index of the virtue of a people. Thus Italy, with a population of but 37,000,000, confined to a territory of little over 110,000 square miles, and which can neither show opulent industries nor large masses of capital, is none the less the inheritor and perpetrator of an old civilization, and holds her place in the ranks of the most illustrious nations.

The merits of the Italian, which some almost look upon as defects, are simplicity of manners, economy, devotion to tradition and family usage. It is this that draws the Italian to agriculture, the primal source of the world's prosperity.

True progress, Signor Ferrero finds, does not consist in the mere multiplication of machines and scientific discoveries. It consists in the logical sequence of the work of generations, by which, in spite of occasional set-

backs, the common patrimony of the human race continues to grow from century to century.

Those whom we now denominate the ancients lived within narrow confines, subservient to the principle of authority; after the Renaissance, however, men began to perceive that new and powerful means had been placed at the service of their ambition, and above authority they raised the banner of liberty. But having once passed the boundary they became insatiable. The more they possessed the more they craved. So that quantity gained the victory over quality, as is the case in our modern civilization.

The great historical transformation by which the ancient world passes into the modern world, dates from the discovery of America by Columbus. Until then Europe had indeed art, religion, philosophy and morals, but she was poor, worked little and slowly, and her energy was confined by innumerable laws, precepts and prejudices. After the conquest of a new continent she became bolder, and invented the word progress to designate the tireless search for riches and liberty. The struggle was of quantity against quality, and everything must be invented and produced quickly.

Novelty, in contradistinction to the teachings of the past, was looked upon as the greatest of merits; only what was new, and simply because it was new, was considered better than the old. However, true glory and true greatness do not consist in number and quantity, but in quality, that is to say in perfection.

In our day, while Republican France, where the sense of order and measure predominates, and England, where the great preoccupation is industrial growth and the jealous maintenance of tradition, had no longing for war, Germany, where the mystic principle of authority clashed with a perfect anarchy of tastes, aspirations and ideals, was forced to seek in war the realization of its future.

German civilization had lost the sense of

limitation, and had therefore lost the power to keep the problems of life within their normal boundaries, and this lack of equilibrium between intellectual disruption and strict political discipline gave birth to the devastating cyclone that has swept over Europe. It was the common belief that Germany was the model of order in Europe, but order is a word with many meanings. The German understood by it docile obedience to those in authority, but the Latins understood by it the realization that there are limits beyond which reason loses her sway.

In 1900, it appeared that Germany dominated the other peoples of Europe, who were dazzled and intimidated by her power. But this power was only apparent, to such a degree that in 1914 a sudden mighty turn of the tide, one of the greatest revulsions in all history, served to change the face of things, and led millions of men to call down imprecations upon Germany as the terror of mankind. For the author this was a result of the conflict between two different worlds, between an ideal of perfection, that of the Latins, and an ideal of force, that of the Germans.

HOW PRESIDENT WILSON IMPRESSES THE FRENCH MIND

THE famous French publicist, Émile Boutroux, a member of the French Academy, has written an article for a late number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* on President Wilson as historian and national leader, on the occasion of the appearance in France of a translation by M. Désiré Roustau of Wilson's "History of the American People." This work, he maintains, gives the Frenchman a long-needed insight "into the American soul from the American's own viewpoint." Our President proves himself a clear interpreter of the national tendencies and inter-State and inter-regional policies, which, from the very founding of the nation, have eventuated in the molding of a close-knit Americanism that has derived valuable lessons from the experiences of its own past, and consolidated the qualities and aims of its conservative, its youthful, and to no small extent even its polyglot elements into the unified expression of American character.

He is above all desirous of thinking, not in East-American terms, nor in those of the South, the West, or the North, but in all-American terms. His idealism combines what the diverse populations making up the United States have together contributed to the national spirit: the Puritan notion of duty and responsibility; the generous and humane democracy of the Mississippi Valley; the independent, equality-loving though conservative spirit of the South; and the practical activity of them all.

President Wilson has ever been the foe of "capitalistic feudalism," and has always sought to establish

a close union of the President with the nation from which he has emanated—that is, the realiza-

tion of a democracy not merely formal, but real; assuring every citizen in an effective way the exercise of his legitimate rights. Then, too, he has been tireless in his efforts to enhance to this end that education of the working class which does not aim only at making good workers in their respective employments, but at creating men capable of thinking, exercised in matters of thought, putting all their interest and ambition into these things.

Such have been the views long entertained for his fellow-Americans by this "positive idealist."

Suddenly the European War arose. For so humanitarian a mind, the thought of prolonged neutrality for America in that conflict of ideals was impossible.

Having convinced himself that this war was really a contest between right and might, of liberty against tyranny, of spirit against matter, he deemed that America, in keeping out of the struggle, would yield herself up indeed to the materialism that menaced her from within; while by embracing the cause of freedom, she settled the problem of her destiny in the spirit dictated by her sense of duty and the example of her great forbears.

In forming this judgment, President Wilson felt that he was in communion with his country's conscience. He spoke to it, and it accepted his inspiration; at the same time communicating its own to him. From the reciprocal action of the nation on its leader and of the leader on the nation, there resulted a decision which history will surely register as one of the most momentous facts of which she makes mention. It was not the will of an individual but that of a whole people which, conscious of its ability to accomplish any end, submitted humbly this omnipotence to the authority of the moral law and of the ideal.

America, by following the exhortation of one of her national poets, has taken for her device the word "Excelsior!" Her nationality from this

day forth means: Work, education, nobleness of soul, freedom, equal rights for great and small, good-will, humanity, mutual penetration of intel-

ligence and heart, a worthy and stable peace, assured to the world by the sincere and strong constitution of a rule of justice.

AFRICA AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

L EADING British authorities on colonial matters are agreed that the German colonies in Africa must be under some form of international influence, but some of them advocate a fully fledged international authority with administrative powers, while others would go no farther than to set up an international "control." Just what is meant by this system of control, as opposed to actual administration, is set forth in the *Contemporary Review* by Noel Buxton, M. P.:

The proposal is, briefly, on the political side, to leave the national sovereignties untouched, except as they may be changed by mutual concessions as distinguished from conquest; but to extend the area of neutralization so as to include the whole of tropical Africa—i.e., all Africa except the Mediterranean countries, South-west Africa, the Union and Rhodesia. This neutralization would be made compulsory, and provisions made prohibiting the arming and drilling of the natives except for police purposes. The sanction would be invested in the League of Nations, so that it would be valid as long as the League existed, and a special commission would be appointed to supervise this arrangement and investigate complaints made by any one nation.

On the economic side it is proposed to make the free-trade clause more explicitly practical by substituting the principle of equal economic opportunities. It is doubtful otherwise whether France would be willing to pass at a bound from high differential protective tariffs to free trade, but she might consent to levy the same tariff impartially on all comers, whether nationals or foreigners. And in this case the tariffs would soon come down. The arrangement, again, should be made obligatory—under theegis, say, of a commission on raw materials set up by the powers constituting the League of Nations. Guaranteed by the League, this act might further be grounded on a general charter of native rights, guaranteeing them their communal ownership of the soil and its products, both against European and native exploiters. The League might

native in Africa a permanent would send out inspectors to ition of the natives under the tions; and it would set up a efore which breaches of the ough for judgment.

sition of the German colo- maintains that their future ect of negotiation and that rangement must be arrived free exchange or compensa- words, no German colonial

possessions are to be annexed solely on grounds of conquest.

In the opinion of this member of the British Parliament America is entitled to a special place in regulating the future of Africa by reason of her action in the past:

She took an active interest in the partition of Africa among the powers which took place between 1880-90, and she was the first state to recognize the rights of the International Association of the Congo. It is certain that America will strongly oppose all imperialist schemes on our part, and that she will urge with equal insistence the policy of the Open Door.

This was the attitude adopted by President Wilson in his historic message to Congress (January 8, 1918). His "program of the world's peace," as he calls it, contains the following article (No. 5): "A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined," and, as a necessary corollary to this colonial policy, he calls in Article 3 for "the removal so far as possible of all economic barriers, and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace, and associating themselves for its maintenance." This is the point of view, it must be remembered, of the predominant member of the Entente partnership, and it is obvious that at the Peace Conference she will be powerful enough to impress her opinion.

Before the war, according to Mr. Buxton, Germany had adopted more humane methods in her colonial administration. The Center party and the Socialists insisted on bringing the Herrero atrocities to light and enforcing reforms.

This English statesman declares that to exclude Germany from Africa altogether would be "essentially undesirable from the point of view of justice, security, and the general welfare." With a democratized Germany and a League of Nations, Mr. Buxton believes that a system of international control in Africa based on a real concert of all the powers is feasible. Germany, he maintains, should be permitted to acquire, subject to international control, "a sphere in Africa appropriate to her population and commercial resources."

ALLIANCES IN SCANDINAVIA

SHOULD the war-fostered Scandinavian coöperation in economic matters be allowed to give rise to entangling military alliances in the North? This question is discussed by Lieutenant-Colonel H. O. Wikner in the *Svensk Tidskrift* (Stockholm). In the minds of many Scandinavians, the danger of Russian expansional policy is yet to be reckoned with in the future; and there does exist, however remote, the possibility of war with Germany or even countries to the west. Should Sweden, under the shadow of such apprehensions, seek to ally herself militarily with her weaker Scandinavian neighbors to protect herself from invasion from the north, south, and west, and the use of the Åland Islands as the base of naval, and particularly of aerial, operations against her capital?

As far as Norway and Denmark are concerned, a defensive alliance with Sweden would be without marked advantage; Denmark would never dare to institute a hostile policy against any power to the south, certainly not against Germany; and Norway, dependent as she is on British support (if not virtual protection) for her great overseas trade, could be but little benefited by such an alliance.

In the event of a German attack on Sweden, as an ally Denmark herself would soon be helpless, and in need of Swedish assistance; should Finland or Russia attack Sweden, Denmark would have to get German guarantees that her aid to Sweden would be unmolested. In case of war with a western power or powers, Denmark's chief assistance would be in the closing of the passages into the Baltic—a move in all probability, says the writer, as readily affected by Sweden alone.

Norway might prove a more valuable ally. Besides, the Russian peril has always been of as much concern to the Norwegians as the Swedes; the Norse army and navy would be most important factors in an anti-Muscovite campaign. As a buffer state, too, Norway would offer considerable protection against invasion from the west; but she could hardly afford to ruin her maritime life in a struggle relatively so hopeless.

No matter how strange it sounds, it nevertheless appears as if Sweden, in order to assume a safe and independent politico-military position, must go her own way as regards both Denmark

and Norway. In this case, isolation and not union gives us strength. This circumstance is obviously peculiar; its principal reasons are to be found in Denmark's military helplessness towards Germany and Norway's sensitiveness to British maritime intervention. There is also a lack of outside dangers sufficiently threatening to all three of these countries. . . .

But a Russian program of expansion directed against Sweden is unthinkable except via Finland, which would anyway be an indispensable ally in a war against Russia. Swedish and Finnish naval forces could do effective work in bottling up the Russian fleet in the Gulf of Finland—especially through mine-laying operations—and the larger part of the Swedish army could collaborate with the Finns in Finland, whose eastern border is penetrable with difficulty on account of the nature and fewness of the passes there, in the attempt to ward off the enemy from most of Finnish and altogether from Swedish soil. In other words, Finland, receiving the utmost of aid from Sweden, would be vitally necessary as an ally in holding the Russians at as great a distance as possible from Sweden by both land and sea. Moreover, in the course of a hypothetical conflict with Germany, the united Finno-Swedish fleet would afford greater protection to an endangered part of either country's coast-line than either fleet singly.

Future developments will show whether the need for that alliance exists. But as for the Scandinavian economic alliances—is there any necessity for their continuance? Must the northern nations still depend on one another for partial independence of supplies from abroad? Though the effects of those alliances did not disappear after separate trade agreements were made with the Entente by Norway, Sweden and Denmark last spring and summer, yet there are Norwegians—wishing for further unhindered economic approach to England—who hold that in the piping times of peace the North could never command the attention of the rest of the world as an economic unit any more than during the war, and that consequently the aforesaid alliances might as well be dissolved. In answer to this argument the *Dagens Nyheter* (Stockholm) contends that

it is not made more impressive by insistence on the fact that the northern states cannot dispense with importation from without. They could not

do that during the war either; yet working together commercially has been of unexpectedly great benefit. Should the prophecies about the trade war of to-morrow come true, then coöpera-

tion ought to perform the same function with at least equal success; and in *that* struggle also, will draw for us all the safe and secure line of neutrality.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S MESSAGE TO CHINA

GR^{EAT} interest seems to have been aroused in China by President Wilson's message of congratulation to President Hsu-Shih-Chang on the occasion of the Chinese national holiday, October 10. The message as received at Peking read as follows:

The President of The Republic of China, Peking.

On this memorable anniversary when the Chinese people unite to commemorate the birth of the Republic of China I desire to send to you on behalf of the American people my sincere congratulations upon your accession to the Presidency of the Republic and my most heartfelt wishes for the future peace and prosperity of your country and people. I do this with the greatest earnestness not only because of the long and strong friendship between our countries but more especially because in this supreme crisis in the history of civilization, China is torn by internal dissensions so grave that she must compose these before she can fulfil her desire to coöperate with her sister nations in their great struggle for the future existence of their highest ideals. This is an auspicious moment as you enter upon the duties of your high office for the leaders in China to lay aside their differences and guided by a spirit of patriotism and self-sacrifice to unite in a determination to bring about harmonious coöperation among all elements of your great nation so that each may contribute its best effort for the good of the whole and enable your Republic to reconstitute its national unity and assume its rightful place in the councils of nations.

WOODROW WILSON.

As it was first given out to the press, however, the last paragraph, in which President Wilson expressed his desire that the Chinese people compose their differences in order that the "Republic might reconstitute its national unity and assume its rightful place in the councils of nations," was not made public. After this omission was corrected thousands of reprints of the message in the Chinese language were circulated throughout China.

In commenting on the reception accorded to the message in China *Millard's Review*, of Shanghai, says:

The Chinese press unanimously praise the American chief executive for his frank and sin-

cere views on the necessity of composing China's internal dissensions at once, and describe him as a true friend of this country, a disinterested supporter of weak nations, a persistent champion of republican institutions and one of the truly great living statesmen of the world. Gifted with an unusual degree of political insight, and able to express in concise and simple forms the thoughts which many wanted to express but failed to do so, as is clearly shown in the message to Mr. Hsu, President Wilson, the *Ta Kung Pao*, Peking, comments, is now literally idolized in the Orient as a virtuous magistrate was usually idolized in ancient times. Most of the newspapers in Peking are now, since the message has been circulated, calling the attention of their readers to the fact that Mr. Wilson's telegram was not a perfunctory congratulatory message. It was, in reality, a warning from a true friend with wholesome advice as to what might be in store for China if she should remain disunited. In this respect it was unlike other messages, which merely conveyed congratulations to President Hsu upon his accession to the presidency.

A special article in the *Kuo Ming Kung Pao*, of Peking, which was attributed to a high Chinese official, who used "Lamenter" as his pen-name, says that even a personal friend would not usually have given such straightforward advice as President Wilson has given to China. He declares that thinking Chinese should have only feelings of gratitude for this sincere advice. Many Chinese leaders who should have been working for the national welfare are constantly intriguing against one another and thereby undermining the national strength. "Lamenter" freely admits that a country must first be united before it can assume the "rightful place in the councils of nations" to which President Wilson refers. "Official China, however, still believes that as the Peking government has been recognized by the powers and the new President has also been regarded by them as China's legal chief executive, her representative will be allowed to sit at the coming Peace Conference, and sees no reason why she is not entitled to such a seat." The Chinese Minister to the United States, Mr. Wellington Koo, has gone to France for that purpose.

THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

IN Washington's Administration Congress authorized the spending of \$10,000 for "firewood, stationery, and printing." To-day the United States Government spends in one year for its printing \$12,000,000. Some of the interesting phases of this expansion in the Government's printing enterprise are outlined in an article by Henry Litchfield West, contributed to the December *Bookman* (New York).

The magnitude of governmental printing at the present time is indicated by the following statistics:

The Government Printing Office itself occupies thirteen and one-half acres of ground in the City of Washington. It employs 5000 persons, and the annual pay-roll is nearly \$5,000,000. There are 246 type-setting machines, the largest number of such machines assembled at any one place in the world. There are 159 presses employed and 700 electric motors. The machine equipment of the plant is valued at \$2,600,000. The type metal cast into ingots each day amounts to twelve and a half tons.

The illustrations on this page show the monotype machines. The equipment also includes nearly one hundred linotype machines, five of which are located in the branch printing section at the Library of Congress. The bindery contains about one

MONOTYPE KEYBOARDS AT THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
(By means of which rolls of paper are perforated in the initial process of typesetting)

hundred machines of the latest approved type for the various operations in the modern binding process.

So much for the plant. The figures of output are equally amazing. For example, 1,800,000 type pages are set in a year, and this number of type pages is said to be greater than the annual output of all the book-publishing houses in the United States. Last year 49,647,371 publications were wire-stitched and 2,600,938 books bound. These bound books, if placed end to end, would cover a distance of 400 miles. The speeches annually printed for Members of Congress number 25,000,000.

The quantity of franked governmental mail (largely printed matter) received each day by the Washington City Post Office is estimated at 150 tons.

(These take the perforated rolls produced by the machines shown in the other illustration on this page, and cast type from them)

THE LONG-AWAITED LIBERATION OF ARABIC SYRIA

THE following account of "how the good news came to Beirut" has been translated into English from *Meraat-ul-Gharb*, an Arabic newspaper (New York), by Miss Mary Caroline Holmes, whose work for the relief of the suffering peoples of Syria has been continuous for many years. Miss Holmes is about to go again to Syria to rejoice with the liberated folk over their freedom and to alleviate the miseries of their present condition:

In the middle of the night, Sunday, October 1, a telegram came to Beirut from a representative of the King of the Arabs in Damascus, announcing the liberation of Syria.

"I announce to you," the telegram ran, "the liberation of Arabic Syria. The Turkish army is scattered. The army of the Arabs fill the plains and mountains. Make ready, ye sons of the Arabs. Seize all camps and enemies. Cast aside religious differences and forget your assemblies. Long live the Arab Kingdom. Long live the Arab Sultan."

This news was received by the people with indescribable joy. Church bells were rung all over the city, rockets sent up at night, women sent forth their shrill cries as in times of great joy and at weddings [the *zalahit*, once heard, never forgotten], and the shouts of the multitude filled the air, but mostly, the people wept from their great joy. An electric thrill of gladness permeated every heart, when the government in every town and village was handed over to the sheikhs and other chosen men.

Six days later the English and Indian troops entered the city, coming from Tyre and Sidon, preceded by thousands of cavalry escorting the great army of infantry and trains of camels bearing ammunition led by Egyptians, as well as armored cars.

Entering the city, they proceeded to Liberty Square, which now is called Martyrs' Square, that the Arab flag should be raised. This act was committed to the daughter of al Muhammadasati, who after raising the emblem, delivered an eloquent address to the great throng who received it as from one inspired, for the lover of the girl and her brother, with twelve others, had been hung on that very spot early in the war, for sympathizing with the Arab movement.

The English army stayed but three days in Beirut, then departed to take Aleppo, for word had come of a massacre there by the Turks of the Arab inhabitants.

The harbor is being put in shape, and to-day is crowded with English and French war craft. The boats, which were loaded and sunk to obstruct the entrance, are being removed. The tiny Turkish warship, *Aun Allah*, which was sunk by Italian fleet during the war with Italy, has removed also, as well as a German submarine, which is now on shore where the people see it.

THE FOOD SITUATION

It appears after investigation that there is enough grain of all kinds in the land to last the people for three years. Certain rich Syrians connived with the Turkish authorities and cornered the grain, which act has been the cause of the death of hundreds of thousands of the inhabitants. The new government is hard after these men who are guilty of this crime, and the greatest of them all, one Zelzel, is under arrest and will suffer the consequences of his guilt with other traitors. Another one equally guilty, the Amir Shakib Arslan, fled to Constantinople, fearing to face what he knows is his due.

The reason why life was so hard in addition to the cruelty of the Turks was the extreme high cost of food. The Turkish lira would soar in price, then fall as suddenly, as though it were a thermometer. Sometimes it would be worth twenty piastres, then drop to fourteen. One might be possessed of five liras at night, to awaken on the morrow to find he had not one hundred piastres, but sixty piastres.

A rotl (a little less than six pounds) of wheat was worth 250 piastres, an okeya (1/12 of a rotl) of bread 20 piastres. Even millet, which the people were forced to use when the price of wheat became prohibitive, cost 15 piastres the okeya.

As for sweets, there were none, sugar being scarcer than red sulphur, an okeya bringing 90 piastres. Carob molasses sold for 30 piastres the okeya.

The price of clothing was absolutely prohibitive. A pair of stockings sold for from 50 to 80 piastres. A dra'a (3/4 of a yard) of muslin cost a whole lira. A new suit (men's) would cost more than 50 liras. The people went without new clothes. Everything that would bring money was sold in order that food might be obtained.

The poor were the victims of mal-nutrition, which carried off thousands, as did utter lack of food. The Turks, instead of trying to ameliorate conditions, commandeered all medicines in the country for the army, as well as all physicians, leaving one doctor to every ten towns. Conditions may be imagined when epidemics, deadly in character, swept through the land, with no doctors and no medicines.

At one time, there was widespread belief that the end of the world was near, the Prophet Daniel being quoted that the resurrection would take place after "a time, times and half a time." When two years and a half passed and the prophecy was unfilled, the people lost hope and prayed for death for their children, that they might not see them starve before their eyes.

Thus the days went by, the dead waiting for some one to bury them, the living, expecting death, when God sent relief by the hand of Great Britain. May God reward her!

This statement, from a Syrian source, tells more eloquently than any official document what British occupation meant to the people.

THE FRENCH "TANK"

WHILE the British and American "tank" models became fairly familiar to a great part of the American public before the war was over, less was known in this country concerning the new French type, named for its designer the Renault car. This mighty engine of war is described in *L'Illustration* (Paris) for October 26th last. The writer begins with a survey of the various tank models employed on the Western Front before this latest French design had been perfected. All of these machines, he says, while presenting differences in weight and the manner of driving, seemed designed for maximum speed and offensive power. Some of them represented a gross weight of twenty-five tons, with a carrying capacity of seven or eight men.

Although all of these machines did good work, in course of time it became desirable to choose between two principal types: The heavy machine, capable of considerable offensive efforts, and the light machine, compensating for its relatively feeble armament by its lightness and ease of maneuvering and the fact that a number could be put in action at one time and place. In the last three months of the war it was the tank of the second type that played a decisive part in Allied victories, and this type is represented by the invention of Louis Renault, the great constructive engineer.

The Renault car of to-day has the shape of a

long and narrow coffer with beaked ends. It is about 4 meters long, not counting the tail; its maximal height is 2 meters, and its width 1.8 meters. It is built of plates of special steel . . . whose thickness varies from 6 to 16 meters, withstanding bullets and small-caliber shrapnel. In the first model the tower was polygonal and bolted together; to-day it is generally moulded in a one-piece bell-shape by the new Paul Girod process, which permits of the moulding of special steel into shapes as resistant to shell-fire as forged or laminated steels.

The interior is divided into two compartments by a diaphragm which isolates the men from the motor chamber. In front, under the hood, the driver sits under the floor, with his feet extended towards three pedals controlling the engine (?) . . . Three levers are within the reach of his hand. . . . Behind him stands the gunner covered by the turret which revolves together with the machine-gun or the 37-mm. cannon with which it is armed. Sometimes the turret is immovable and holds a 75-mm. gun. Against the diaphragm is the starter, which can also be manipulated from the outside. Slits about three mm. high are so disposed as to give a free view to the front and the sides from the interior. The men enter and leave by the hood, which the driver closes down upon himself. An escape door is located in the back side of the movable tower.

In the rear compartment are situated the motor (of the Renault type), the gasoline tank, and the radiator—whose action is reinforced by a ventilating apparatus, which ventilates the whole interior besides.

The propulsion means, beyond the engine, comprises two parts, the chain (tread) and the wheels.

Either flank of the car consists of a double-T steel girder in the shape of an elongated racket, the rear arm of which holds the axis of a large

Driver : Gunner
Lever and brake

INTERIOR OF THE RENAULT CAR

denticulated wheel, called the "barbotin," on which plays an endless chain made of large articulating plaques of steel, which chain also revolves on the forward wheel. The "barbotin" engages directly with the motor and communicates a continuous motion to the chain.

Moreover, the two T-girders are united by a truck of two trees holding respectively five and four rollers which rest on the chain. When the latter turns, it moves the rollers, giving them an endless track displacing itself with the forward movement of the tank. The connections of the chains to the motor being independent, steering is effected by disconnecting the tread on either side. Or, instead of simply veering to one side, the tank can be turned about *in situ* by reversing the drive of one of the treads. This it does with astonishing ease and rapidity.

The little monster weighs about seven tons when in action and attains on level ground a speed of ten kilometres an hour. However, this very considerable speed plays but a slight rôle in the field of battle. Its advantages lie in its weight and its momentum (?), wherewith it goes through barbed wire as if it were straw and

crashes through masonry walls almost 40 cm. high.

As to its gymnastic proclivities, they result from the unusual grip on the soil made by the chains and from a judicious localization of the center of gravity. The Renault car takes 50-degree grades; it can pass through water 80 cm. deep. It goes either forward or backward according to the nature of the ground. . . .

On account of its low center of gravity, the manner in which its equilibrium is maintained, it is practically impossible for it to capsize. In rare instances it may turn over on one side, as, for example, when it becomes stuck in a trench or is surprised by a shell-hole made beside it as it advances. Almost always it rises again when companion tanks take it in tow.

A man knowing how to drive an automobile learns easily to drive one of these tanks. The interior doubtless lacks comfort, but it is more endurable in there than civilians suppose. Stories are told of men who remained thirty hours in one of them. And notwithstanding the fatigue and the danger, the number of applications for entry into the "assault artillery" increases daily. Soon we shall have to refuse more applications.

AMERICAN ENGINEERING IN FRANCE

THE American public is just beginning to get detailed information about the railroad system that was built up in France in connection with our great Service of Supply. We knew that engineer regiments were sent over very early in the war and that they gave a good account of themselves not only in the technical work that they were sent to do but on those occasions when they came in close quarters with the enemy on the firing line. In the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia) for December 7th, Isaac F. Marcossou tells the story of the army transportation system as it was created in France to serve American military needs.

It appears that of the nine engineer regiments that went to France, five were destined for railroad construction, three for railroad operation, and one was a shop regiment. The men were all volunteers and came from locomotive cabs, switches, round houses and shops throughout America. When five regiments of these railroad men marched through London in August, 1917, they were mistaken for "regulars," although six weeks before they had been running locomotives, building tracks, or operating lathes in the United States. Within a week they were laying track under fire at the Somme.

It was a group of these engineers who, in that great battle before Cambrai last year, threw away picks and shovels, grabbed guns and leaped to action. It was another company of the same

unit who, when the fate of Amiens trembled in the balance last spring, did the same trick and became part of Brigadier-General Carey's famous "scratch" army. Such is the spirit of the American engineers who built the foundation and much of the structure of our transportation system in France; the type of organization a detachment of which laid nearly three miles of narrow-gauge railroad in seven hours while two companies built two warehouses containing forty thousand square feet of floor space in eight and a half hours!

Go to any one of the ports that we use in France and you will see the results of their labors, which began with bare hands and improvised tools. For the sake of illustration I will use two major ports. The first—Base Section Number One—is that historic one-time fishing town which will always be bound to the United States by sentimental ties, where the first American Expeditionary Force set foot on French soil. In August, 1917, the whole dock and unloading facilities were not only hopelessly inadequate for our needs, but the prospect of increasing them was equally disheartening. Though there were two large lock basins the anchorage outside was inadequate, while the discharging facilities were poor. Only six ships of ten thousand tons each could be discharged simultaneously. The dock buildings were old and rattled. There were a few rusty cranes; the beds of the railroad tracks alongside had bogged in the wet ground. We had no barges for lightering. When our first locomotives arrived in a deep-draft ship we had to use an ocean-going steamer for a lighter, transfer the engines to her deck and then bring them into one of the basins in this crude and cumbersome way. Such were the handicaps under which we labored for months.

But those engineers got busy. At the outset a

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AMERICAN LOCOMOTIVES ON AMERICAN-BUILT TRACKS IN FRANCE

discharge of two thousand tons a day was considered an immense performance at this port; on the day before I write this article, early in September, that same port discharged exactly 10,341 tons. We had not only built those warehouses but in this port and in the great base supply depot, four miles away, we had constructed fifty great warehouses that comprise a city of supply. We have linked those docks and warehouses with more than a hundred miles of tracks and spurs—some of them on concrete roadbed. Before the project is completed it will have a trackage equal to that of Altoona, which is a nerve center of the Pennsylvania system, with two hundred and fifty miles of rails. We have increased the basin facilities until to-day there are berths for twenty-one ships of big tonnage. Fourteen vessels can discharge at the same time.

The A. E. F. in France, with the Pershing foresight that made our whole achievement possible, always looks ahead, and there is now in the course of construction an American pier nearly four thousand feet long, built on American piles, that eventually will accommodate sixteen vessels. The way I saw this pier driven far out into the river day after day with amazing rapidity made the French sit up. Accustomed to putting down massive concrete foundations they were speechless at the spectacle of American piles pounded in at the rate of two hundred a day. Not content with working these wonders on quay and roadbed our engineers have installed a complete water supply for the town, which meant the construction of complete water works and a pumping station with a capacity of six million gallons a day. A five-hundred-thousand-gallon reservoir was simply one feature of the project.

You are not surprised when I tell you that two men largely responsible for the consummation of this work are Lieut. Col. William G. Atwood, who in civil life drove the Alaska Central through the snows and rigors of the frozen north, and Maj. C. S. Coe, the man who built the famous viaduct of the Florida East Coast Railway out across the sea-sprayed reefs where experts had said no man could build. The commanding officer of this engineer regiment, I might add, was Col. John S.

Sewell, who is now in command of the whole base section upon which his men have left such an enduring mark.

All this was not done without labor. The four hundred colored stevedores, yanked from sunny cotton plantation to the bitter winter coast of France, were the nucleus of the labor battalions now operating in this base section, which number 7,600. With the willing, cheerful and uncomplaining toil of these men in khaki many of our wonders have been achieved.

No less remarkable are the engineering results achieved in Base Section Number Two, where in many respects a really stupendous construction effort has been recorded. This port serves one of the largest cities in France and is on a famous river. Here, so far as docks are concerned, we have registered two distinct achievements. When we entered the war there were berths for seven ships at the so-called French docks. If two ships could be discharged a week it was considered a big job. Again, we faced a well-nigh overwhelming problem of inadequate facilities. On the quays were a few sheds and switchmen's shanties; the trackage was slight. Yet at those French docks to-day, thanks to our dredging and construction, seven ships can discharge at the same time into warehouses big as city blocks or to cars that bustle up and down many miles of newly laid rails.

But this performance was as child's play alongside the really amazing feat that has been performed with the building of what will always be known as the American docks. Those first seven berths were hopelessly insufficient for our needs, so the American engineers set in to construct a whole new system of piers and berths along the river and extending north. It involved more than four thousand lineal feet of wharfage.

The land was swampy and low, filled in with silt, mud, garbage and the decomposed refuse of a camp of Annamites, the Indo-Chinese coolies who are employed as laborers by the French, British and American Armies in thousands. Hip deep in this filth our men toiled all through the bitter winter of 1917-18.

The French said that it would take three years

at least, possibly five, to build these wharves. It took less than eight months, and this meant the rearing of nearly a mile of docks washed by the highest tide in France, the erection of concrete platforms with four lines of tracks, eight immense warehouses, the installation of ten electric five and ten-ton cranes which straddle these tracks and lift huge parcels, ranging from bundles of cases of canned goods to whole motor

trucks, direct from ship to car. Nearly seven million feet of lumber, most of it brought from the United States, was used in this enterprise. That former sea of swamp and garbage is now a whirlpool of action—a miniature Duluth—that rings with the riot of a mighty tonnage handled without delay. Where once two ships were unloaded in a week fourteen American vessels are now discharged at the same time.

DUMB ALLIES IN THE WAR

THE exploits and sacrifices of the horse and the dog in the last four years' conflict are the chief subjects of an article by E. G. Sée in a late number of the *Revue de Paris*. France, in the opinion of the author, was in fact for some time less efficient than Britain, not to mention Germany, in the maintenance of, and solicitude for, her "horse soldiery" and "canine army"—both of which have performed inestimable and indispensable services in the war.

Poor, brave horses of France! Where, he asks, have they not borne the brunt of the suffering? . . . When hunger gnawed at their vitals; when no one came to give them drink; when they were ready to collapse from wounds, fatigue, or lack of sleep,—still they trundled on, saying nothing, asking for nothing. Heroic, mute, faithful unto death, they had to "carry on," their riders astride their backs or heavy cannon drag ging behind. . . .

There has been an enormous wastage among the French horses engaged in the struggle, says M. Sée. "These anonymous, unglorified combatants, . . . without whom the famous 75's would have been useless," have suffered deplorable neglect. There has been great lack of horse-ambulances and horse-hospitals in France. Often valuable horses fully recoverable if treated promptly, were at least in the earlier stages of the war left to die from starvation and loss of blood. "The Horse League of France" and its offspring, "The National Committee for the Relief of War Horses," have done much to give larger official scope and more adequate financial means to the veterinary department of the French army; but the writer speaks (doubtless not without some disparagement of his countrymen's efforts in this direction) in rather envious terms of the British Blue Cross and Violet Cross:

The horse hospitals created by our British allies . . . are models of management. While everything military with us appears poor and gloomy, among the Britons conditions are almost

luxurious, or at least prodigiously comfortable. Nothing is lacking in these establishments, however provisional they may be; separate rooms . . . for operations and for the dressing of wounds; isolation posts for cases under observation; stalls for patients arranged according to kind and seriousness of injury, or of malady (contagious or not); covered exercise tracks; recreation fields for convalescents; baths; drug stations; and so on. Is it necessary to add that the personnel, the veterinary doctors and nurses, are of the highest order? Also, the recuperated horses are to be counted by the hundreds of thousands; and the economies realized reach into the millions. . . . Since the war began the English alone have sent about two and a half million horses into France. . . .

After reviewing the services of other tribes of the great horse family, and of other draft animals employed in France and elsewhere in battle regions, the writer comes to the dog.

The dogs were subjected to two periods of training, together occupying as much as eighteen months. The first took three weeks only; it taught the dog general alertness and obedience and insensibility to the various noises of battle. At the end of the period the dog was appointed to this or that special training.

The dogs of the sanitary department proved especially useful in the night-time, when the eyes of stretcher-bearers would fail to notice many of the wounded hidden in shell-potted, overgrown, or otherwise difficult country. The trench dogs were trained to barkless signalling of the approach of possible danger; the "intelligence carriers" (the most highly trained of all) were depended upon to exchange message upon message to continually shifting headquarters, communication posts, and groups of fighters in the front line.

How many of these humble, faithful auxiliaries have fallen in the accomplishment of their tasks! . . . Their acts of heroism, of devotion, of intelligence cover a vast field of story. Ask the soldiers! Few are they who have not some touching anecdote to tell.

THE HAVASUPAI INDIANS OF THE GRAND CANYON

AN expedition sent by the American Museum of Natural History, of New York, into the Grand Canyon of the Colorado under the direction of Mr. Leslie Spier, of the museum staff, has recently returned with a most interesting collection that illustrates the life and habits of the Havasupai Indians who inhabit a part of the floor of a tributary canyon.

Several articles have appeared in newspapers and periodicals which would seem to convey the impression that the Havasupai Indians have not been in contact with the whites of that region, and that their civilization has remained throughout the development of the West essentially the same as it was hundreds of years ago. Mr. Spier states that it was not his intention to convey this impression; that he had said that these Indians had been little known—which is true—

NATIVE HOUSEKEEPER STANDING IN FRONT OF THE EXPLORER'S BRUSH-HOUSE IN THE CANYON

and that they had not been scientifically studied in a systematic manner, nor their peculiar tribal habits and methods of life preserved for future study and observation.

The history of the Havasupai Indians is a bit hazy. They have a legend, in regard to their origin, that they are descended from a daughter of the god Ta-cho-pa. When the bad god Hokomata was about to drown the world Ta-cho-pa fastened his daughter up in a hollowed-out log and set her adrift upon the waters. The log finally drifted to the spot where the Little Colorado unites with the main river. Here she emerged and bore a son to the great planet who sent his rays down upon the earth for the first time, the Sun. Later, a daughter was born who was the child of the waterfall (the Mooney Fall, Havasu Canyon). She sent the son out to hunt and taught the daughter to make baskets. From these children—so the legends run—are the Havasupai descended.

George Wharton James wrote about 1903 in his book, "In and Around the Grand

THE SCENIC GRANDEUR OF HAVASUPAI LAND—THE FERTILE FLOOR OF THE GRAND CANYON

Canyon," that in that year there were about 200 men of the Havasupai tribe inhabiting with their families a side canyon tributary on the south to the Grand Canyon of the Colorado in Arizona. Above the village of the tribe, springs unite to form a beautiful stream whose waters are blue, hence the name "Ha-Ha-va-su" (water-blue). They were known to the Spanish as the Coconino (Kohonino). The Spanish doubtless obtained the name from the Zunis, who speak of the Havasupai as the Kuhnii Kwe, and the region they inhabit as Kuhnii. The common name for them in Arizona was Supaias, which is simply a dividing of their word for blue, *va-su*, with the addition of *pai*, people.

These Indians still live in primitive, temporary shelters thatched with reeds, boughs, and earth in summer and often in caves or crevices in the canyon in the winter. They are natural agriculturists and raise quantities of peaches, pumpkins, corn, melons and other vegetables on their fertile lands at the bottom of the canyon. These they store in rock store-houses above the reach of floods. At the head of Mystic Spring Trail are the ruins of a prehistoric house, of which the Havasupais know nothing. It was there long before their immediate ancestors were born, and how old it is they have no tradition. They state, however, that it was used as a watch-tower where guards were stationed when the members of the tribe were at work at the mescal pits on Le Conte Plateau. . . . This building (a so-called Cliff Dwelling) is nothing more than a corn store-house where they could place their corn, dried peaches, dried pumpkin and other eatables.

Although for many years the men of this tribe were supposed to be of a ferocious nature and were generally shunned, they are kindly, peaceable, and interested in the outside world. They have their medicine men, and chiefs, but they seem to be almost entirely governed by the force of public opinion. Crime is practically unknown, according to Mr. Spier. Although they build insecure brush houses for their homes, they are skilled basket-weavers. Their particular type of basket is that woven of willow, often with striking and brilliant designs. They still use baskets for cooking, made watertight by yucca fibre, omole, and pinion gum lining. A beautiful herring-bone border often finishes the Havasupai baskets. This pattern is also common to the Paiutes and the Navahoes. They are fond of jewelry and buy trinkets for personal adornment of the traders and of the neighboring tribes.

William Wallace Bass, perhaps the most of the guides to the Grand Canyon, who came there for his health from

Shelbyville, Ky., worked for several years to benefit these little-known Indians, and finally succeeded in having a school established for them in their canyon and in getting an instructor-farmer for them. Of their natural surroundings, Mr. James writes with enthusiasm. No other tribe dwells in such an Arabian Nights land. Above them tower the great walls with their colored strata. The light is constantly changing over the towers and peaks of the rim from early dawn until darkness. Along the blue waters of their creek grow willows, mesquite, cottonwood, and other green trees. Their gardens prosper. Indeed, one reason why they are so contented is that they are able to have an abundance to eat.

They give a primitive Russo-Turkish bath which is a kind of ceremonial ablution. Over a willow frame they place layers of blankets. A basket of water is put under the blankets. After the men have entered the frame, hot stones are continuously thrown into the basket of water. The reaction is obtained by a plunge into the icy waters of the creek immediately after the men leave the bath tent. While the bath is being taken it was the custom of the Indians to render a chant which is rendered by Mr. James thus:

My children, my children, listen to me, while to you I speak earnestly:

I love you, or why should I have brought you into being.

I am To-cho-pa, the god of your fathers, who came up out of the earth from the lowest recess;

'Twas I who gave my daughter to be wooed by the Sun and the water,

That you, my children, might be born and live upon the earth.

To-hol-woh is good, my children, for I, To-cho-pas, give it to you.

Make it of willows, green willows, that grow on the banks of the Bava-su;

Cover it with willows and mud that its heat may not be lost.

In the fire place rocks, large and many, and make them fiery-hot.

Then, as brothers, each help the other, as you sit in To-hol-woh.

Those without shall bring the rocks made hot with fierce and burning fire;

And those within shall sing and tell the words I have taught.

Oh, To-hol-woh, thou art a gift from To-cho-pa. Let the heat come, and enter within us, reach head, face, and lungs.

Go deep down in stomach, through arms, body, thighs.

Thus shall we be purified, made well from all ill.

Thus shall we be strengthened to keep back all that can harm.

For heat alone gives life and force.

WHAT ARE MUSEUMS FOR?

CERTAINLY there was never a time in the history of the world when the institutions, customs, and opinions inherited from earlier generations were subjected to such critical scrutiny as they are to-day. Things whose merit we have hitherto taken for granted are now required to justify their existence from the standpoint of contemporary needs, or, if they cannot, to make way for others that can. We are reshaping the paraphernalia of existence; whether wisely or not, the future alone can tell.

Public museums, whether of science, art, industry or what not, have been inspired by various ideals and have performed various functions. Dr. F. H. Sterns, writing in the *Scientific Monthly*, gives us an illuminating analysis of their motives and activities, leading up to an attempt to fix the proper place of the museum in the scheme of current affairs. The motives that inspire the private collector also underlie to a certain extent the assembling of material in museums:

Objects accumulated because of curiosity or the wish for exclusive possession are of one sort, while those gathered because of intellectual interest are of another sort. The one consists of the unique, the unusual, or the spectacular, while the other is made up from the normal, the typical, or the historically or scientifically valuable. The one is measured by the number or the rarity of its specimens, while the other is judged by their representativeness.

If general tendencies may be regarded as evidence, the museums have repudiated the satisfaction of curiosity as their end. Undoubtedly it is still a motive for the visitor, and so appeal must still be made to it; but no well-organized modern institution will cater to it. They no longer find a place for freaks and monstrosities. One will search in vain for three-legged chickens or two-headed calves. Fakes, such as Barnum's mermaid, which once excited so much attention, are rigidly barred. Museum curators devote much energy to the elimination of everything of doubtful authenticity, no matter how interesting it may be. Some places still cling to the old ways, but those of the better class tell us by their actions that they no longer consider it to be their function to satisfy idle curiosity.

Rarity *per se* is no longer a valued attribute in museum collections.

The sense of superiority derived from exclusive possession has likewise been discarded as an aim. The respectable museum no longer boasts of the uniqueness of its specimens. Things whose worth depends largely on their unusualness are not wanted at all. Objects of great

rarity, but of real value, are freely shared with less fortunate institutions, either by the making of copies or by actual loan exhibits. No museum now would reserve for its own members the use and enjoyment of its collections. Self-glorification is no longer an approved motive.

The satisfaction of intellectual interest, on the other hand, as the aim of a museum has now received the sanction both of these institutions themselves and of the public which supports them. More and more are Government agencies in city, State, and nation contributing to aquariums, zoological gardens, art galleries, and natural history museums, because they regard them to be essentially a part of the public school system. Universities and learned societies maintain many such institutions for research. There is an increased desire to interest the public, and to make the collections as useful as possible to investigators, to craftsmen, to the schools, and to the casual visitor. The ideal now is have every one who enters the museum building go out with a broader outlook on life, a deeper conception of the universe in which he dwells, or a keener appreciation of the true and the beautiful.

Admitting that the legitimate function of the museum is to satisfy a thirst for knowledge, we have still the problem of weighing the claims of the research worker and the general public, together with those of posterity, in whose behalf we now preserve in museums objects with otherwise might perish, so that future generations would be robbed of the privilege of inspecting and studying them.

We all recognize the necessity for the careful preservation of those objects which are desirable as records. Time is a great destroyer. Moths and rust corrupt, and thieves are apt to steal. Deterioration, such as is always taking place, progresses much faster when specimens are neglected. It is so easy to misplace things that it seldom happens that they can be found when they are wanted unless they have been cared for. Even if such an object is found, its parts may be so displaced that they can not be restored to their original arrangement, or its record may be lost, so that its exact value or even its authenticity may be open to question. Some person or some institution must make it a business to preserve anything of artistic, historic, or scientific value.

But if museums generally made this their chief business, they would become mere warehouses. To avoid deterioration due to exposure to light, handling, etc., both public exhibition and use by investigators would need to be abridged.

As to the use of museums as places for research Dr. Sterns expresses rather extreme views:

Research is better carried out in other places. The great fields of nature are the places to study nature's ways. Museums at their best contain but a human selection of the things of the universe, and any conclusion based on their specimens is liable to errors due to the personal bias of the selector. Collections should represent the organized results of systematic investigations rather than their sole basis. Museums should be more of a record of researches successfully completed and now made available for all, than of places to carry on such work.

(True of some kinds of research, this is certainly not true of others. For example, a naturalist who undertakes to revise the classification of a group of animals or plants must depend mainly upon museum material, since he cannot hope to duplicate by his own efforts in the field the labors of scores or hundreds of collectors.)

Lastly, granting the great if not the exclusive importance of the museum as an educational institution for the public at large, Dr. Sterns reminds us that

there still remains the question of the type of education to be given. Most of these institutions seem to be to-day in the position the universities were fifty years ago. They believe their function to be educational, but the public must have no say in what it will be taught. The museums have a "required course of study," and this is cultural rather than practical. A few great museums are now trying the "elective system," they have added technical and occupational "classes," and they are even going in for "university" extension. In this democratization of the museums, the needs and desires of the people are being taken more into account, and room is being found even for the craftsman. A museum's chief function is educational, in the widest sense of that term.

THE NEW ERA OF INDUSTRIAL RESEARCH

A GOOD while ago the *Scientific American* ventured the suggestion that the impetus given by the world war to scientific research might produce material and intellectual results that would indemnify humanity for all that the struggle has cost. On another occasion the same journal remarked:

The thaumaturgy of the great war is no way more strikingly evinced than in the creation of various official bodies for the sake of promoting the acquisition of knowledge rather than its application. Officialdom finally realizes that it is impossible to raise crops without first sowing the seed. Adversity is a rough but efficient schoolmaster, and the chastisement that humanity is now undergoing has already driven home some priceless lessons.

Certainly the war has completely altered the attitude of the powers that be, on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, toward scientific investigation. In a brief address, published in *Science*, dealing with the changed order of ideas on this subject, Prof. G. E. Hale, chairman of the National Research Council, says:

At the outbreak of the war the average statesman of the Allied powers was but little concerned with the interest of research. Necessity, however, opened his eyes. He began to perceive the enormous advantages derived by Germany from the utilization of science, and sought to offset by the creation of appropriate agencies throughout the British Empire a

group of councils for scientific and industrial research. The first of these was established in England by an order in council issued in 1915. Subsequently, Canada, Australia and South Africa followed the example of the mother country, and New Zealand proposes to do likewise. The world-wide movement swept across the empire, and its benefits will be felt in every country under the British flag. A similar awakening was experienced in France and Italy, but in both of these countries the pressure of the war concentrated attention for the moment upon military problems. At present, the needs of industry are also under consideration, and research organizations are being developed to meet them.

Our own country followed suit by establishing the National Research Council, which has justified its existence so admirably that everybody hopes it will be made a permanent institution.

The exigencies of the moment have given a one-sided character to the work of these various national organizations, which have thus far devoted their attention almost entirely to industrial problems. This fact is exemplified in the work of the British Advisory Council for Scientific and Industrial Research during the year 1916-17, as set forth in its first annual report.

In this period it devoted itself mainly to the organization of industrial research, partly because of the prime importance of stimulating and fixing the interest of manufacture in the development of industry through research, and partly because the effect of the war has been to render

industrial leaders more susceptible than ever before to the growth of new ideas. In pure science, on the contrary, the war has seriously affected the prosecution of research, because so many investigators have been drawn into military and industrial activities. Thus, while the advisory council strongly emphasizes the fundamental importance of pure science, it has been forced to postpone its activities in this field until the arrival of more favorable conditions.

The British Advisory Council, aided by a government appropriation of one million pounds, is actively promoting the organization of trade research associations for the mutual benefit of the members of the great industries. Thus a provisional committee representative of the British cotton industry has proposed the establishment of a coöperative association for research in cotton, to include in its membership cotton spinning, the thread-making firms, cloth, lace, and hosiery manufacturers, bleachers, dyers, printers, and finishers, which will conduct researches extending from the study of the cotton plant to the "finishing" of the manufactured article. The woolen and worsted manufacturers of Great Britain are also drafting the constitution of a research association, and the Irish flax spinners and weavers are about to do likewise. Research associations will be established by the Scottish shale oil industry and the photographic manufacturers, while various other British industries are looking in the same direction. Thus a national movement for research, directly resulting from the war, has already made marked headway.

In the United States, where research carried on in the laboratories of individual corporations, such as the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, the General Electric Company, the Eastman Kodak Company, the Dupont Companies and the Westinghouse Electric Company, has been so rich in results for the whole nation, there are also some promising examples of coöperative research, analogous to the enterprises recently launched in Great Britain.

A useful example is that afforded by the National Cannery Association, which has established a central research laboratory in Washington, where any member of the association can send his problems for solution and where extensive investigations, the results of which are important to the entire industry, are also conducted.

The National Research Council, aided and supported by the Engineering Foundation, is just entering upon an extensive campaign for the promotion of industrial research. In addition to a strong active committee, comprising the heads of leading industrial laboratories and others prominently identified with scientific methods of developing American industries, an advisory committee has been formed to back the movement.

THE WORLD'S GREATEST POISON-GAS FACTORY

BIT by bit the veil of secrecy is being lifted from the war activities of the lately belligerent countries, and facts are coming to light that surpass in interest the liveliest bulletins from the firing line. One of these revelations is contributed to the *New York Times* by Mr. Richard Barry, who has paid a visit to a government establishment concerning which hardly a shred of information had previously reached the public. He tells us:

Twenty-six miles from Baltimore, on the edge of the Government's vast Aberdeen ordnance proving grounds, is a 300-acre tract, fenced off even from the comparative publicity of the conventional big guns, guarded from prying eyes along every rod by soldiers with drawn bayonets. Twelve months ago it was a Maryland farm. To-day it is the largest poison-gas factory on earth. It can produce, probably three or four times over, more mustard gas, phosgene, chlorine and other noxious fumes than the intensified war output of England, France, and Germany combined. It was just completed and ready to function for the \$60,000,000 invested there when the

armistice was signed on November 11. Now it lies silent and idle like the great cannon along the Lorraine border, but ready to operate at a moment's notice.

The writer was shown over the plant by the commanding officer, Col. W. H. Walker, late professor of chemical engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Colonel Walker expounded the history of gas warfare to his visitor, and pointed out that the Germans evidently had no idea of using gas when the war began; otherwise they would have used it sooner and more effectively than they did. They would, in all probability, have speedily won the war if they had used at the outset the methods that were ultimately developed.

"The French and English, as you know, were reluctant to use gas, deeming it inhumanitarian. Our Government suffered from the same indecision in the early months of our part in the war. However, we came to it in time, just as did the French and English. But, although the English finally utilized every available facility they could

command in the manufacture of toxic gases, their total production at its highest point never went above an average of thirty tons a day. The best the French could do was much less than this. You can get the whole story in one sentence when I tell you that our American capacity for September and October was on an average of two hundred tons a day. Remember that these figures are not in pounds, as powder figures are usually given, but in tons. And a drop of gas, properly placed, kills or incapacitates."

"What was the German production?" I asked.

"We do not know," replied Colonel Walker, "but from available data and the estimates of military observers on the ground we do not think it was over thirty tons a day. It may have been fifty tons a day, but certainly no more."

"It was last October before the American Government decided to manufacture poison gas on a scale commensurate with the rest of our military preparations."

The Government's investment here is \$60,000,000. Elsewhere there has been spent, at various subsidiary plants, about \$12,000,000. Thus all told the United States has spent about \$72,000,000 in the manufacture of toxic gases, practically none of which have any commercial value.

The immense plant, with its miles of railway and piping, and a bewildering array of apparatus installed in buildings of concrete and sheet iron, is remarkable not only for having been completed in less than a year, but also and especially because it embodies many new ideas, for which Colonel Walker is chiefly responsible. The British and French experts who came to aid in the undertaking eventually became students rather than teachers.

As might have been expected, it was difficult to find laborers and operators for an establishment that bristled with new and unknown dangers. On one occasion a general panic was caused by a cloud of dust from an ox-cart, which was mistaken for poison gas. Colonel Walker said:

"Finally we found that no one could or would do the work except soldiers, and the army then detailed to us the necessary allotments. When the armistice was signed we had more than 7000 men, all drafted American citizens, doing the work for \$30 a month, but without honor or glory. At one time we had over 14,000."

"The work of these boys is beyond praise," said Colonel Walker, who spoke of this phase of the activity with deep, affectionate feeling. "I have been striving to get the army authorities to recognize it by bestowing a Service Medal. I contend that no soldier on the firing line is more entitled to it. These fellows have been here risking their lives, day by day, for a pittance. Nothing but patriotism induced them to do it. And every man knew that every time he went to work he stood in imminent danger of serious injury and of losing his life."

Mr. Barry went through the two large hospitals attached to the plant, and he tells some blood-curdling stories of the innumerable injuries caused by the treacherous gases. He believes that when the records of the war are published it will be found that the percentage of casualties at the Edgewater Arsenal, as this plant is called, was as high as that of any division of the Army in France. (We must await official verification of the statement that during last August the admissions to the hospital from the mustard-gas plant were at the rate of 3½ per cent. of the force per day!)

The writer plausibly asserts that the preparations made at this establishment for large-scale production of gas, having become known to the German authorities, were an important factor in leading the enemy to sign the armistice. The commanding officer stated:

"Our idea was to have containers that would hold a ton of mustard gas carried over fortresses like Metz and Coblenz by plane, and released with a time fuse arranged for explosion several hundred feet above the forts. The mustard gas, being heavier than air, would then slowly settle while it also dispersed. A one-ton container could thus be made to account for perhaps an acre or more of territory, and not one living thing, not even a rat, would live through it. The planes were made and successfully demonstrated, the containers were made, and we were turning out the mustard gas in the requisite quantities in September.

"However, there were obstacles besides the physical to overcome. The allied Governments were not in favor of such wholesale gas attack by air. England was the first to accede to it, but France hesitated because of her fear of reprisals. Finally, the French Government consented, but only with the proviso that the attack would not be made until our line had advanced so that there was no chance of the gas being blown back into French territory and until the allied command was in complete command of the air so as to insure safety from possible reprisals. These two conditions could not have been met before next spring. It was then that we planned to release the one-ton containers over the German cities which were fortified and so became subject to attack under the laws of war.

"We would have had ready in France for such an attack thousands of tons of mustard gas. There is not the slightest doubt in my mind that we could have wiped out any German city we pleased to single out, and probably several of them, within a few hours of giving the release signal.

"We closed down the day the armistice was signed. We had more than 2500 tons waiting on the piers ready for shipment. Somehow we had been cheated of our prey, but we were content. We felt sure the gas had done its work even though most of it still lay idle in our dooryard."

THE NEW BOOKS

WAR AND PEACE

The Great Adventure. By Theodore Roosevelt. Charles Scribner's Sons. 204 pp. \$1.

In this little book Colonel Roosevelt pays his tribute to the officers and men of our army in France, who, he says, "have established a record such as only the few very finest troops of any other army could equal, and which could not be surpassed." Colonel Roosevelt proceeds to show why it is that Americans were willing to give their lives in the Great Adventure, and how a sound nationalism is related to a sound internationalism. He cannot refrain from a word of warning against "parlor Bolshevism"—a peril to which America seems peculiarly subject.

Foch The Man. By Clara E. Laughlin. Fleming H. Revell Company. 155 pp. Ill. \$1.

This first popular biography of the Allied General-in-Chief has been given to the world by an American woman who was singularly fortunate in securing materials that never before had been made known to the English-speaking world. There is a prefatory word of appreciation from Lieutenant-Colonel Réquin, of the French General Staff, who contributed the character sketch of Marshal Foch to the December number of this REVIEW. Miss Laughlin's account of the great Marshal's career is gracefully written and interesting throughout.

The Essentials of an Enduring Victory. By André Chéradame. Charles Scribner's Sons. 259 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

A book written for the express purpose of stimulating public opinion during the armistice period preceding permanent peace. M. Chéradame, the French publicist, who is now in this country, wishes to warn the Allies against the dangers of any form of negotiated peace. He insists on Germany's absolute disarmament and full reparation for war damages.

The People's Part in Peace. By Ordway Tead. Henry Holt & Co. 156 pp. \$1.10.

A popular statement of the problems before the Peace Conference in their economic aspects. Excluding from his consideration questions of self-determination, territorial adjustment, and political demands of all sorts, the author concentrates on questions of raw materials, foreign trade and investments, shipping, and labor laws. His aim is to show how practical effect may be given to the Inter-Allied Labor War Aims, which he regards as in complete harmony with President Wilson's "fourteen points."

Impressions of the Kaiser. By David Jayne Hill. Harper & Brothers. 368 pp. \$2.

The title of Dr. Hill's book only partly con-

notes its content; for the "impressions" have been expanded, by orderly and scholarly process, into a connected, clearly-stated exposition of German imperialism. As American Ambassador to Germany in 1908-11, Dr. Hill came to know the Kaiser well at a time when he was "under fire" on the field of diplomacy. Dr. Hill's account is restrained, judicious, and temperate throughout. His method of dealing with Wilhelm II is the historian's method—that is to say, he lets the Kaiser reveal himself through his own acts and words.

The United States in the World War. By John Bach McMaster. D. Appleton & Company. 485 pp. \$3.

A convenient summary of the documentary and diplomatic history of the part played by the United States in the Great War. The story begins with Germany's declaration of war in 1914, and proceeds with an account of each successive phase of the conflict that had a bearing on the final decision of the United States to enter the war. There are chapters on neutral trade, on the war restrictions placed on it, the sinking of the *Lusitania* and other ships without warning, the campaigns of propaganda carried on in America, and the revelations of German intrigue that came after our active participation began.

The Reckoning. By James M. Beck. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 225 pp. \$1.50.

A timely discussion of the moral aspects of the peace problem, with particular reference to the reconstruction of Germany and of America's part as peacemaker. The concluding chapter is an exposition of President Wilson's "fourteen points" in which the author does not hesitate to express dissent from such statements of principle as seem to him inadequate.

The World War and Leadership in a Democracy. By Richard T. Ely. The Macmillan Company. 189 pp. \$1.50.

In this little book Professor Ely condenses the fruitage of a lifetime devoted to the study of the conditions and problems that are suggested by the title. Forty years ago he was a student at the German universities of Halle, Heidelberg, and Berlin. His last visit to Germany was in 1913; and throughout the intervening period his observation of the factors of German strength and weakness was kept up through various contracts. Professor Ely's mature estimate of the sources of Germany's power is important. He concedes much to the German encouragement of leadership in a democracy, which is really the chief contribution made by the book. From this point of view, Professor Ely disapproves of primary elections and refuses to accept the referen-

dom or the recall as panaceas. On the other hand, he makes thought-provoking suggestions regarding the range and possibilities of leadership in American public life. He is a firm believer in the value of the representative system as worked out in our democracy.

The World's Debate. By William Barry. George H. Doran Company. 332 pp. \$1.50.

A Catholic priest's review and defense of the course of the Allies in the war. Although written from an English standpoint, it contains an appreciative chapter on America's part in the great debate. Dr. Barry is a distinguished English scholar and historian.

America and Britain. By H. H. Powers. The Macmillan Company. 76 pp. 40 cents.

A frank, straightforward story of Anglo-American relations from Colonial days to the present moment. Mr. Powers does well to make no concealment of the fact that this is, as he says, "the record of two very human peoples, both keen in the pursuit of self-interest, and much more conscious of immediate than of ultimate ends." Nevertheless, as Mr. Powers points out, these peoples have always on the whole gotten on together, and have differed and even quarreled without permanent estrangement. It is his conviction that as no crisis in our history has been, or could have been safely passed without the sympathy of Great Britain, so it may be said from this time on, not a single crisis in the history of either people can be safely passed without mutual aid and help.

The Doctor in War. By Woods Hutchinson. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 481 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

The value and interest of Dr. Hutchinson's book is in no way lessened because the fighting has stopped. The facts that it sets forth are of permanent interest, having to do not merely with the welfare of the soldier and sailor in war-time, but with the physical progress of the race in time of peace. What Dr. Hutchinson learned in his year passed in the base hospitals and training camps in England, France, and Italy has a direct application in the unceasing warfare with disease that is conducted by all modern nations. The distinctly optimistic tone of the book would seem to most readers to be fully justified by the triumphs of medical and surgical science that it describes. We may indeed accept the physical upbuilding of our troops as one of the compensations for the hardship that our country has undergone in taking its part in the Great War.

The Ninety-First: The First at Camp Lewis. By Alice Palmer Henderson. Tacoma: John C. Barr. 510 pp.

We have in this story of the Ninety-first Division at Camp Lewis a book which derives its broad, general interest from its definitely local character. The call to arms created like magic a series of military towns. If a writer undertook to tell about the human side of experience in all these camps, the attempt would fail. Each camp was large enough and varied enough to justify an elaborate picture of its own. Furthermore, such a picture, to be clear and consistent, must pertain to a particular period in the life of the camp,

and cannot very well describe successive divisions, but must content itself with one body of men who at a particular time were organized as the population of this military community. Mrs. Henderson, who is an accomplished scholar in Northwestern history and conversant with natural science, gives a most agreeable picture of the topography of Camp Lewis, and reminds us of the history of the Lewis and Clark exploration. The book contains many pictures of officers and camp scenes, and has a series of pages left partly blank for the personal records of individual soldiers. This idea is so good that one may suggest the author would have been justified in increasing the number of such pages. The very freedom and informality of the book adds to its value for the thousands who were associated with the Ninety-first Division at Camp Lewis, while helping to show other divisional or cantonment historians how great is the opportunity to make an indispensable book while memories are fresh and illustrations are available.

Heroes of Aviation. By Laureance La Tour-ette Driggs. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 301 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

Interesting accounts of the achievements of French, British, and American airmen during the war. One striking fact brought out by the author is that twenty British aviators have exceeded by over one hundred the number of victories claimed by the best twenty aces of the Germans. In this volume, for the first time, the complete story of the American Lafayette Escadrille is given in detail.

German Submarine Warfare. By Wesley Frost. D. Appleton & Company. 243 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

The author of this book was United States consul at Queenstown when the *Lusitania* was sunk, and had intimate knowledge, not only of that crime, but of many other U-boat sinkings of merchant vessels, has made a careful study of the methods and spirit of German submarine warfare. Having examined the reports of hundreds of survivors of torpedoed ships and verified many stories of German ruthlessness, his testimony and conclusions are of the highest importance. His reports of these matters to the Government at Washington were officially commended by the Secretary of State and an introduction to the present volume is supplied by Mr. Frank Lyon Polk, Counsellor for the Department.

Alsace-Lorraine. By George Wharton Edwards. Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Company. 335 pp. Ill. \$6.

As a relief from the political and diplomatic discussions of Alsace-Lorraine, this volume of sketches of the people, country, and many of the ancient buildings of the two provinces, together with the descriptive text by Mr. Edwards is most entertaining. Most of the drawings are reproduced in color and remind one of the best examples of the earlier work of Mr. Edwards, as presented in "Vanished Halls and Cathedrals of France" and "Vanished Towers and Chimes of Flanders."

Unchained Russia. By Charles Edward Russell. D. Appleton and Company. 323 pp. \$1.50.

Mr. Russell was a member of the American Special Diplomatic Mission to Russia in 1917. In this volume he states clearly and tersely the various political points of view in the new Russia, and answers many questions about the land and the people that Americans have been asking for many months. He has made a useful contribution to our knowledge of the present régime in that puzzling country.

The City of Trouble. By Meriel Buchanan. Charles Scribner's Sons. 242 pp. \$1.35.

The writer of this story of Petrograd since the revolution of 1917 is the daughter of Sir George Buchanan, for eight years British Ambassador to Russia. Miss Buchanan begins her dramatic narrative with the Czar's downfall and brings it down to the departure of the British Ambassador from Petrograd early this year. Perhaps no other book in English has given so vivid a picture of individual life in Russia during the past two troublous years as this unpretentious little volume.

The Village: Russian Impressions. By Ernest Poole. The Macmillan Company. 234 pp. \$1.50.

It is the purpose of Mr. Poole's book to show how the Russian peasantry, who make up nearly ninety per cent. of the total population of the country, have reacted to the war and the Russian Revolution. Mr. Poole acquired his material by talking with Russians of every degree whom he

met on the roads and throughout the countryside. In other words, he made a practise of "keeping his ear to the ground."

Luxemburg and Her Neighbors. By Ruth Putnam. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 484 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

Now that the remaking of the map of Europe is reviving interest especially in all the smaller states, there is peculiar timeliness in the appearance of this well-written and scholarly account of the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg from the eve of the French Revolution to the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, with a preliminary survey of eight centuries from 963 to 1780. The entire Grand Duchy has an area of 999 square miles, its greatest length being fifty-five miles and its greatest breadth thirty-four. It is still what it has been for a thousand years—a borderland between Teutonic, Gallic, and Belgic peoples. Rhenish Prussia lies to the North and East, Lorraine on the South, France to the Southwest, and Belgium on the West. Miss Putnam's story of the political fortunes of the little Duchy will be quite new to most American readers.

Serbia. By L. F. Waring. Henry Holt and Company. 256 pp. 60 cents.

Readers of Mr. Stead's article on Serbia in the December REVIEW OF REVIEWS will find in the latest volume of the "Home University Library" an excellent authoritative treatment of the subject, giving much information of an encyclopedic kind which cannot be presented within the limits of an ordinary magazine article. The preface is supplied by the Serbian Minister in London, and there is a bibliography at the end of the volume.

BIOGRAPHY: RECOLLECTIONS: EXPERIENCES

Men Who Have Meant Much to Me. By John B. Calvert. Fleming H. Revell Company. 223 pp. \$1.25.

Dr. Calvert brings together in this volume a series of tributes, eleven in number (which he had written and published separately) to the character and services of men with whom he had been associated—most of them, perhaps all, having been prominent in the educational or religious work of the American Baptist Church. The first and most extended is an appreciation of Dr. Martin B. Anderson, who was for thirty-five years president of the University of Rochester, and whose marked personality impressed itself upon thousands of students. The second man in the list is the late Edward Bright, who for thirty-eight years was editor of the *Examiner*, a widely influential denominational paper. The Rev. Dr. George H. Brigham was a secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, and Dr. Daniel C. Eddy was active in Baptist home missions and a leader of the Baptist churches. The other men to whom this book pays tribute are William Cauldwell, James D. Squires, Henry W. Barnes, Charles W.

Brooks, Lemuel Moss, Thomas Oakes Conant, and Henry Lyman Morehouse,—all of them typical American leaders of their generation.

Chapters from My Life. By Sir Henry S. Lunn. Cassell & Co. 422 pp. Ill. 10/6 net.

Sir Henry Lunn is better known to Americans as Dr. Lunn, at one time editor of the *Review of the Churches*. The author of these autobiographical chapters, while still active and influential in England, has had a long experience of useful service and valuable association. He was educated in two professions, and was a medical missionary in India, as well as a Methodist minister. He returned to England and took part in many social and religious movements, being intimately associated with the late Rev. Hugh Price Hughes and many leaders in all denominations. The great work of his life has been directed toward the reunion of the Protestant churches. This volume is a very valuable contribution to the history of religious progress in Great Britain during the past forty years. Sir Henry's reminiscences include also his American visits.

Correspondence of Sir Arthur Helps. Edited by his son, E. A. Helps. 405 pp. \$4.

This remarkable collection of letters covers the period 1829-75, and is concerned chiefly with current politics and literature in Great Britain. The son has included in the volume several articles written by his father for *Fraser's Magazine* in the sixties of the last century. Sir Arthur enjoyed the confidence and friendship of Queen Victoria and was on terms of intimacy with Tennyson, Dean Stanley, John Stuart Mill, Disraeli, Froude, Carlyle, Dickens, Kingsley, and many other English leaders of their generation. Some of the correspondence printed in this volume was with Harriet Beecher Stowe, and recalls the publication of "Uncle Tom's Cabin."

From Turkish Toils. By Mrs. Esther Mugerditchian. George H. Doran Company. 45 pp. 10 cents.

The narrative of an Armenian family's escape from their Turkish oppressors. The writer is the wife of an Armenian pastor who became attached to the British Oriental Consular Service in 1896 and in 1904 was appointed British Vice

Consul in Dear Biker. Mrs. Mugerditchian and her family, dressed in Kurdish costume, succeeded in making their escape into the country held by the Russians. Her husband is at present serving the British authorities of Egypt.

Reminiscences of Lafcadio Hearn. By Setsuko Koizumi. Houghton, Mifflin. 88 pp. \$1.

Rarely has a wife written so tender and intimate a record of her husband's life as that revealed to us by the translation from Japanese into English of "Reminiscences of Lafcadio Hearn," by his Japanese wife, Setsuko Koizumi. It shows us the lovelier side of Hearn's character, his devotion to his work and to his family, his tenderness and love for the trees, flowers, and insects that were in his garden, and beyond this the utter peace and satisfaction of his simple life in Japan far from the disturbances of our Western civilization. In the last chapter, Madame Setsuko writes of the things Hearn liked extremely. They were: "The west, sunsets, summer, the sea, swimming, the Japanese cedar, lonely cemeteries, insects, ghostly tales, and songs. . . . One of his pleasures was to wear the *yukata* in his study and listen quietly to the voice of the cricket."

RELIGION: THEOLOGY: PSYCHIC PHENOMENA: ETHICS

The Twentieth Century Crusade. By Lyman Abbott. Macmillan. 110 pp. 60 cents.

A book that blazes a trail through the confusions of modern religious thought and the tragic perplexities of spirit that assail us because of the catastrophe of the war. In the introductory chapter, "The Three Crosses," Dr. Abbott symbolizes by the crosses of Golgotha, the three classes of sufferers in Europe to-day—the brigand on land and the pirate on the sea, those who have sinned and abandoned their sin, and those who have laid down their lives a sacrifice to crimes in which they had no share. Nine chapters in the form of letters follow this introduction. They are: "Perplexities," "The Battle of Life," "The Peace Makers," "The Old Gospel," "We Glory in Tribulations," "The Republic of God," "Christ's Peace," "Show Me Thy Paths, Oh Lord," and "Coronation." Dr. Abbott says that he has written the book for everyone who has shared in the great sacrifice of the world's Golgotha, "whether they are Roman Catholics or Protestants, believers or agnostics, Christians or Jews." It is a book of lofty idealism and triumphant Christianity.

The Religion of a Man of Letters. By Gilbert Murray. Houghton, Mifflin. 49 pp. \$1.

A graceful and powerful essay delivered as a presidential address to the Classical Association in January, 1918, that reveals the religion of the scholar as the reverent handing down of the intellectual acquisitions of the human race from one generation to another. Dr. Murray finds the religion of faith manifest in the scholar, since in the process of rationalization he must in the ultimate wisdom of the unknown : of the universe.

A Not Impossible Religion. By Silvanus P. Thompson. John Lane. 331 pp. \$1.50.

An inspiring book that was in the course of preparation at the time of Professor Thompson's death. He had long wished to write an interpretation of modern Christianity which would meet the needs of others as it had met those of his own life. His death occurred before he had written the last chapter, which was to have been called "Finis Coronat." He held that the blind theologian, with his useless, dead theological equipment, made orthodox religion impossible to the man of reason and sane judgment. Also that while false gods must be cast out of the Temple, the Temple must not remain empty; the religious teachings of the future must be equal to the growing spiritual needs of humanity.

The Church After the War. By William Oxley Thompson, Abingdon Press. 32 pp. 25 cents.

An address delivered before the Ohio Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at Columbus. Bishop William Anderson, who has written the introduction, commends the lecture-sermon as a sane and constructive statement of world religious conditions. President Thompson considers church unity, a unified Christianity, as the sign of the greatest epoch since the birth of Christ.

Good and Evil. By Loring W. Batten, Ph.D., S.T.D. Revell. 224 pp. \$1.25.

Under this title, Dr. Batten publishes the Paddock Lectures, which he delivered in 1917-18. In them he considers the problem presented to man by the evil that has always existed in the world. He-

brew theology he finds inadequate to account for the catastrophe of the world war. Only by a pragmatic view of the problem are thoughtful people to arrive at any satisfactory conclusions. Dr. Batten is Professor of the Literature and Interpretation of the Old Testament in the General Theological Seminary of New York.

The New Death. By Winifred Kirkland, Houghton, Mifflin. 173 pp. \$1.25.

This helpful book offers a solution for the enigma of the wastage of the world's youth in the war by means of a new interpretation of death, viz., that death is evolutionary, rather than absolute. The author writes: "If our faith is to lead us where our dead boys have gone, it must be a faith built like theirs of spirit-values."

This Life and the Next. By P. T. Forsyth. Macmillan. 122 pp. \$1.

A vigorous, intensive study of the effect on this life of faith in another life. There is more clear thinking and logical reasoning in this small volume than in a dozen of the average books on religious subjects. Everyone who believes in immortality, or would like to believe in it, should read Professor Forsyth's conclusions on the possibility of our being able to live in Eternity here and now.

Religions of the Past and Present. Edited by Dr. J. A. Montgomery. Philadelphia. Lipincott. 425 pp. \$2.50.

A series of papers that will be most welcome to the student who wishes to give serious consideration to the religious life of the world to-day. The significance of religion in ancient and modern life is outlined and discussed in a collection of papers written by members of the Department of the History of Religions, of the University of Pennsylvania. Primitive religions are treated by Frank G. Speck, a scholar of great prominence among anthropologists; W. Max Müller, the great Egyptologist, contributes his specialty; Dr. Morris Jastrow has written authoritatively of the Babylonian religions and Mohammedanism; the editor, J. A. Montgomery, contributes a paper on the religion of the Hebrews; Franklin Edgerton comments on the Veda, Buddhism, and Brahminism; and Roland G. Kent writes brilliantly of Zoroastrianism. The religion of the Greeks has been treated by Walter W. Hyde; Dr. D. Hadzsits writes of the Religion of the Romans; Amandus Johnson of the Religion of the Teutons. William B. Newbold of Primitive Christianity; and Arthur C. Howland of Medieval Christianity.

The Religious Teachings of the Old Testament. By Albert C. Knudson. The Abingdon Press. 416 pp. \$2.50.

The clarity of Professor Knudson's style renders this book particularly attractive to both clergy and laity. It is an account of the development of the main religious ideas of the Old Testament, and an exposition of their relation to modern thought. It is excellently adapted for the use of Bible students and Sunday-school classes on account of the topical method adopted by the

author. One sees, from the development of the chapters, that the native tendencies in the Hebrew race naturally led to the doctrine of the resurrection of the body and the living faith of modern Christianity. Dr. Knudson has done extensive research work on the Old Testament. His previous books, "Old Testament Problems," and "Beacon Lights of Prophecy," are widely known as authoritative books of reference.

Religion: Its Prophets and False Prophets. By James Bishop Thomas, Ph.D. Macmillan. 256 pp. \$1.50.

A study of two types of religion—the prophetic and the exploiting type—in an endeavor to reveal a universal religion which is the essence of Christianity. A dynamic and inspiring book that finds in Jesus Christ the supreme development of the prophetic type of religion.

"The Good Man and the Good." By Mary Calkins. Macmillan. 219 pp. \$1.30.

A study in ethics which it is a privilege to read. The pleasant, easy style of the exposition delivers its conclusions to the reader's mind with all the charm of an inspiring conversation. It is an exceptional volume in that it may be used as a textbook on ethics, and also serve as a book of comfort and inspiration to men and women, baffled by the cross purposes of life, who are yet seeking conscious unity with God.

The Reality of Psychic Phenomena. By W. J. Crawford. Dutton. 246 pp. \$2.

A most interesting account of remarkable scientific experiments carried out in 1915 and 1916 by a university lecturer in mechanical engineering, to determine by the use of delicate measuring apparatus, the amount, direction, and nature of the force used in the levitation of tables and other spiritualistic phenomena. The results obtained were astonishing, and the author has been able from them to enunciate an entirely new theory of the mechanical method employed by unseen forces in the production of psychic phenomena. The text is supplied with cuts and diagrams illustrating the experiments in mechanical detail.

Psychic Tendencies of To-day. By Alfred W. Martin. Appleton. 161 pp. \$1.50.

A résumé of the development of the various new religious movements, especially those which have revived interest in psychic phenomena. Mr. Martin discusses in Part Three his impressions of the theories advanced by Sir Oliver Lodge in "Raymond." The book is enlarged from a series of addresses given in New York under the auspices of the "League for Political Education."

The Dynamite of God. By Bishop William A. Quayle. Methodist Book Concern. 320 pp. \$1.50.

Twenty sermons characteristic of Bishop Quayle's inimitable diction and militant Christianity. They are fervent pleadings with humanity for the realization that Christ was at once a revelation and a revolution, that He is "the power of God in the entirety of man's life."

POETRY AND VERSE TECHNIC

ONE gains an excellent idea of the progress of poetry in Russia from the preface to "Modern Russian Poetry"—an anthology edited and translated by P. Selver. The poems are given in the original Russian and in closely rendered English translations. They cover the period from the beginning of the poetic revival in Russia, about the year 1890, to the present day. Of the ten Russian poets, whose work is represented in this volume, Balmont was influenced especially by English poets. His translations include renderings of Shelley, Whitman, and Edgar Allan Poe. Bryusov, six years younger than Balmont, came under the influence of Verlaine, Verhaeren, and Maeterlinck. The poetic center focused by Balmont and Bryusov had for its organ the review, *Vyessy* (The Balance). A group of poets who developed another literary center in the Russian capital a few years previous to the establishment of the Moscow center, included the Russian novelist, critic and poet, D. S. Merezhkovsky, his wife, Zinaida Hippus, N. Minsky, and F. Sologub. Minsky, whose real name is Vilinkin, at one time founded with Gorky, a socialistic daily paper. Mr. Selver ranks him as essentially a poet of transition. Sologub (pseudonym for Teternikov) "is dominated by eternal twilight." He is a decadent in the narrow sense of the word. Zinaida Hippus' poems contain "hazily mystical thoughts" and highly colored imagery. The poetry of Merzhkovsky reflects the ideas found in his other writings and affords commentary on them.

Ivan Bunin has felt the influence of Russian folk song. He is best known as a translator of Longfellow's "Hiawatha." Besides writing poetry, he has written stories of Russian country life and a realistic novel of Russian life immediately following the revolution. The verses of Alexander Block, Mr. Selver finds devout and austere in tone. Vladimir Solovyov, a champion of Russian Catholicism, he regards as the source of modern Russian Symbolism. Mention is made briefly of the philosophic verses of Vyatcheslav Ivanov, and of the poetry of Kuzmin, Voloshin, Annensky, Baltrushaitis, and Count Alexis Tolstoy—Tolstoy III., as he is called. Another of the younger poets of distinction is Andrey Ryley, also author of a novel that follows in the tradition of Gogol, "The Silver Dove." After these Russian poets there has arisen a generation of younger poets in whose work there is evidence of extravagance and eccentricity. Time will prove the worth of their pretensions. Mr. Selver's book forms the Russian section of an extensive Slavonic anthology which, so far as it has been completed, includes representative selections from the modern poetry of the Poles, Czechs, and Serbs.

Two books by Conrad Aiken have been published within the year. Both contain symphonic poems of extraordinary beauty that definitely place Mr. Aiken in the first rank of American celebrities. The first, "Nocturne of Re-

membered Springs," revealed Mr. Aiken as the explorer of a psychic borderland of beauty where images gradually shape themselves to definite form. The title poem of the second volume, "The Charnel Rose," is explained by Mr. Aiken in a brief preface. He writes that the poem is on the theme of nympholepsy—nympholepsy in the broad sense, interpreted as the impulse that sends us from one dream, or ideal, to another, always disillusioned, always creating for adoration some new and subtler fiction. It is a symphony with themes recurring as in music,—emotions, perceptions, the image-stream of consciousness. "The Charnel Rose" succeeds because out of the haze emerge lyrics that fall into definite patterns. The image-stream is beautiful opalescent fog, but nevertheless nothing but fog, which a clear-cut image can sweep away. It is the poetry of the few, not the many.

This is precisely the criticism that must be made of Amy Lowell's polyphonic prose poems in "Can Grande's Castle." Lying in the outlands beyond prose, they are still not within the kingdom of poesy and, paradoxically, there is more poetry in Miss Lowell's prefaces than in the polyphonic forms. That they are brilliant in their technical and intellectual accomplishment is undeniable. Their amazing fecundity of genius bowls over the mind, but fails to touch the emotions.

Some poets think that Whitman was not the poet of American democracy and raise Poe to that high position. An interesting discussion of the respective merits of Poe and Whitman as poets of democracy is contained in the preface of Max Eastman's poems, "Colors of Life." Here again one finds a prose that, rhythm for rhythm, and melodic line for melodic line, is more poetic than most of Mr. Eastman's poems. Exceptions must be made of such intrinsically fine poems as some of the sonnets, particularly the portrait of Isadora Duncan.

The imagism of "Lustra," a collection of poems by Ezra Pound, escapes the fog of mental image-streams. He disdains most of the contrivances of versification, and succeeds by means of an older more classical art. The opening poems are on modern subjects. Following these is "Cathay," translations from the famous Fenollosa manuscripts. A section of earlier poems, and three cantos from a long unpublished poem complete the book. Mr. Pound's extraordinary sensitiveness to beauty motivates the poems, and through the whole weaves in and out his contemptuous attitude toward Philistinism. His poetic purpose is partially defined in "Undräng":

"All things are given over,
Only the restless will

*The Charnel Rose. By Conrad Aiken. The Four Seas Co. 156 pp. \$1.25.

*Can Grande's Castle. By Amy Lowell. Macmillan. 232 pp. \$1.50.

*Colors of Life. By Max Eastman. Knopf. 129 pp. \$1.25.

*Lustra. By Ezra Pound. Knopf. 202 pp. \$1.50.

1 Russian Poetry. By P. Selver. Dutton. 65

1. ne of Remembered Springs. By Conrad Aiken. 140 pages. \$1.25.

Surges amid the stars
Seeking new modes of life
New permutations.

See, and the very sense of what we know
Dodges and hides as in a somber curtain
Bright threads leap forth and hide, and
leave no pattern."

Carl Sandburg's poems of "The Corn-huskers,"¹ represent a strong, virile kind of poesy, the healthy savor of life, and the far-reaching vision that distinguished "Chicago Poems," with an added modicum of lyricism. Notable among the more musical short poems are "Shenandoah," "The Year," the tributes to Adelaide Crapsey and Inez Milholland, and the exquisite "Autumn Movement." Through Mr. Sandburg one feels the vitality and strength of the English tongue at it was in its beginnings.

Professor George Herbert Palmer has selected for his volume of literary criticism, "Formative Types in English Poetry,"² seven writers as marking distinctly the great epochs of English poetry. They are Chaucer, Spenser, George Herbert, Pope, Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Browning. The introductory chapter will delight every student of poetry for its clear analysis of poetic art. Beyond the technic of verse, stress, foot, line, stanza, caesura, end-stopping, vowel-color, alliteration, assonance, etc., Professor Palmer accounts for the charm of poetry by the mysterious untraceable genius of the individual poet. He writes: "Rightly are poets called seers. He who rejects their illuminating aid moves stupidly through life with half closed eyes."

A scholarly book that will be much appreciated by students of poetry and its readers is, "The Writing and Reading of Verse,"³ by Lieutenant G. E. Andrews. Part first analyzes the principles of verse; part second, the technique of special verse forms. There is a chapter on the *vers libristis* and another on old French verse forms, comment on Keats' theories of poesy, valuable suggestions on the use of rime and the acquiring of tone-color, in fact everything required by the would-be poet in the way of technic. Lieutenant Andrews was formerly Professor of English in the Ohio State University.

Among the books of war verse that were in press when the armistice was declared, there are a few that can be read with appreciation at the present time because they carry us beyond the conflict to visions of the future, to thoughts of reconstruction and peace. "The Other Side,"⁴ a second volume by Gilbert Frankau, the gifted son of the late Frank Danby, opens with a poem that purports to be a letter from a Major Average of the English Royal Field Artillery in Flanders to a subaltern formerly in his regiment, who has

written a book on the war. The Major accuses the subaltern of writing a book that is "tommy-rot," and proceeds to draw a picture of the actual events of battle. The remainder of the book is largely composed of songs of the Valhalla of those who gave their lives and had no doubt. The poem, "How Rifleman Brown Came to Valhalla," is one of the most thrilling poems of the war. Rifleman Joseph Brown comes to the board of the Killer Men, to the Endless Smoke and the Free Canteen, with rifle fresh with the barrack-room shine, clean khaki, and unflashed sword. The shades of the warriors demand to know the deed that gives him a right to the halls of Valhalla. A mate speaks for him, but it would hardly be fair to Mr. Frankau's readers to tell the story.

Gilbert Frankau served in France in the Ninth East Surrey Regiment with the rank of Lieutenant, and as Adjutant in the Royal Field Artillery. He fought at Loos, Ypres, and at the Somme. In 1916 he was promoted to the rank of Staff Captain and detailed to Italy to engage in special service. A previous volume of war poems, "The Song of the Guns," is an onomatopoeic record of the whole infernal orchestra of battle.

"The Drums in Our Street,"⁵ by Mary Carolyn Davies, is dedicated to her three brothers who are with the A. E. F. The war verse records her own personal reactions to the events of the conflict, to partings, letters, service to the fighting men, and brims with the new comprehensions and realizations forced upon her by war's tragic significance. Her lyrics are those of youth,—youth that is tender, gay, quick to tears, warm-hearted, and tremendously alive to the movement of the age. Miss Davies is a Western girl, and more than any other of the younger poets, she succeeds in getting the scent, color and beauty of her native soil into poetry. One of the best of her atmospheric lyrics of the West is called: "On a Troop Train."

"In through the train window comes the scent
of sagebrush;

And I remember riding out with you—
Sagebrush, sagebrush, violet and purple,
Gray under noon sun, and silver under dew.

Riding together down the gold arroyo,
Riding to the rim-rock, climbing up a trail,
Riding when the sunset is pricking out the river;
Far from ranch or bunk-house or any friendly
hail.

Have you forgotten all our rides together,
Creaking leather, clinking spurs, range sky
blue;
Startled rabbits flashing across the trail before
us—
Would the scent of sagebrush mean anything
to you?"

"Patriotic Selections,"⁶ a book of prose and verse with a wide range of subjects covered by the heading, patriotism, has been especially prepared for use in schools. The editor of the volume, Mr. Edwin Dubois Shurter, is professor of Public Speaking in the University of Texas.

¹Cornhuskers. By Carl Sandburg. Holt. 147 pp. \$1.30.

²Formative Types in English Poetry. By George Herbert Palmer. Houghton, Mifflin. 311 pp. \$1.50.

³The Writing and Reading of Verse. By Lieutenant G. E. Andrews. Appleton. 327 pp. \$2.

⁴The Other Side. By Gilbert Frankau. Knopf. 74 pp. \$1.

⁵The Drums in Our Street. By Mary Carolyn Davies. Macmillan. 131 pp. \$1.25.

⁶Patriotic Selections. Edited by E. D. Shurter. Noble, 177 pp. 50 cents.

FOUR NOVELS OF AMERICAN LIFE

INDIVIDUALS in transition always attract the interest of the true novelist. For the novelist loves life, beyond all other mistresses, and when the movement of life is vividly apparent, as in certain evolutionary stages of character, the novelist bends to the task before him with all enthusiasm. One feels the thrill of this enthusiasm in Zona Gale's novel, "Birth."¹ This story of the transitional period of certain American types records the lives of a group of people in a village of the Middle West. It is chiefly concerned with the lives of three persons, Barbara Ellsworth, Marshall Pitt, and their son Jeffrey Pitt. The action begins and ends on the familiar ground of Miss Gale's "Neighborhood Stories," a small town on the Wisconsin River. The first half of the story is the better part, for here the reader is so cunningly enticed into the life of the village of Burage that one has the sense of being part and parcel of the fiction. The theme involves

ZONA GALE

the use of many characters—all of them admirably drawn—but only three, father, mother, and son, are other than figures of the background. The boy, doubtful of one parent, scornful of the other, takes over their energy, the boundless impulses of life working toward perfection, through them, through him, and everyone by the miracle of birth. Nature used the first molds to collect its forces, flinging them out again in finer form in the son with the power to create art and beauty. The book shows the working out of the spiritual law that all human desire, no matter how wayward it may seem to be, however pointless or uncontrolled, finally incarnates in a form that will touch the goal of that desire. Nothing is lost, not even stray impulses. Therefore we can know what must come to birth.

In "The Prestons," Mary Heaton Vorse gives a picture of an American home and a family of growing children. The mother of the brood tells the story of her offspring, of Edith, the eldest daughter, who is just in high school, Osborn, the boy of seventeen, who is "going to college next year," and Jimmie, the twelve-year-old, whose dog Piker furnishes much of the comedy of the narrative. Besides the immediate family, there is Aunt Maria, whose rules for bringing up a family are processes known as "Nipping Things in the Bud" and "Taking Steps." Also that loyal and energetic Irishwoman, Seraphy, the

By Zona Gale. Macmillan. 402 pp. \$1.60.
tons. By Mary Heaton Vorse. Boni and
77 pp. \$1.50.

cook. We are permitted to observe Edith's first case of "spoons," Osborn's infatuation for a belle of mature years, and his brief engagement to the healthy Berenice, who shoots with the men and loves Osborn's setter, in the last resort, better than Osborn. They are vastly entertaining and so is Aunt Maria, but it is Jimmie with his cannibal court, and the honey-bear monkey, and his song about Mr. Ab-Domen,² who holds our attention from cover to cover. He is not so naïve, so amazing as the hero of Booth Tarkington's "Seventeen," but he is more amusing, a definite creation of character. The pith and substance of the book is the observation of the mother of the Prestons in regard to her children: "They don't leave us unless we let them." Children create a new world, and parents must live in that world if they wish to keep in touch with their youngsters. It is the best and the most entertaining story of an American family of modern American fiction.

The making of an American is the theme of "Rekindled Fires," a novel of amazing realism and refreshing humanity, by Joseph Anthony. Michael Zabranzky, a sturdy Bohemian patriot, has emigrated to America and lives in the foreign colony of a middle-sized American city in the East. He is a dictator in his home and a social and political force in the community. But he is simply a Bohemian of naturally worthy instincts living in the States. He thinks in an Old World way and so do his neighbors and his family. His son, Stanislaw, goes to school, where he makes rapid progress and becomes interested in reading philosophy. After school hours, he sells vegetables from a push-cart. As he grows up, he becomes by a natural process, an Amer-

ican, filled with vision of his adopted country, wholly absorbed in her interests and ideals. By the force of his personality and ability, he reshapes, after the pattern of American standards, the whole community in which he lives. The story is delightfully told; there is nothing of pedantry about it. The characterization is excellent and about the whole is a spirit of youth, of a keen, swift vital urge that means Americanization.

The novel, "Many Mansions,"³ by Sarah Ward MacConnell, must be classified as "light fiction," but it

MARY HEATON VORSE

is so well-mannered, graceful, facile, and entertaining, that it can be placed with the best

¹Rekindled Fires. By Joseph Anthony. Holt. 347 pp. \$1.40.

²Many Mansions. By Sarah Ward MacConnell. Houghton, Mifflin. 344 pp. \$1.50.

of the recent novels of American life. Perdita Hardwick comes to New York—as so many country girls do—to conquer the city by sheer effulgence of youth and life. From the disadvantageous starting point of a dismal New York boarding house, she progresses to success as an interior decorator, and to happiness by marriage with Terence Kildare. The novelist is more concerned with Perdita's love stories than with the interior decorating. The profession is shadowy, but the men and women who surround Perdita are real people and her world is a world of color

and light and sudden perspectives of life's graciousness. The shaping of the heroine's character by her own pride, her healthy instincts, and great thirst for life, is depicted with unusual power and realism. Her question—even when happiness came—is the query of so many bright, talented young girls who fling themselves into the whirl of metropolitan life: "Why, with all the immortal hope of beauty in our souls, were things so mixed and mad, so hard to come by, and so hard to disentangle?" This sometimes puzzles the best of us.

OTHER FICTION

A STUDY of industrial life in England cannot fail to be of interest at the present moment. Mr. Eden Phillpotts' last novel, "The Spinners,"¹ is a tale of the cotton spinners of an English village in Dorset. One feels the great mills as living entities. They dominate the landscape, the village, the human folk; they work out their own evolution, dragging the characters in their wake. The story is not an especially original one. Raymond Ironsyde, the younger son of the owner of the Ironsyde Mills, promises to marry Sabina, a pretty spinner in the mills before he inherits the property from his elder brother. The possession of property, the added dignity of wealth with its responsibilities changes his point of view. He refuses to marry Sabina and his son is born out of wedlock. The boy grows up filled with implacable hatred for his father because of the treatment of his mother, and when he is grown, tragedy ends the sorry skein of wrong doing. But the human tragedy is secondary to the sweep of the movement of a new responsibility throughout the narrative, that responsibility which the control of vast industrial resources, or machinery entails. Raymond grows into a fineness quite inconsistent with his earlier character. It would seem that Mr. Phillpotts meant us to feel that we are largely dependent upon the circumstances of life that choose out of our human potentialities those which shall be dominant. He makes Estelle, Raymond's good genius, say: "Seed is of no account if the earth on which it falls be poisoned." The tragedy that closes the novel, is therefore perfectly motivated. The soil of Raymond's life was noxious and the tree of his aspiration was destroyed at its roots. The story is written in

the novelist's beautiful, even, sustained style with which we have become gratefully familiar—a style all his own.

London before the war is recorded in Thomas Burke's "Nights in London,"² a series of chapters on the beauty and charm and the eternal wonder and delight as well as the misery and squalor of that most fascinating of cities. Poe and Stevenson might have collaborated for much of its content, and the most vivid of the Russian writers given an extra touch here and there as in "A Worker's Night; The Isle of Dogs." Mr. Burke writes that his London is of that period when the citizen was permitted to live in freedom and develop himself to his finest possibilities and pursue happiness as he was meant to do.

"The Three-Cornered Hat,"³ translated from the Spanish of Perdo A. de Alarcón, brings us in English translation a masterpiece of Spanish fiction. Alarcón (1833-1891) is one of the greatest of Spanish men of letters and it is curious that this story should not have been translated previous to the present time. It was published in 1874, and made Alarcón's fame outside of Spain as well as within the country. It is founded on an episode Boccaccian in its humor, but probably older than Boccaccio. A sparkling tale, of a type unusual to Western readers, that moves along with a smoothness, a dexterity, a melodic swing that is quite irresistible. The excellent informative preface has been prepared by Jacob S. Fassett, Jr., the translator.

¹The Spinners. By Eden Phillpotts. Macmillan. 479 pp. \$1.60.

²Nights in London. By Thomas Burke. Holt. 270 pp. \$1.50.

³The Three-Cornered Hat. By Pedro A. de Alarcón. Knopf. 208 pp. \$1.25.



FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—NEW YORK OR LONDON AS THE FUTURE FINANCIAL CENTER OF THE WORLD

THE eternal question, Will New York or London be the financial center of the world? comes forward within a month of the signing of the armistice. It denotes an early spirit of rivalry between the two greatest of market-places, though nothing of an endeavor either way to force a fight for supremacy.

There are two standards by which financial leadership may be judged. The first is the accommodation of a market or center to the needs of world trade. The second is the accommodation of this center to the requirements, as borrowers, of the nations of the world. London has been pre-eminent for her acceptance market. The pound sterling has everywhere around the globe been the medium through which international commerce has been facilitated. At the same time London has been the largest lender overseas. There have been intervals when she seemed to be falling behind Paris or Berlin in this respect, but the supremacy has only been lost temporarily. About twelve years ago it appeared that France might be a permanent rival of Great Britain as the world's banker. From everywhere borrowers were going to Paris to sell their securities. Money in the French capital was very cheap. The Bank of France rate was frequently as low as 2 per cent. This meant that French trade was slack. There was not enough commercial activity to absorb the free funds of the nation. So the outlet for an increasing annual surplus had to be sought abroad. Where there is money for loan there, also, may there be found those anxious to borrow. France bought and placed with her investors government securities of all descriptions. She took on an additional sum of Russias, Mexicans, Balkan state bonds, and began to buy American securities on a larger scale than ever before. This was the period of the listing of American railway shares and bonds. But France did not likewise broaden her market in those discount

bills which reflect trade relationships. London did.

Some years earlier the United States found itself with a large annual excess of exports over imports and it invaded the foreign field for a little while. One began to hear this statement, "New York is taking the financial leadership of the world from London." This was a flash in the pan. Dollar exchange did not develop out of this opportunity. London acceptances increasingly found their way into the banking portfolios of the commercial centers of the world. From 1900 until 1915 the United States was debtor to England for a considerable annual average sum. The fortunes of war have changed the account. This country now has the greatest credit balance in its position with Great Britain and France and Italy that ever has been created. What is it going to do with its advantage? Out of the manner in which it uses its opportunity will come the correct answer to the question propounded at the beginning of this article.

New York the World's Lending Center

The war leaves this country with an ownership of approximately \$9,500,000,000 of foreign bonds, notes and credits which have been purchased in the last three years. The sum will increase in the next six months, possibly to \$11,000,000,000. This will be twice as great an amount as any nation had owned of foreign securities prior to 1914. It will mean annual interest payment of from \$500,000,000 to \$600,000,000. There is the other element of a repurchase during the first two years of the war of from \$3,000,000,000 to \$3,500,000,000 of American securities located in Great Britain, France, Holland, Germany, and Switzerland and on which the United States had to emit each year about \$150,000,000 for interest and dividends.

Not only the allied countries must be financed in the coming years, but means

must be found here to stimulate trade in other portions of the world. Paul M. Warburg, former governor of the Federal Reserve Bank, has suggested that the War Finance Corporation be converted into a Peace Finance Corporation for the purpose of making advances on foreign securities "to promote our foreign trade and at the same time greatly assist foreign nations in need of our support during a period of political and economic transition."

It is quite obvious that along with the grant of credits to foreign nations there will go a certain amount of trade for the country that furnishes the reconstruction period capital. It does not at once follow, however, that the loan and the resultant trade equalize. The nation with the surplus funds for foreign investment is in the position to attract trade, but it will never get it if it fails to supplement its ability as a lender with the functions of an accepting banker.

In the eleven months of the year 1918 to November 30, the imports of Great Britain were \$3,215,000,000 in excess of exports. In the period of ten months to October 31 the exports of the United States were about \$2,500,000,000 greater than imports. In the one case this means the necessity of borrowing to meet an excess of commercial expenditures over commercial receipts. Such borrowing has taken the form of credits in the United States. In the other instance new wealth to the amount of \$25 per capita has been created. This would seem to clinch the arbitrary statement that we are the greatest financial power in the world to-day.

Financing Imports and Exports

But wait. Bankers use another measuring stick. They say that the nation which has the greatest amount of foreign acceptances out at one time is entitled to premier-ship. In November, Leopold Frederick, one of the ablest of the foreign bankers in this country, went to great pains to determine the exact amounts of outstanding acceptances representing the financing of imports and exports through New York. He found the total to be \$210,000,000. Simultaneously the acceptances of all the London clearing-house banks, foreign agencies, colonial banks, and private bankers totaled \$500,000,000. London had been losing her trade through the closing of markets, the demand to convert her factories into places for munition-making, and she had been carrying on

war expenditures more than twice as long as the United States. Still she held the leadership in the field of bankers' acceptances which is said to be the true determinant of financial and banking supremacy. To do this she sacrificed profit of the moment and kept the discount rate down to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., whereas New York bankers were charging 1 per cent. more. Commercial accounts flow to the easiest discount market.

Will the American banker look to the future of American banking as a whole and less to his immediate profits and show the same willingness as London to give up a portion of his gain in order to establish himself and his profession in the markets of the world? Mr. Warburg believes that he will. Speaking at the Atlantic City convention last month he said: "I can well foresee the time when American dollar acceptances will be outstanding to the extent of more than \$1,000,000,000 in credits granted all over the world." Three years ago he visited South America and "found that the banks in that hemisphere hardly realized that there existed such a thing as dollar exchange, or an American bankers' acceptance, and our own banks and merchants had to be coaxed into using them." Mr. Frederick is entitled to much of the credit for introducing dollar exchange into South America and getting it established at a time when there was considerable difficulty in maintaining the value of the dollar in foreign countries. In June the currency of Chili was at a premium of over 78 per cent., but on November 15 the premium had been reduced to $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In July the premium on Peruvian currency was nearly 21 per cent., and in the middle of November, 3 per cent. Between December of last year and November 15, 1918, the premium on Argentine currency fell from $12\frac{1}{4}$ per cent. to 5 per cent. The dollar was at a premium in Great Britain, France, Italy, Brazil, and Canada when the armistice was signed.

Foreign Trade Opportunities

Senator Robert L. Owen, chairman of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, went abroad in December to study the conditions which have been responsible for the apparent neglect on the part of bankers of the foreign trade opportunities. It has been his belief for some time that a foreign branch of the Federal Reserve Bank was required to facilitate trade between the

United States and the rest of the world. He argues that the American banks should extend the use of acceptances at least as low a rate as is allowed in London. According to their charters the Bank of England and the Bank of France must be the servants of the business interests, of the manufacturer, merchant, and producer. Senator Owen believes that through a Federal Reserve foreign exchange bank there would be an increase in the money supply which American business men could obtain to enter the foreign field. Many bankers do not agree with him and his proposal for a branch bank has been strongly protested. It must be obvious, however, that the handicap of high interest or discount rates which the American exporter will have to pay, if he borrows in New York instead of London at the present difference on acceptances, will affect the volume of American foreign

trade similarly as when we are in competition with lower freight rates, with lower wages or with a tariff that gives the advantage to the European producer.

Coming back to the original question, Will New York or London be the financial center of the world? the answer is that New York has the resources to be such but it lacks the training and the appreciation of the merchant side of banking which possess the mind of the London banker. We have been moving rapidly in establishing branches in South America and are beginning to reach out and grasp the chances in the East and on the Continent of Europe. This is only so far the preliminary of a world supremacy. The indications are that New York will be the lending center of the world for years to come, but that London will hold to her leadership in financing the world's merchant trade.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

No. 983. RAILROAD STOCKS

I have thought favorably lately of investing in railroad stocks, my plan being to buy and hold for several years if necessary. I believe now that the war is over the outlook of such securities ought to be good. Enclosed you will find a slip on which I have marked the railroads which I favor and I would be pleased to have you indicate which you consider most desirable and the rate of dividends now being paid on both common and preferred stocks.

Some of these issues to which you have been giving consideration are well-established dividend payers which strike us as being more or less reasonable purchases at their present prices, despite the fact that there is a good deal of uncertainty about the general railroad situation in view of the issue of Government ownership with which many believe this country is likely to be definitely confronted before very long. We refer to issues like Great Northern, Northern Pacific, Southern Pacific, and Chicago & Northwestern. In your place we do not think we should give consideration now to any of the St. Paul issues or, in fact, to any of the Rock Island issues, even the 6 and 7 per cent. preferred issues, to which we have referred once or twice in the pages of the *Review of Reviews*. Two more of the standard dividend-paying railroad stocks which might be added to your list are Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe common and Union Pacific common. The former of these two stocks, as you probably know, pays dividends at the rate of 6 per cent. per annum and the latter dividends at the rate of 10 per cent. per annum.

Great Northern, Northern Pacific, and Chicago & Northwestern are each on a 7 per cent. per annum basis, and Southern Pacific is on a 6 per cent. per annum basis.

The only companies among those which we have mentioned favorably having two classes of stock,—preferred as well as common,—are Chicago & Northwestern, whose preferred stock pays 8 per cent. per annum; Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe, whose preferred pays 5 per cent. per annum, and Union Pacific, whose preferred stock pays 4 per cent. per annum.

No. 984. DOMINION OF CANADA BONDS

Will you be good enough to give me some information about the various issues of Dominion of Canada loans that have been made by that government since June, 1917, including some details of the loan just closed?

Our records show that there were two internal loans made by the Dominion in 1917, one early in the year and another in November, known as the First Victory Loan. The latter was for \$150,000,000, 5½ per cent. bonds to mature December, 1922, December, 1927, and December, 1937. The issue price was par.

The Victory Loan of, 1918, for which subscriptions were recently closed, called for a minimum of \$300,000,000, 5½ per cent. bonds to mature November 1, 1923 and November 1, 1933. Total subscriptions for this issue, we believe, were in the neighborhood of \$700,000,000. The issue price of these bonds was also par.

You are doubtless aware that several external loans have been negotiated by the Dominion in the United States market, the principal ones being the various issues of 5 per cents. due April, 1921, April, 1926, and April, 1931, for \$25,000,000 each. These bonds are listed on the New York Stock Exchange, where they enjoy a fairly active market at all times.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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THE LATE THEODORE ROOSEVELT, TWENTY-SIXTH PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

(Theodore Roosevelt died at his home in Oyster Bay, New York, in the early morning of Monday, January 6th. He was born in the city of New York, October 27, 1858, and was therefore a little more than sixty years of age. No other American of his time had been known so widely, and in so many relationships, as a public character. He had maintained superb vigor of body and mind, with reasonable expectation of a long further career of activity and usefulness; but a tropical fever in Brazil when on an exploring trip several years ago had left traces from which he never wholly recovered. He was active, however, to his last day, and died suddenly of an embolism. The funeral was quiet, as he preferred to have it, in the community where he lived. On Sunday, February 9, however, there will be memorial services throughout the entire country. Several articles about his life and character appear in this number of the REVIEW, and there are many in past volumes, through a period of more than a quarter of a century)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 2

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Public and
Private
Interests*

Citizens of every civilized community have both public interests and private interests. Usually their private interests seem most pressing. But at times they are aware that the things of general concern not only involve their duty and claim their attention, but also dominate their personal affairs. In the pioneering stages of American life, private interests of course were predominant. In such periods it was easy to defend the dictum that "the best government is the one that governs least"; while it is not hard to understand why men so generally believed that minding one's own business and getting on with one's own affairs was the best way to develop the country. But there come times when the individual discovers that the structure of society bears a vital relation to his natural right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in his own private sphere. In such times as the present, almost everyone is anxiously waiting for adjustments in the sphere of Government, because the everyday affairs of life have become disarranged and it is increasingly difficult to make plans or do business until the public conditions that form the background for private effort are made stable and normal.

*Freedom Still
a Cherished
Object*

In a war period, private interests become subordinate to the common, public necessity. The individual learns to realize how completely his independence is a matter of social ordering, rather than of his own private volition. The people of the United States have now fully demonstrated their ability to act together through public agencies in support of a great common cause that demands the sacrifice of life as well as of property. But Americans as a whole are still fond of individual liberty and self-direction; and they are anxious to

recover, at the earliest proper moment, a considerable measure of freedom for private initiative in business, as in all the other spheres of life. The social welfare is to claim first consideration in the new period; but personal liberty also will have ample range. Thoughtful persons know quite well that pioneer periods lie well in the past, and that the economic organization of society must henceforth be far more complete and extensive than ever before in this country. We repeat, there will still be a large range of freedom for the individual; but the only way now to secure that freedom is through public action, which must provide the conditions and give security to every man.

*The Home,
and World-
Affairs*

Recent events have shown that private volition cannot secure the home against the appalling disasters of war. Therefore the private citizen, whether rich or poor, realizes that his personal security and freedom, and that of his children, are dependent upon public action that shall guard against military aggression, and that shall in due time lessen the burdens imposed upon us by the necessity of being prepared to defend ourselves and to support just causes by strength of arms. If the women of the land who are mothers hate the principles of aggressive militarism that have forced their sons into the European conflict, it is not less true that the soldiers themselves hate and loathe the business of war, and are intent upon a public system that will protect civilization against a recurrence of these unspeakable calamities. We are to go through many difficult experiences here in the United States in the processes of restoring our business life and of solving the problems created by the war. The same thing is true in Canada, Great Britain, France, and almost every other country of

the earth. But everyone knows that these national conditions, while requiring immediate thought and attention, are certain to be held in suspense and abeyance until the international skies are clearer.

*The Spirit
of a
Century Ago*

Never before has there been any situation that even faintly resembled that of to-day. The century after the Napoleonic wars, carried on by monarchs who were thinking in terms of empires. The common European country were practical and writing; they had no interests that kept them well informed and were not bringing any kind of pressure to bear upon the business of the Congress of Vienna. It is true that commissioners of the United States on Christmas Eve, 1814, a hundred and four years ago, had signed our treaty of peace with England and had made plans which have resulted in the secure and neighborly relations of Canada and the United States, while maintaining peace and friendship between the British and American Governments. But, otherwise, the international arrangements of a hundred years ago were not in the spirit of the present day.

*A Peoples'
Conference
at Paris*

In contrast, we find at this time a body of delegates in Paris representing the popular will of great, intelligent peoples. There is no leading man in the Peace Conference who would for a moment admit that he is there to represent any other cause than that of the well-being of the entire people of his own country, while also recognizing the equal claim of the people of all other countries to live in freedom under just laws and to be guarded against aggression from without. While this group of representative men is assembled at Paris (or in the famous halls of Versailles), the home peoples of every country are intently following the news. Our own people every day read long messages brought by ocean cable and wireless service, and are taking part earnestly and actively in a tremendous discussion of the issues that are to be determined. Almost every man who can read and think, whether in public office or wearing the overalls of a mechanic, feels that his own future as well as that of his children and his neighbors is immediately at stake in the decisions that are to be made on the international plane of action.

*International
Trouble,
a Common
Menace*

International disturbances have brought tragedy to the thresholds of thousands of these American families, while bringing risk and sacrifice and deep anxiety to almost every hearthstone in the land. For a quarter of a century in this magazine we have been arguing for the adoption of international arrangements that would greatly diminish the danger of war, if not completely abolish it. We have supported permanent arbitration treaties with Great Britain and other countries. We have pointed out the worth of various projects, whether brought forward by Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, Hay, Root, Knox, Bryan, Wilson or any other statesman of international grasp. But there were two difficulties always encountered. One was the feeling of American security—the idea that we were somehow safe in our aloofness from the war-storms of Europe and that we could live fearlessly without being armed, while thinking it unfitting for us to protest against the world-menace of the colossal armaments of continental Europe. The other difficulty lay in the feeling that international arrangements to prevent war were but utopian dreams, fine visions of philosophers and humanitarians that could not be realized in the actual world. Both these obstacles have been swept away by the resistless floods of war that have inundated our own homes. The world is too small for further aloofness.

*The New
Perception of
Truth*

No nation, then, can henceforth be isolated and secure; every nation must be concerned with militarism as a menace to peace. In the modern world, war on the great scale cannot with certainty be confined to Europe or Asia without involving America; the world's peace becomes a universal issue. This is felt in every American home where the service flag is hung in the window, and in millions of other homes where there was no son to send to war. World peace has thus become as vital a matter to every American home as protection against fire or riot or epidemic disease. And so there has awakened in the general consciousness the clear perception of this truth: the world must be organized to prevent war and to settle differences, just as communities must be organized for protection against local dangers. To the average mind the problem is a practical one, and there is not much disposition to argue over the working details.

*The Peoples
Demand
Harmony*

Thus the proposed League of Nations does not find its strength merely in the wisdom of individual statesmen who are trying to give it working forms and mechanisms. The arrangements which are to give security and protect free nations are to be made because they are demanded by hundreds of millions of people in afflicted countries who desire peace, who seek relief from the burdens of militarism, and who are glad to lay aside the prejudices of race and nationality in favor of the spirit of generous good-will towards all peoples. During recent weeks, there has been widespread effort throughout the United States to secure expression of public opinion; so that those who are working for large and permanent results in the Peace Conference may feel themselves supported by American sentiment. In England and France, as in various other European countries, the realization that there must be union of effort for peacekeeping, just as there has been union of effort for winning the war, is even more general than in America. These peoples of Europe are closer to the facts of war and have suffered more intensely. They long for security and they know that it can be found only in continued coöperation.

*The Concrete
Facts of
Union*

Although there are several ways to approach the problems of a League of Nations, it is not well to be too ready to regard those ways as essentially destructive of one another. It is easier for some men to see things in the concrete, as things stand today. They feel that the League of Nations has been already formed, in the military and financial coöperation of the Allies, and in the general unity of aims developed under the moral leadership of the United States after we had begun to take a large part in the war. In previous numbers of this REVIEW, beginning with America's entrance into the conflict, we have repeatedly expressed the view that the League of Nations to enforce peace is already an obvious fact, and that it would be more natural to continue it and to give it functions for the future, than to disband it. We have felt that conditions had been created, through the extent of this coöperation in a variety of ways, which would make it practically impossible not to continue in numerous fields of joint action. We have then, in the fact of the present demand of millions of people for security against war and in the further fact of existing coöperation, the best

LORD ROBERT CECIL

LEON BOURGEOIS

TWO CONSPICUOUS LEADERS WHO ARE TRYING TO
FRAME THE PLAN OF A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(M. Bourgeois, a former Premier of France and an eminent worker for peace and international harmony, is head of the French society that has offered a plan for the League of Nations. Lord Robert Cecil, recently associated with Mr. Balfour in the British Foreign Office, has of late been charged by his Government with the study of this question of a league.)

possible foundations upon which to erect the structure of a permanent League. As Mr. Taft puts it, the League must stand because it cannot be dispensed with.

*Trying to
Put a Behemo
on Paper*

It happens, however, that there are some people who have studied the subject more especially from the standpoint of drafting a treaty. They have been trying to put down upon paper the kind of representative organization such a League should have. Many such drafts have now been made. Their makers have faced a hundred difficult problems. Some of these men are more theoretical than others. French minds are obliged to deal with concrete circumstances quite as much as with abstract general proposals. British minds have had to consider not merely the security of Great Britain regarding its supplies of food and raw material and its overseas markets, but they have also had to bear in mind the great range of interest and responsibility involved in all that is covered by the name "British Empire." In the midst of mental uncertainty and confusion resulting from the reading of so many dispatches seeming to point to disagreement at Paris, we have some gratifying evidence that the areas of controversy grow narrower, and the areas of confidence and good understanding grow wider. Here we find the League's basis.

President Wilson's Speeches

President Wilson's speeches in France, England and Italy did not indeed lay down precise proposals, but they helped greatly to give reassurance to public opinion, and to make the peoples of western Europe feel that there was a friendly good-will in America which could be relied upon as a body of sentiment harmonizing with the friendly good-will that the President was finding wherever he went. Getting rid of misunderstandings and distrust has been a large part of the preliminary work; and this seems to us to have been greatly assisted by the expressions for which President Wilson's presence in Europe gave opportunity, no less than by his own conciliatory and tactful utterances.

British and American Cooperation

It took a little while for a conservative public in England to understand that there would be no desire to interfere with the strength of the British Navy, but only a desire to have common understanding as to the uses for which naval power might be exerted. Since there could be no danger at all of disagreement upon this larger subject between the United States and Great Britain, the last chance of difference between the two great English-speaking democracies had disappeared. Great Britain and America are alike in wishing to see freedom and justice prevail; they are alike in seeking to safeguard the welfare of smaller countries; and they are alike in their view that the backward regions of the world are to be aided in the spirit of tutelage and guardianship rather than to be exploited for the mere sake of economic gain or imperial

power. The spirit of generosity and mutual goodwill can clear away many seeming difficulties. There was a time when Lord Bryce as British Ambassador, and Secretary Root as head of our State Department, undertook to dispose of various questions, mostly having to do with our Canadian relations, that had survived from earlier days. Their work involved much study and skilful adjustment; but it was successful and in no manner embarrassing, because it was performed in a spirit of mutual confidence and goodwill.

The Italian and Balkan Questions

We are optimistic enough to believe that the warmth and generosity of the Italian nature will respond to some plan for making good neighbors and permanent friends of the South Slavs who wish to have outlets upon the Dalmatian coast. Some formula for coöperation, to dispel danger of rivalry, is what that situation requires. The same thing is true of some of the disputes that are now involving Poland, Bohemia, Rumania and all of the Balkan countries as regards precise boundaries and other matters affecting their future status. A complete general understanding on the part of the larger Allies gives a basis of powerful influence by virtue of which the conflicting claims of minor states can be adjudicated. Furthermore, it becomes the obvious duty of the group of major Allies so to determine the bounds of militarism within the European countries that it will be virtually out of the question for countries like Poland, Rumania, Czecho-Slovakia or the greater Serbia to assert their claims against one another by war, rather than to resort to

arbitration or to the machinery for settling disputes that the League of Nations will create. The difficulties to be faced are so numerous that they would be altogether baffling but for the determination of democratic peoples everywhere to have orderly settlement of disputes, together with the power for good that the Allied nations possess in the fact of their own fundamental agreement.

*The Smuts
British
Proposal*

As typical of what lies in the minds of men abroad who speak of a League of Nations, we may mention the proposal of General Smuts, the South African soldier and statesman who is a member of the British War Cabinet and whose ideas seem to be in keeping with those of Mr. Lloyd George and some other British leaders. The Smuts plan had been privately studied among statesmen abroad, though merely tentative and subject to changes that might be radical in their extent. First, we are told, forming the League of Nations is to be the primary, basic task for the Peace Conference in order to supply the necessary organ through which "the vast multiplicity of territorial, economic and other problems can find their only solution." This Smuts plan treats the Peace Conference itself as the first or preliminary meeting of the League, which must proceed to work out its further organization in detail and to determine its own functions.

*Settling
Territorial
Questions*

Second, the Smuts plan proposes that instead of any policy of separate national action as regards the territories formerly belonging to Russia, Austria-Hungary and Turkey, the League should step in and be clothed with disposal along the line principles. Third, these effect that none of the to make annexations and that ultimate self-governed among the led at as an object. of authority or control may be necessary as shall be the exclusive of Nations; but, fifth, e for the League of authority or administration to some one state, acting as its agent or mandatory, although in such cases if possible the agent ought to be acceptable to the people to be controlled or governed. Sixth, the degree of authority to be exercised must in

GEN. JAN CHRISTIAAN SMUTS, SOUTH AFRICAN LEADER AND MEMBER OF THE BRITISH CABINET

(General Smuts, through sheer force of military knowledge and political wisdom, has become one of the acknowledged leaders of the British Empire and one of the broad-minded statesmen whose views are particularly respected by Americans abroad.)

every case be laid down by the League of Nations in a special act reserving to the League the complete power of ultimate control and supervision. Seventh, the mandatory state must maintain equal economical opportunities and use military force in the way prescribed by the League for purposes of international police. Eighth, that no state formed out of the old empires shall be admitted to the League except as it conforms to the rules laid down for its conduct as respects military force and armaments. Ninth, that the League, as taking over certain functions of former empires, must watch over the relations of new independent states among themselves in order to conciliate differences and secure order and peace.

*Form
of the
League*

Tenth, the League itself will be, in form, a Permanent Conference among the Governments of the constituent States for joint international action in certain respects, and will not lessen the independence of its members. It will consist of a general conference, a council, and courts of arbitration and conciliation. Eleventh, the Council will make general

rules and arrangements, and, twelfth, it will act as the executive committee of the League and be made up of Prime Ministers, Foreign Secretaries and so on. It will, thirteenth, hold annual meetings of high officials, appoint a permanent body of secretaries and staff-members, will have standing joint committees, and will thus keep the nations in constant communication with each other. And fourteenth, it will work in the sphere of the matters set forth in the first nine points.

*As to Future
Militarism and
War*

General Smuts in his fifteenth point deals with agreements for the abolition of conscription or compulsory military service, and in the sixteenth with control of military equipment and armament, while in the seventeenth he requires the nationalization of all factories producing war material. In his eighteenth point he prescribes a joint and several agreement among the members of the League not to go to war with one another without preliminary submission to such proceedings as arbitration or inquiry by the League's council, and not before there has been an award or a report, and not even then as against a nation which complies with an award or recommendation. It is provided in the nineteenth that violation of the agreement as to point eighteen shall in itself create a state of war as against the recalcitrant member by

other members of the League. This would be followed by economic and financial boycott, and by a course of proceeding which would probably preclude the need of using naval or military force. The covenant-breaking state after the restoration of peace would be subject to perpetual disarmament, etc. Points twenty and twenty-one refer to further conditions for resorting to arbitration among the members. Our allusions here are from a condensed report cabled over by a correspondent. It is said that the proposals as a whole are regarded by the Americans in Paris as exceedingly statesmanlike in their provisions for difficulties that might arise.

*The Soldiers
and Their
Future*

Among those awaited adjustments of public business to which we have been referring, upon which almost everybody's private life and effort must depend, there is nothing that stands out so conspicuously as the problem of reducing the strength of armies and bringing back the soldiers to civilian life. In every country that has been engaged in war, this subject is a most pressing one. National treasuries ask for demobilization in order to lessen the heavy burden that calls for fresh loans and drastic taxes. The soldiers themselves are eager to see their homes and families, and to find their places in the world of industry and business. They are increasingly anxious about their future; and they long to bring their aroused faculties—their tried courage and their new vigor—to the tests of civil life.

*Back From
Foreign
Shores*

At first, when the armistice was signed, the problem of sending the men home seemed to most people much more simple than that of training them and sending them forth to war. It will within a few days be three months since the armistice brought actual warfare to an end. In a like period of three months just preceding the armistice we sent abroad approximately 800,000 soldiers. Everything, however, both here and throughout the lands and waters under the sway of the Allies, was subordinated to the great object of building up an irresistible reserve of troops in France for the victory that we knew would come in 1919 if not gained sooner. It had taken some time to assemble the shipping, and to perfect the arrangements for dispatching our troops so rapidly. It had not been possible to anticipate the precise moment when hostilities would cease, and it has again taken

GAINING

From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)

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PRESIDENT WILSON REVIEWING AMERICAN TROOPS AT THE FRONT ON CHRISTMAS DAY

(One of President Wilson's most typical addresses abroad was delivered to the troops at Humes, where he expressed the sense of American pride and affection in the achievements of the army.)

time to arrange on the great scale for the soldiers' return to our shores. Secretary Baker, in a clear and timely statement, sets forth the elements of the problem in an article for our readers that appears in this issue.

**Reasons
For Some
Delay**

Naturally, we are all impatient to have sons and relatives and friends come home; but we must remember that the return movement which began promptly in November, and attained increasing proportions in December and January, has begun about a year sooner than we believed that it would last summer. We have reason in this to find cheer, and to examine the problem on its merits without exasperation. As Secretary Baker shows, both the Department and the General Staff at Washington are alive to the bearings of all the facts; and doubtless the army command in France is dealing with the subject as best it can. Reading the news from the occupied German borders along the Rhine, we have begun to perceive the continuing necessity of large Allied forces, at once to support the terms of the armistice, and to help in protecting European order and civilization during a chaotic period that was almost inevitable as a consequence of the breakup of Russian, German and Austrian imperial and autocratic governments. It is true that we shall not need in Europe nearly all of our present forces, and it might be roughly assumed that three-fourths of all those who have gone abroad could soon be returned. This brings us to the problem of ships.

**Finding the
Troop
Ships**

Secretary Baker is reassuring in his statements on this point, and expresses the hope that ultimately we may have shipping capacity for from 200,000 to 250,000 per month. He alludes to the assistance already given by the navy in using a fleet of battleships and cruisers for army transport purposes. That Secretary Daniels and the naval authorities are eager to coöperate to the fullest extent that is feasible admits of no doubt. The construction of the great dreadnaughts is such that they are not well fitted for carrying numbers of soldiers. "Otherwise," as Secretary Daniels remarks in a letter to the editor, "they would all be turned into transports tomorrow morning." As matters stand, the navy is already using ships having a capacity for carrying 20,000 soldiers, and it will doubtless be able to increase this considerably. Meanwhile, Chairman Hurley of the Shipping Board has been abroad for some time making contracts for as large a quantity of shipping as possible on the plan of bringing American soldiers home rapidly, and sending to the European peoples return cargoes of food and supplies.

**Hurley and
the German
Ships**

It is well known that our ports of embarkation in France, particularly Brest, St. Nazaire and Bordeaux, have been much congested with soldiers waiting for ships. Mr. Hurley was successful last month in obtaining the use for transports of many French, Italian, Dutch and Swedish ships. The British were al-

ready helping us to the extent of their ability in view of the pressing requirements of their own Canadian, Australian and other troop contingents. An even larger source of supply, however, was found by Mr. Hurley in the German commercial shipping that had been tied up in German ports for more than four years, and which under the continuing blockade had not been able after the armistice to go to sea. The Allies were ready to modify blockade rules, and to allow a large number of German vessels (of a capacity estimated at more than 2,000,000 tons) to be manned by American officers and seamen and to enter our transport service. It is understood that on the return voyages the ships will carry food, some of which would go to the Central Powers. Mr. Hurley was to accompany General Foch after the middle of January to Treves, where armistice business required a further conference with German representatives.

*Provision
for Soldier
Employment*

As Secretary Baker remarks, we shall have discharged from the American Army about 1,000,000 men by the time these pages are printed. Most of these were in the training camps here at home. Their discharge has begun already to affect the labor situation appreciably, while of course the ending of many war industries has to an even greater extent obliged us to consider the economic readjustments which will be pressing upon us for national and local action during this year and next. It is time that Congress should be adopting some comprehensive policies. Mobilization was a national affair both military and industrial; and through the period following war the situation cannot well be left to the ordinary working of the law of supply and demand in the labor market. There should be a decent job at good wages on some kind of public work for every discharged soldier who asks for it, in order to take up the "slack," and to give time for private employers to find the men and for the men to find their more permanent jobs. These public works could well be under the auspices of the national government as respects assurance of employment; but otherwise there should be municipal and other local undertakings included as a part of the general scheme. Not only should there be public works to prevent unemployment, but the undertakings should be of a kind to yield permanent benefits, while offering inducements to the returning soldiers.

*A System
of Land
Settlement*

Among such undertakings there is nothing that seems to us so promising, or so fit for immediate action by Congress, as the projects for land improvement and settlement that have taken form under the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Lane, and that are embodied in two pending bills. One of these calls for the immediate appropriation of \$100,000,000 to be expended under the direction of the Secretary "for the investigation, irrigation, drainage and development of swamp, arid, waste or undeveloped lands, for the purpose of providing employment and farms with improvements and equipment for honorably discharged soldiers, sailors and marines of the United States." The accompanying land bill is much more extensive, providing for coöperation between the United States Government and the individual states, creating a Soldier Settlement Board, and dealing in a detailed way with various phases of a situation that has been studied with such care and thoroughness that those who are urging the plan cannot be accused of being merely enthusiasts or theorists. Contrary to the opinion of some people, the Senators and the Members of the House of Representatives are very intelligent and able men. But they have a tremendous amount of public work to do, and, except under the spur of war necessity, it is hard for them to take up a wholly new subject and act upon it quickly. Congress is more likely to see the

merits of the proposals of Secretary Lane's Department than are the legislatures of the particular states; yet there is no other one thing that could be proposed that would do so much to revive agriculture and state prosperity along progressive lines, especially in the Eastern and Southern States, as the adoption of the plans which Mr. Lane is now urging. The present moment is one of great opportunity for the utilizing of land resources and the settlement of young Americans upon our unimproved acres. Next month we shall deal in a more extended and statistical way with the basic facts. In this appeal, we are asking Congress and the country to give open-minded attention to the opportunity, and we urge prompt action.

*The Men
Are Eager
for Land*

A surprisingly large number of returning soldiers are ready to enlist in this land-improvement corps, as is shown wherever the subject is presented to them in the camps. And this is particularly true of the men returning from France. The plan in general calls for the acquisition of suitable areas of land to be properly surveyed and laid out, and to be developed and settled upon lines adapted to soil, climate and markets. The scheme would give work immediately to the soldier accepting it, and would save him from the almost hopeless tasks and certain errors of going to the land alone. His farm, when ready for him, would be fully equipped, his neighbors would be similarly prepared, and his payments for land and improvements would extend over a long period of years. Nothing is proposed in the plan that has not been thoroughly tested either in this country or elsewhere; and there are men in the Reclamation Service, in the Land Office and otherwise connected with the Department of the Interior (together with men in the Agricultural Department and in the State agricultural services) who are competent in the fullest sense to direct the work and make it successful. It is impossible to think of any other plan that would so inevitably conserve the money invested by Congress and the states, while giving the country the constant benefit to be derived from utilizing its neglected resources of arable soil.

*"Reclamation"
a Proven
Success*

As for the returning soldiers, they have become so accustomed to a hardy, out-of-door kind of existence, that large numbers of them do not welcome the thought of going back into

HON. FRANKLIN K. LANE, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR

(Mr. Lane has been especially active in recent weeks, appearing before audiences advocating his plan of land settlement for soldiers and presenting the cause of Americanization in its urgent aspects)

offices and factories. They long, rather, for a life in the open air and sunlight. They have neither the capital nor the experience to become successful farmers on their own initiative; but, under an organized system such as Secretary Lane and his associates have thought out, there are many thousands of these men who could be given immediate employment and who could have reasonable assurance of success and prosperity on lands that only need proper treatment and improvement to become a permanent source of agricultural wealth. The western Reclamation projects have been highly successful as a whole; but experience has shown that there must be expert direction given to the problems of settling and farming reclaimed lands, as well as to those of constructing the dams and irrigation systems, and carrying out the projects from the engineering and financial standpoint.

*Relief More
Urgent
Than Ever*

Only the thoughtless could have supposed that when the war was over the exceptional calls upon America's resources would be at an end. From an early date in the war we were sending food supplies to Belgium through the Hoover Commission, were trying to as-

sist the sufferers of Serbia, and were sending relief on a large scale to the oppressed and ravished peoples of the Turkish Empire. The ending of war, at the beginning of a winter season, could not of itself bring the solace of food and raiment to destitute communities. The one industry that is most certain to be resumed with desperate energy is that of producing food from the soil. This, however, will require the supply of seeds and utensils; and the workers must be fed until the crops begin to mature next summer. Relief work is more needed now and for the near future than at any earlier time since 1914.

*\$100,000,000
for Food
to Europe* Mr. Hoover has been placed at the head of a great international commission to supervise the distribution of food to the regions most lacking—beginning of course with those peoples who have the best claim upon the attention of the Allies, but not refusing to face the needs of suffering childhood and starving humanity in any zone of distress. At the cabled request of President Wilson, a bill was passed through the House of Representatives last month appropriating \$100,000,000 as our part of a credit fund to be expended at once for the purchase and shipment of food supplies under the direction of the Allied international commission. It was understood that like appropriations were to be made by the British, French and Italian Governments. There was some opposition in

Congress because of the vagueness of the project as presented; but probably no one in either House failed to realize that in some way this country would have to take a large part within the coming year in the relief of the appalling distress of Europe. Surplus food is available in larger quantities now than a year ago, and it is a matter of lending the money to purchase supplies. Meanwhile, the shipping question seems to be associated with the task of bringing back our soldiers, it being planned to send food as a return cargo. In these matters Congress will have to act somewhat blindly, as indeed it always has done when it votes relief money in times of emergency.

*Help for the
Starving and
Sick in Turkey* The work of relieving distress in the Turkish Empire goes forward upon an increasing scale under the direction of the "American Committee for Relief in the Near East," this being the new name for the "American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief," which has been at work through several past years. This committee, with the earnest approval of the Government and the hearty support of the Red Cross, is now entering upon a campaign to secure a fresh fund of \$30,000,000 for its work. It has the Armenians, Syrians and Greeks of Asia Minor and the adjacent region as its principal beneficiaries, but it helps Persians, and others in these regions who are within its reach. Through the war period its work has gone steadily on. Last month it actually secured and swiftly forwarded wheat, medical supplies and other needful things valued in millions, the Navy aiding with vessels. On January 4th a special commission sailed from New York for Constantinople and Beirut to enter upon a survey of conditions in Armenia, Syria and other parts of Asia Minor. This group was headed by Dr. James L. Barton of Boston, and included President Main of Grinnell College, Ia., Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Curtiss James of New York, Prof. Moore of Harvard, Mr. W. W. Peet of Constantinople, Dr. G. H. Washburn of Boston, and Mr. Harold Hatch of New York. These are men of exceptional knowledge, thoroughly competent to direct and extend relief activities in Turkey.

*For the Future
as Well
as the Present*

Every state in the Union is organized to support this urgent work of relief, and the lives of many thousands will be saved as a result of

the campaign now pending for \$30,000,000. Furthermore, America's helping hand at this time is likely to do more than anything else to impress upon the Peace Conference at Paris the fact that the future political control of Turkey must be worked out in an unselfish spirit. The Turkish system of government is a complete failure and must be abolished. The peoples of all creeds and races must have freedom, and modern opportunities for education, and economic prosperity. The benefits that the British Army has temporarily brought to Mesopotamia and to Palestine must not be withdrawn from the inhabitants. Medical and agricultural progress must be provided for. In short, the problems of Turkey would seem to present themselves imperatively to a League of Nations. The thing to demand is a continuance of the kind of work that the British Army and the American educational and relief agencies have performed, not forgetting certain excellent reforms in Syria due to arrangements following the French intervention more than half a century ago. There will be no better opportunity to give money that will be wisely spent for human welfare, this month, than that which is set forth in the call that goes out from the "Committee on Relief in the Near East."

Armistice Requirements

The Germans had not complied with all their armistice agreements, particularly those having to do with the delivery of railroad cars and other supplies. The Allies were justified in making certain fresh requirements arising from existing circumstances. Among the new demands was one relating to a large number of unfinished German submarines. Already the Germans had learned that Allied occupation was in no sense oppressive but, on the contrary, was for the time being beneficial to the districts held by American, English and French troops. It is probable that a very large part of the population of

THREE LEADING MEMBERS OF THE RELIEF MISSION TO THE NEAR EAST

(Dr. Washburn [on the left] is a distinguished Boston surgeon, son of the former president of Robert College, Constantinople, and grandson of the first president. Dr. Barton [in the center] was formerly engaged in missionary work in Turkey and is now at the head of the American Board of Missions. Mr. Peet [on the right] has lived for many years in Constantinople as financial representative of educational and missionary enterprises, and is, like Dr. Barton, a widely recognized authority upon conditions throughout Turkey)

Berlin would have been glad to have the Allies in occupation of the capital during December and the first part of January, for preservation of civil order.

Affairs in Germany

After a long period during which news from Germany was of uncertain value and accuracy, we are now obtaining a considerable amount of information that can be relied upon. Political, military and economic conditions in Germany are, however, too disturbed and irregular to admit of any clear and general statement. The government of the majority socialists with Ebert at its head has been through a severe struggle at Berlin with the red revolutionists under the leadership of Karl Liebknecht. There was a brief moment when the extremists seemed to be on the point of gaining control by a violent *coup d'état*; but the military elements favored the more orderly and moderate leadership of Ebert. After bloody street fighting it was announced on January 15th that order had been restored. This made it reasonably certain that the popular elections for a Constitutional Convention to decide upon Ger-

many's form of government would be held in the immediate future, and that in most parts of Germany the freedom and security of the polls would be respected. At Coblenz and in the districts occupied by the American Army, our military authorities issued a proclamation declaring that the elections must be "a free expression of the people's will," and must be orderly and unhampered. The Allied authorities are anxious to have Germany establish a firm and liberal government, with which business can be carried on and which may be capable of making and keeping agreements.

A Primary Requirement from Germany

It is not going to be easy for any of the recent belligerents to recover from the losses and burdens of the war, and Germany must not be allowed to emerge more easily than those lands that have been the victims of Germany's aggression and of her defiance of all the rules and restraints of civilized warfare. We are publishing an article of unusual interest and importance written for us by M. Henri-Martin Barzun on the ravages to which France has been subjected and upon various aspects of the business of reconstruction. This ravaged territory was highly industrialized, and the Germans seem to have

been intent upon damaging it as much as possible. Among other things, they took away the machinery from the factories; as also they did in Belgium. It is obvious that one of the first requirements must be the return by Germany of a full equivalent in the way of machinery, live stock and the working materials of industry. From some source these lacks must be supplied. Surely there can be no question about demanding the return of stolen goods. The thing most necessary for France and Belgium is not money, but labor and machinery. The sooner Germany is set at the task of restoration, the better it will be for everyone concerned.

The "Irreducible Minimum"

Instead of rendering army service in future, young Germans should be obliged to labor either in machine shops at home or on devastated areas, in order to give back the utensils of industry and to restore habitations, factories, roads and farms. Germany has not been ravaged; her cities are intact, her fields are productive, her great establishments for metal-working, chemicals, textiles, etc., are in being, except as transformed for war uses. It would be a travesty to permit Germany to resume her own full industrial career without having undertaken to make good completely the havoc she has wrought in the industrial life of France and Belgium. This is the "irreducible minimum" of requirements. There should be further penalties visited upon Germany of such kind and nature as forever to deter any ambitious nation or race from entering upon a project of military conquest. The more firmly the Germans suppress anarchy, face the facts that inevitably follow their defeat, and fall in with the findings of the Peace Conference, the more rapidly and completely it will be possible for the armies of the Allies to return to their homes and for the general policy of disarmament to go into effect.

Planning a Federal Republic

In the middle of January it was reported that the Ebert government had prepared the draft of a constitution to be submitted to the National Convention which was expected to assemble about February 10. Americans will be interested in the nature of this draft, although the Convention may work out something wholly different. The Ebert draft proposes a Federal Republic, and gets rid of that overwhelming predominance of Prussia which has been the terrible misfortune of the

recent German Empire. Prussia had been built up through a long period by the absorption of many separate states which, in the local sense, have always retained their identity. Subdivision, therefore, into a group of commonwealths somewhat on the plan of our States involves no arbitrary scheme of map-making. With Prussia divided into eight states, the other parts of the proposed German Federal Republic will, according to the Ebert draft, consist of seven more states. The list of fifteen as cabled in January and as a merely tentative proposal (the first eight being subdivisions of Prussia) is as follows:

First — Silesia, with German Posen and German East Bohemia.

Second—The German parts of East and West Prussia.

Third — Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg.

Fourth—Greater Berlin and its suburbs.

Fifth—Lower Saxony, Hanover, and Schleswig-Holstein.

Sixth — Westphalia and the Lippe principalities.

Seventh—The Rhineland.

Eighth—The Prussian Province of Hesse and the Grand Duchy of Hesse.

Ninth—Thuringia, including certain parts of old Prussia.

Tenth—The former Kingdom of Saxony, including parts of Prussian Saxony.

Eleventh—Baden.

Twelfth—Württemberg.

Thirteenth—Bavaria, with the German parts of northwest Bohemia.

Fourteenth—German Austria.

Fifteenth—Vienna and its suburbs.

Doubtless the convention, if it adopts the general plan, will revise these territorial lines. The Ebert draft proposes a President of Germany to be elected for a ten-year term by a direct vote of the whole people.

*Dangers
Invading
Germany* On January 15 the existing government sent out an appeal to the German nation signed by Premier Ebert, Philip Scheidemann, and other members of the cabinet, declaring its

purpose to prevent repetition of the Bolshevik uprisings, and referring to the approaching election as under the "freest suffrage in the world to determine the constitution of the German State." The address made the following significant reference to the Russian menace:

No less is it our task to protect our frontier against fresh Russian military despotism, which wants to force upon us by means of warlike power its anarchistic conditions, and unchain a new world war of which our country would be the theater. Bolshevism means the death of peace, of freedom, and socialism.

It is now apparent that the existing German authorities are much more worried about the danger of Russian Bolshevism, which has threatened Germany both from without and within, than about the attitude towards Germany and her future of the victorious Allies in session at Paris. They know that the Allies will be governed in their discussions by sanity, intelligence, and a consideration for future European harmony. They do not expect indulgence or easy terms at Paris, but they know that the

burdens to be placed upon them will be those that an orderly and industrious Germany can survive. Russian Bolshevism, however, is of itself a pestilence, with its fanaticism, its tyranny and its violence; besides which it paves the way for every other kind of pestilence that follows in the wake of civil war—typhus, hunger diseases, social demoralization.

*Poland
in
Ferment*

Germany also is alarmed about the aggressive attitude of Poland. Emanuel Wurm, the German Food Commissioner, informed the Associated Press correspondent on January 15 that "the situation in Posen was threatening to become acute, and that its immediate effect upon the shipment of wheat and pota-

Committee on Public Information

COLONEL HOUSE SECRETARY LANSING PRESIDENT WILSON HON. HENRY WHITE GENERAL BLISS
THE AMERICAN DELEGATES TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT PARIS

atoes to Berlin was already being felt." "The Polish authorities," said the Commissioner, "have been demanding coal in exchange for foodstuffs. Germany is supplying the fuel, but the Poles have failed to reciprocate. They not only have failed to ship wheat and potatoes, but have retained the rolling stock which carried our coal to them." This official believed "that the present critical food situation in Germany's eastern provinces and its effect on the Berlin supply would be quickly dissipated when Poland's political aspirations were once adjusted and the Polish government was stabilized." The Peace Conference must, at the earliest possible moment, decide upon the boundaries of Poland and use its influence and authority to secure order and save the Poles from internal conflict and from war with their neighbors. There has been a temporary government in Poland under General Pilsudski, whose cabinet has been socialistic and apparently derived mainly from Russian Poland. The eminent Polish leader, Ignace Jan Paderewski, so well known to Americans as a great musical artist, is even better known among Poles as a national patriot and leader. He left the United States some weeks ago, and is now, it would seem, the foremost personal influence in Poland, where he has been trying to secure a proper recognition of Eastern and German Poland on a coalition plan in the temporary cabinet. Poland also has been menaced by Bolshevism, and Paderewski's work is against such disorders and is in promotion of democracy and Polish unity. German policy in the past has been so infamous

as against the Poles in Posen that it would be too much to expect that the Poles should not now assert themselves in those parts of East Prussia that had belonged historically to the Polish nationality.

*The Peace
Conference
at Work*

Since so many practical problems, like these relating to Poland, await the action of the Peace Conference, there is now an urgent demand in all quarters that the delegates at Paris expedite business as fast as possible. It was not until January 15 that the plan of representation was announced. The United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan, it was reported, would have five delegates each; and in addition to the British five there were to be two delegates apiece from Australia, Canada, South Africa, and India, and one from New Zealand. Probably through the influence of the United States, Brazil was assigned three. Two delegates each were accorded to Belgium, China, Greece, Poland, Portugal, the Czecho-Slovak Republic, Rumania, and Serbia. One delegate each was assigned to Siam, Cuba, Guatemala, Hayti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, and Panama, and one to Montenegro. It will be noted that these recognitions are for countries that were definitely associated with the Allies, together with the new mid-European countries recognized as pro-Ally in their attitude and purpose. It was to be expected that there would be some disappointments, but there is nothing vital in the number of delegates allowed to each country because decisions in the Conference are not

to be made by majority vote of the total group as in an ordinary assembly. The gathering is diplomatic in character, and agreements will be made by the assent of countries concerned, to be fixed in treaties.

**Publicity
and
Censorship**

As the Conference began its formal sittings, President Poincaré of France addressed it and Premier Clemenceau then took the chair as head of the Government within whose country the Conference was sitting. The question of full publicity for the current proceedings of the Peace Conference provoked a storm of discussion when a decision in favor of virtual secrecy had been given out. It was said that the American and British delegations had favored open sessions and wide publicity, but that the French, Italian, and Japanese delegates were for secrecy and strict censorship. The great assemblage of American correspondents, well supported by the British newspapermen, together with many French, Italian, and other European journalists, protested with so much vigor that it was soon made known that—at least in respect to much of the work of the Conference—there would be a measure of publicity, although at certain stages of inquiry and discussion publicity might be withheld or deferred. Throughout the war the news censorship in France had been close and firm, and it has so continued. The American Government has desired that there should be no attempt in France to restrict the sending of news to the press of the United States; and the British Government has taken a like course with respect to the freedom of the newspapers of the British Empire.

**National
Prohibition
Assured**

Some of our readers were inclined to be skeptical when last July we published an article from the pen of Mr. Arthur Wallace Dunn of Washington which undertook to answer in the affirmative the question that he proposed in his title; viz., "Will the United States Be 'Dry' in 1920?" He predicted that when the legislatures met in January, 1919, they would rapidly ratify the prohibition amendment to the Constitution, and that the requisite number, thirty-six, would have been secured before March (it having been provided that the amendment should go into effect one year after ratification). Mr. Dunn analyzed the situation carefully, and his predictions have been fulfilled with re-

markable accuracy. During a few days in the middle of January the ratifications were numerous, and the necessary 36th state proved to be Nebraska, which adopted the amendment on January 16th. On the day before, the states of Iowa, Colorado, Oregon, New Hampshire, and Utah had acted favorably, making a total of twelve in the course of two days. The states that had ratified previously were Kentucky, Virginia, Mississippi, South Carolina, North Dakota, Maryland, Montana, Arizona, Delaware, Texas, South Dakota, Georgia, Massachusetts, Louisiana, Florida, Michigan, Ohio, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Idaho, Maine, West Virginia, Washington, California, Indiana, Arkansas, Illinois, North Carolina, Kansas and Alabama. It was fully expected that several more states would act favorably within a short time, although their votes were not needed to insure the addition to the Federal Constitution. It was even expected that the state of New York would endorse the amendment and thus give its voluntary sanction to a radical change to which, with its great cosmopolitan population, it had been regarded as strongly opposed.

**A Great
War-time
Reform**

In any case, we were bound to try the experiment of nationwide prohibition, because as a war measure it had been already ordained that the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks should cease after the thirtieth day of next June, the period of tolerance being now only five months. This war prohibition was to last until six months after demobilization, although there is difference of opinion as to what that may mean. The dispute will have to be decided by a proclamation to be issued by the President. However, now that the Constitutional amendment is ratified, we shall have permanent prohibition beginning, let us say, February 1, 1920; and it is not probable that there will be any interval of resumed liquor-traffic between the temporary war prohibition and the enforcement of the permanent policy. The significant sections of the amendment are as follows:

"Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

"Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

The meaning of these words is not in any doubt, because the courts have for many years been interpreting prohibition clauses in the state constitutions. Nor is there any reason to believe that the law will not be rigidly enforced. The evasions heretofore practiced in some "dry" states will become far more difficult when the whole country is under a prohibition system.

*The Positive
Benefits to
Accrue*

Those who are inclined to complain on the score of infringement of personal liberty, would do well to forget that phase of the subject and to remember what prohibition is going to mean in hundreds of thousands of homes. To be sure that growing boys and young men are henceforth to be practically free from the dangers of the drink evil, is a great gain for society. The economic benefit that will accrue to homes and to communities as a whole will be almost beyond computation. We are not dealing with a question that is now open to argument but are referring to one that was settled last month, so that any further discussion becomes academic. Those who do not like the idea of prohibition must accept the inevitable; yet we are inclined to think that they will change their minds when they see the good that will surely follow the closing of saloons and bars. The capital and energy that have gone into the making of intoxicants will find ample opportunity in various other fields. The prohibition wave has been advancing in this country for a number of years, so that everybody connected with the business of distilling and brewing, and with the retail liquor trade, has had ample warning and long opportunity to prepare for a decision that is not destined to be reconsidered. In no small measure, getting rid of alcoholic beverages and the habits they engender, is like eliminating certain forms of prevalent disease. It is sanitary progress, physically and morally. This is the first—and perhaps most notable—of the social reconstruction measures that are to better the world in the post-war era.

*Two Great
Business
Problems for
Congress*

No vaster or more puzzling business problems have ever faced Congress than those relating to the ultimate disposal and operation of America's transportation lines on land and on sea. Of the two, the railway puzzle is the more imminent and pressing. The roads are, under the present law, to be re-

turned twenty-one months after the end of the war, which presumably means after the signing of a formal peace some time in the spring or summer of 1919. There is a fairly general agreement on only one main point: that the early return of the roads to their owners without new and vigorous legislation, doing away with certain intolerable phases of their operation, would be disastrous. In his address to Congress before he sailed to Europe, President Wilson pointed out the necessity for prompt Congressional action, and in the first days of January the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce began a series of highly important hearings from which Congress obtained the views of Mr. McAdoo, the retiring Director-General of the Railroads, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Association of Railroad Executives, the shippers and representatives of the State commissions.

*Mr. McAdoo's
Five-Year
Plan*

The Director-General characteristically had a bold and clean-cut plan for action in the matter. Expressing himself as opposed to Government ownership, he advocated new legislation which should extend the federal control of the railways as now exercised for a period of five years, arguing that only through such a course could the country obtain any fair test of federal control during peace times. Five years, he thought, would be little enough for any proper study of conditions upon which to base future policies in the matter of our railways. Mr. McAdoo intimated that if the period of Government control should be limited to twenty-one months, he would urge that the lines be returned to private control immediately, or as soon as practicable. This course he defended on the ground that the Federal Railroad Administration would be so hampered during the short period of control that the Government "would be asked to continue in operation deprived of all the elements which would help in making the operation a success." Mr. McAdoo's five-year plan has not met with much favor. Members of Congress, financiers, the owners of the railways, even the Interstate Commerce Commission itself are, with few exceptions, opposed to it. There is a general feeling that a five-year extension of federal control would inevitably lead to Government ownership and that it would be begging the question—the greatest question of all in the matter of transportation lines—to provide for such a course now. The feeling was

widely expressed, too, that two years would be ample for Congress to prepare the new legislation necessary for a program promising reasonable success.

Proposals of the Railway Executives In the meantime the managers of the railways themselves have been preparing an elaborate plan for untangling the present transportation situation and starting out afresh. Chairman T. Dewitt Cuyler of the Association of Railway Executives presented the recommendations of that body to the Senate Committee on January 9. These call for private ownership, management, and operation of the railways; for federal regulation alone as against the former State and federal regulation; for relieving the Interstate Commerce Commission of its executive and administrative duties except as to federal valuation and accounting; for a Secretary of Transportation in the President's cabinet with many of the powers Director-General McAdoo has been exercising during the past months, and for power to be given to the carriers to initiate rates subject to the approval of the Secretary of Transportation and finally of the Interstate Commerce Commission. This program further calls for the division of the country by the Interstate Commerce Commission into regions, each to be under a commission appointed by the President, which would in its territory attend to the work entrusted to the Interstate Commerce Commission and report to that body.

Opinions of the Commerce Commission The Interstate Commerce Commission, with the exception of Commissioner Woolley, made common cause with the railway men in opposing Mr. McAdoo's five-year control plan, and advocated legislation nullifying the President's power to surrender the railroads without notice. The most unsatisfactory part of the Commerce Commission's plan was that relating to rates. The word "reasonable" has been the stock adjective applied to rates to be put in force; but the absence of any working test of reasonableness for a particular rate has resulted in the past in voluminous hearings and discussions, and has sadly delayed action. Chairman Clark, of the Interstate Commerce Commission, agreeing on many points with the railway men, had no more definite working plan for promptly arriving at the "reasonable" rate than was furnished in his statement: "The rates should not be higher than the shipper

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MR. WALKER D. HINES

(Who has succeeded Mr. McAdoo as Director-General of the railways of the United States)

may reasonably be required to pay and should not be lower than the carrier may reasonably be required to accept."

The Views of Senator Cummins The danger of unlimited discussion over reasonableness, which kept the railroads waiting for four years for an answer to their 1910 application for a rate change, is thoroughly appreciated by Senator Cummins, who will be Chairman of the Senate Interstate Commerce Commission when Congress reorganizes after March 4. It is understood that Senator Cummins will come out strongly for (1) Government ownership of the railways, (2) the leasing of the roads, under careful restrictions, to private operators, (3) issues of capital stock to cover equipment by the Government at a guarantee of return of something like 4½ per cent., and (4) operating capital to be supplied by the private operators with profits allowed to them in proportion to the efficiency of management. In interviews Senator Cummins has explained that he has in mind obtaining the advantages of Government ownership, par-

ticularly the use of capital at the low rate of interest that would be possible under Government guarantees, without losing the advantages of private ownership—the incentives to efficiency and initiative.

*Mr. Hines
as Director-
General*

On January 13 was made public the appointment of Mr. Walker D. Hines to the post of Director-General of the railways, allowing Mr. McAdoo, at last, to get away on a vacation which was earned, if any vacation ever was earned, by the magnitude and variety of responsibilities that one man's shoulders had borne. Mr. Hines steps easily into the headship of our twenty billion dollars' worth of transportation lines because he has been for more than a year the effective lieutenant of Mr. McAdoo, many of the policies and changes initiated during the Government régime having come from him. Mr. Hines is a practical railroad man of large calibre, and with the best quality of training. For twelve years he was counsel for the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway and for ten years Chairman of its Board in the period during which that great system was being worked over into a signally efficient, successful and high-toned organization. It is said that Mr. Hines agrees with Mr. McAdoo that it would be wise to extend the present Government control until 1924.

*What Will
We Do With
Our Ships?*

Allowing all promptness and wisdom in solving the railway problem, we shall scarcely be through with it before Congress is faced with a task of scarcely less magnitude and one in which some factors are even more complicated and difficult—the management of the enormous merchant-marine fleet we are building. Few people realize what the present program will mean by 1920. Before the Civil War, in 1860, we had over half of the ocean tonnage in the world. By 1910 our percentage of the world's shipping had dropped to 12 per cent. With the great demand for ocean transportation suddenly brought by the world war, America began slowly to arouse herself in the matter of shipbuilding, and by 1915 had increased her tonnage from five millions to eight millions—to something like 16 per cent. of the world's total. Now Chairman Hurley, of the United States Shipping Board, talks confidently of an American merchant marine, within a couple of years, of twenty-five million tons.

If he is right in expecting such a growth by the end of 1920, the world's tonnage will then be something like sixty million, of which Great Britain will have about twenty million and the United States twenty-five million, the two together owning three-fourths of all the world's ocean shipping. Japan will be third among the nations in the size of her merchant fleet. In a few years there will be a mighty competition for freights. Is our vast new fleet to be owned and operated by the Government, or owned by the Government and operated privately, or are both ownership and operation to be put in private hands? What are we going to do about the La Follette Act, with its stringent provisions making the operation of American vessels so much more costly than Japanese and British ships? Where are our ships going to coal? Great Britain has stations throughout the seven seas. These are but a few of the great matters that must be threshed over if we are really to do anything worth while with our billions of dollars' worth of new ships.

*War Expenses
Still
Growing*

A very little thought will suffice to show people—surprised at the fact that monthly expenses for the war are, with the war ended, greater than ever and continually growing—that there is no need for alarm and that nothing else could have been expected for some months after the signing of the armistice. Last November's expenses made a new record and December's were still greater by more than one hundred million dollars. One needs only to consider, however, that the expenses of demobilization are practically as great as those of mobilization; and that with a war plant growing at a rate never known before in the history of the world, the momentum could not conceivably be stopped within a few days or weeks—to understand that no other result could have been looked for. Then such single items as our shipbuilding program have not been stopped or scaled down. It is probable that our fifth great bond issue on account of the war will call for five billion dollars or more. In the middle of January Secretary of the Treasury Glass gave some suggestions to show the trend of the Treasury Department's plans. It is not improbable that the rate of interest may be raised to 4½ per cent. and it is practically certain that the bonds will be of short terms.

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THE CITIZENS OF PARIS, AND PRESIDENT POINCARÉ, WELCOME PRESIDENT WILSON ON HIS ARRIVAL IN THE FRENCH CAPITAL

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From December 18, 1918, to January 16, 1919)

INCIDENTS DURING THE ARMISTICE

December 18.—The American Jewish Congress, at Philadelphia, frames a bill of rights and selects delegates to lay the principles before the Peace Conference.

It is officially stated that the German long-range cannon fired 168 shells into Paris, killing 196 persons and wounding 417, and that during 1918 there were 1,211 casualties from air raids over Paris.

December 21.—It is semi-officially stated that Italy's casualties in the war were: killed in action, 200,000; died from disease, 300,000; severely wounded, 300,000; prisoners, 500,000.

December 22.—Russia's war casualties are placed at 9,150,000 in a dispatch from Petrograd—including 1,700,000 killed, 1,450,000 disabled, 3,500,000 other wounded, 2,500,000 prisoners.

Austro-Hungarian casualties in the war to the end of May, 1918, are officially reported to have been slightly above 4,000,000.

A report of the American air service shows that 24,512 men were at the front when the war ended, with a record of 854 German planes brought down against an American loss of 271.

December 26.—French war casualties are officially announced as: killed, 1,071,300; prisoners still alive, 446,000; "missing," 314,000.

December 29.—The French Foreign Minister, Stephen Pichon, in discussing the Government's peace policies, declares that the principle of a League of Nations is accepted and that intervention in Russia is inevitable.

Czechoslovak and Siberian forces capture Perm, in the Ural Mountains, and destroy the Bolshevik Army, taking 31,000 prisoners.

December 30.—Premier Clemenceau informs the

French Chamber that the old system of alliances, or "balance of power," will be his guiding thought at the Peace Conference; he also announces that he has informed Premier Lloyd George that he will not oppose British ideas on freedom of the seas; the Chamber votes confidence in him 380 to 164.

Reports from Archangel, Russia, describe successful fighting by American troops, the Polish Legion, Russian volunteers, and French—against the Bolsheviks—along the Onega and Dvina rivers, preparatory to establishing winter quarters for the expedition.

January 3.—President Wilson names Herbert Hoover as Director General of an international organization for relief in liberated countries.

January 4.—President Wilson cables an appeal to Congress for an appropriation of \$100,000,000 to relieve conditions of absolute starvation among the liberated peoples of Austria, Turkey, Poland, and Western Russia.

The Serbian Minister to France declares that Serbia will go to war if the Peace Conference confirms the secret treaty under which England, France and Russia agreed that Italy should possess the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea.

Statistics relating to the number of German submarines are made public in London; 202 U-boats were destroyed or captured during the war, 14 self-destroyed, 7 interned, 122 surrendered since the armistice, and 58 remaining to be surrendered.

It is officially announced that Norway's loss of merchant ships during the war was 829 vessels, of 1,240,000 tons.

January 6.—Bulgaria's war losses are reported from Sofia to have been: killed and missing, 101,224; wounded, 1,152,399; prisoners, 100,000.

January 7.—Statistics of American wounded are made public; of 71,114 cases in expeditionary hospitals between January 15 and October 15, 1918, 85.3 per cent. returned to duty and 8.8 died.

January 8.—French war casualties are made public: killed in action or died from wounds, 1,028,000; missing, given up for lost, 299,000; wounded, 3,000,000 (three-fourths recovered, 700,000 completely disabled); prisoners, 435,000; the total dead and disabled are between 5 and 6 per cent. of the population and between 26 and 30 per cent. of the men mobilized.

January 11.—The French Foreign Minister announces that France has declined to accept British proposal for inviting to the Peace Conference representatives of the various governments, in the interest of world peace. The French hold that the Bolsheviks are not recognized as a government.

The American Chief of Staff reports mobilization of 694,000 men and 47,000 officers. 694,000 men and 47,000 officers have been discharged, and 96,000 overseas troops returned to the United States.

January 12.—The Supreme War Counciling at Paris and attended by President Wilson and Secretary Lansing and the Premier and Foreign Ministers of Great Britain, France, Italy, together with Marshal Foch and representatives—begins actual consideration of the peace settlement.

Air raids over Great Britain, it is announced, killed 1,260 civilians and injured 3,500.

PRESIDENT WILSON IN EUROPE

December 19.—King Victor Emmanuel, on his arrival in Paris, calls on President Wilson.

December 21.—Premier Orlando of Italy places before President Wilson Italy's territorial aspirations.

The University of Paris (the Sorbonne) confers upon President Wilson the degree of *Honoris Causa*.

December 25.—The President reviews 10,000 American troops (on Christmas Day) near the American headquarters at Chaumont; he informs the soldiers that he does not find in Allied leaders any difference of principles or of fundamental purpose in the effort to establish peace upon the permanent foundation of right and justice.

December 26.—The President and Mrs. Wilson cross the English Channel from Calais to Dover, and arrive in London; they are met at Charing Cross station by the King and Queen, and are domiciled in Buckingham Palace.

IS IN THE BERLIN STREET FIGHTING

Germany during the past few weeks have the Radical Socialists told of the "bombardment" of the imperial palace—the defenses. They also told of the "evacuation" of other strategic buildings.

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PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 18.—In the Senate, Mr. Knox (Rep., Pa.) criticizes the President's proposal for the creation of a League of Nations as part of the

ment to the pending Revenue bill, abolishing the complicated zone system of postage rates on second-class matter.

December 20.—The Senate ratifies a treaty with Guatemala, designed to develop commercial relations.

December 21.—In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) criticizes five of the President's "fourteen points" essential in the peace settlement, and calls attention to the fact that the peace treaty must be acceptable to the Senate.

December 23.—The Senate passes the Revenue bill (under discussion for two weeks), without important change from the Finance Committee's draft, designed to raise \$6,000,000,000 by taxation in 1919 and \$4,000,000,000 yearly thereafter; the measure goes to Conference Committee.

January 7.—In the House, Chairman Sims of the Interstate Commerce Committee introduces two amendments to the Railway Control Act, which would extend Government operation for five years and provide an additional "revolving fund" of \$500,000,000 (the original half-billion being practically exhausted during 1918).

January 9.—The House passes a measure authorizing the Secretary of War to adjust contracts for material, partly fulfilled when war ended.

January 13.—The House appropriates \$100,000,000 for furnishing foodstuffs "to populations in Europe and countries contiguous thereto outside of Germany," in accordance with a cabled request from the President; a \$27,000,000 River and Harbor bill is also passed.

January 16.—In the Senate, Mr. La Follette (Rep., Wis.) is exonerated of the charge of disloyalty, by vote of 50 to 21.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

December 19.—The President nominates Joseph B. Eastman (a member of the Massachusetts Public Utilities Commission) for membership on the Interstate Commerce Commission.

December 30.—Secretary Daniels is questioned by the House Naval Affairs Committee, regarding the three-year construction program of sixteen battleships and battle cruisers, to make the navy "as powerful as that of any nation in the world."

January 2.—Both branches of the Michigan legislature adopt without debate the proposed prohibition amendment to the federal constitution—becoming the sixteenth State to ratify.

January 7.—The prohibition amendment is ratified by the legislatures of Ohio and Oklahoma.

January 8.—The prohibition amendment is ratified by the legislatures of Maine, Tennessee, and Idaho.

Congressman-elect Victor L. Berger and four other Socialist leaders are found guilty, by a federal jury in Chicago, of conspiring to interfere with the successful conduct of the war.

January 11.—Walker D. Hines, Assistant Director-General of Railroads, is appointed by the President to succeed Mr. McAdoo in full control.

January 12.—The resignation of Attorney-General Thomas Watt Gregory, from the President's cabinet, to take effect March 4, is announced.

January 13.—The United States Supreme Court upholds the constitutionality of the so-called Reed "bone dry" amendment, forbidding private importation of liquor into prohibition States, reversing the lower court.

January 13.—The legislatures of California and Washington ratify the prohibition amendment to the federal constitution.

January 14.—The prohibition amendment is ratified by the legislatures of Alabama, Arkansas, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, and North Carolina.

January 15.—The legislatures of Iowa, Colorado, Oregon, New Hampshire, and Utah ratify the prohibition amendment.

January 16.—The prohibition amendment submitted to the State legislatures in December, 1917, becomes Article XVIII of the Constitution of the United States, with the ratification by Nebraska, the thirty-sixth state; Wyoming and Missouri also adopt the amendment; the Article prohibits the manufacture, sale, and transportation of liquor one year after the formal proclamation by the Secretary of State.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

December 19.—A conference of delegates of Soldiers' and Workmen's Councils, at Berlin, decides to hold elections to a National Assembly on January 19.

Marshal Joffre, hero of the first Battle of the Marne, is made a member of the French Academy—one of the forty "immortals."

December 22.—A Jugo-Slav Ministry is formed at Belgrade, with M. Protich (a Serbian) as Premier.

Thomas G. Masaryk takes the oath of office as President of the Czecho-Slovak Republic, at Prague.

December 24.—A new Portuguese ministry is formed, with Tamagnini as Premier.

December 28.—Results of the British Parliamentary elections on December 12 become known; the coalition Government under Premier Lloyd George will command 471 seats in the new parliament out of 707; Sinn Feiners elect 73 members, who will refuse to sit.

Three Independent Socialist members retire from the German Government, leaving the three Majority Socialists, including Premier Frederic Ebert, in entire control.

December 31.—The Rumanian Government receives from a special commission from the Transylvanian Government (including Transylvania, Banat, Marmaros, and Bukowina) a document containing a pact of union in accord with the desires of the Transylvania National Assembly.

January 7.—The split among the German Socialist leaders widens and the factions resort to fighting, with small arms and artillery, in the streets of Berlin; Dr. Karl Liebknecht, head of the Spartacus group, and Police Chief Eichorn, champion "the rights of the people" and condemn Philip Scheideman (Majority Socialist leader) and Chancellor Ebert.

Leadership of the Opposition in the British House of Commons falls upon the chairman of the Labor party (the largest group outside the coalition), Wm. W. Adamson, a Scottish miner.

January 8.—The two Bolshevik leaders of Russia disagree; the Minister of War (Leon Trotzky) arrests the Premier (Nikolai Lenine), and declares himself dictator.

January 9.—Government troops in Berlin are reinforced and regain control.

January 10.—The British Government under Premier Lloyd George is reorganized as the result of the elections.

A republic is proclaimed in Luxemburg, the young Grand Duchess retiring.

Strikes in Buenos Aires, fomented by European agitators, result in the establishment of a military dictatorship by General Dellepaine in the avowed interest of the Government.

January 11.—Government troops in Berlin capture the *Vorwärts* building, with the use of field guns.

January 13.—A general strike is called in Lima and Callao, Peru.

January 15.—Announcement is made at Berlin of the completion of the draft of a constitution, creating a union of fifteen states, Prussia being divided into eight.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

December 19.—The British Air Ministry announces the completion of a flight of 3950 miles, from Cairo, Egypt, to Delhi, India, begun on December 13.

December 26.—The American fleet of battle-ships and destroyers from overseas joins the home fleet in New York harbor and is reviewed by Secretary Daniels.

January 1.—The transport *Northern Pacific*, carrying 2500 soldiers, runs aground at night on the southern shore of Long Island.

January 8.—Ex-President Theodore Roosevelt, who died suddenly at his home on January 6, is buried with simple ceremonies at Oyster Bay, N. Y.

January 12.—A United States Navy dirigible flies from New York to Hampton Roads, Virginia. . . . Twenty-one persons are killed in a rear-end collision on the New York Central Railroad, near Batavia, N. Y.

OBITUARY

December 17.—Brig.-Gen. J. R. McGinness, U. S. A., retired, a veteran of the Civil War, 73.

December 20.—Bernard N. Baker, of Baltimore, a noted advocate of an enlarged American merchant marine, 64. . . . Charles Henry McKee, president and editor of the *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, 66.

December 21.—Walter Hines Page, recently American Ambassador to Great Britain, 63 (see page 152).

December 22.—Major-Gen. Jacob Ford Kent, U. S. A., retired, 83.

December 23.—Dr. Donald H. Currie, port physician of Boston and an authority on leprosy, 42.

December 24.—Henry Mitchell MacCracken, Chancellor Emeritus of New York University, 78. . . . Benjamin O. Flower, at various times editor of the *American Spectator*, the *Arena*, the *Coming Age* and the *Twentieth Century Magazine*, 60. Prince Conrad von Hohenlohe-Schillingsfuerst, twice Premier of Austria, 55.

December 25.—J. Wilbur Chapman, D.D., the

noted Presbyterian evangelist, 59. . . .

Dale W. Jones, former Governor of Arkansas, 69. . . .

Mrs. Harriet Mann Miller ("Olive Thorne"), a widely known writer on birds and bird life, 87.

December 28.—George P. White, a negro member of the Fifty-fifth and Fifty-sixth Congresses, from North Carolina, 66.

December 29.—Abby Leech, for thirty years professor of Greek at Vassar College, 63.

December 31.—Rossiter W. Raymond, a distinguished New York mining engineer, 78.

January 1.—David Lubin, the Californian who founded the International Institute of Agriculture at Rome, 78. . . . Richard George Knowles, a widely known lecturer, 59.

January 2.—Rear-Admiral Abraham V. Zane, U. S. N., retired, 63. . . . Rev. John Wherry, D.D., for half a century engaged in missionary work in China (translator of the Bible into Chinese), 79.

January 3.—Rear-Admiral Samuel Williams Very, U. S. N., retired, 72. . . . Frank Duveneck, painter of "The Whistling Boy" and other works of art, 71.

January 4.—Count George F. von Hertling, of Bavaria, German Chancellor from October, 1917, to September, 1918, 75. . . . Brig. Gen. John E. Stephens, U. S. A., 44.

January 6.—Theodore Roosevelt, former President of the United States, 60 (see pages 153-166).

January 8.—Major-Gen. J. Franklin Bell, U. S. A., commander of the Department of the East, 62.

January 10.—Wallace Clement Sabine, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at Harvard, 50.

January 12.—John Mason, the American actor, 60. . . . Sir Charles Wyndham, the English actor, widely known in the United States, 81.

January 13.—Horace Fletcher, noted advocate of proper food mastication, 70.

January 14.—George R. Sheldon, New York financier and former Treasurer of Republican National Committee, 61.

January 15.—Henry J. Duveen, the New York art dealer, 64.

MAJOR-GENERAL J. FRANKLIN BELL

(General Bell, who died suddenly last month, was one of the best-known and most energetic of American army officers)



CARTOONS OF THE MOMENT

THE RIGHT KIND OF RECEPTION COMMITTEE
From the News (Chicago)

HOW THEY TURNED THE PRUSSIAN TIDE AT CHÂTEAU-THIERRY
From the Central Press Association (Cleveland)

IS THIS WHAT WE FOUGHT FOR?
From the Herald (New York)

MARS WAITING FOR THE FERRY
From the News (Chicago)

NO ADMITTANCE
From the World (New York)

WATCHFUL WAITING
From the News (Detroit, Mich.)

THE OLD WAY AND THE NEW
From the American (Baltimore, Md.)

THE LITTLE FELLOWS: "HE'S OUR GOOD FRIEND"
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)

"LE BIENVENU"
From *Punch* (London)

ON this page the cartoons picture President Wilson's welcome in France, the difficulties under which he is attempting to bring the nations together, and the enthusiasm with which he is hailed by the smaller powers.

READY TO DISPOSE OF MILITARISM
From *Esquella* (Barcelona, Spain)

© George Matthew Adams

CAN HE PRODUCE THE HARMONY?
From the *Citizen* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

THE CASE IS READY FOR THE JURY
From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

"GEE!"

From the *World-Herald* (Omaha, Neb.)

I ARREST YOU IN THE NAME OF NO LAW
From the *Evening World* (New York)

CAN GERMANY PUT THE GENIE BACK IN THE BOTTLE?
From the *Spokesman Review* (Spokane, Wash.)

THE FIRING SQUAD
From the *World* (New York)



YOUNG AMERICA THE CHAMPION OF LIBERTY AND ORDER

From *La Baionette* (Paris)

France rather fancifully conceives of America as a doughty knight battling for the world's freedom from oppression. This idea is gracefully expressed by *Le Baionette*.

The might of the Anglo-American entente is the theme of the Baltimore *American* cartoonist, while the New York *Times* pays a truthful tribute to Theodore Roosevelt.

AS LONG AS THESE TWO STAND TOGETHER
From the *American* (Baltimore, Md.)

AS HE WILL BE REMEMBERED
From the *Times* (New York)

THE RETURN OF THE SOLDIER

BY HON. NEWTON D. BAKER

(Secretary of War)

WHEN the armistice was signed the strength of the Army of the United States was 3,734,420 officers and men. Of these, there were in Europe and Siberia a total of 2,002,175; in camps and posts in the United States, 1,676,510; and in our insular possessions, 55,735.

The problem of demobilizing this army rapidly and fairly was at once undertaken. In order to use the available tonnage which otherwise would be idle, General Pershing was directed at once to return to the United States such casual and detached units as formed no essential part of his active army, and especially to use all of the suitable ship space for the return of such sick and wounded as were sufficiently recovered to travel with safety. A few convalescent patients from the hospitals had been returned to the United States prior to the armistice; their number,

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visions are continuing their training, and eighteen divisions have been set aside for early return to the United States, of which three have already embarked and eight are assembling at the ports, awaiting ships.

It is not possible as yet to state with definiteness how long it will be necessary to

maintain our army abroad, nor how rapidly it can be reduced in size. Two elements are involved: first, an adequate force must be retained to carry out effectively the terms of the armistice and the terms of any peace arrangement which require the coöperation of the army; second, the limitation of transportation facilities.

With regard to the first of these considerations, it seems fairly clear that a relatively small body of troops coöperating with the diminished armies of the French, British, and Italian will be sufficient. With regard to the second limitation, it is to be remembered that in the rapid dispatch of our great army to France we had the use of a very substantial part of the British passenger-carrying fleet.

Now that the armistice has intervened, Great Britain, in justice to her own army, must return her Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand troops, who have been longer away from their homes than ours, and, while the British Government is generously assisting us in the return of our soldiers, we can not ask as great assistance as she was able to give us while hostilities still continued.

We are, however, transforming a large number of cargo-carrying ships; the Navy has placed at our disposal a fleet of battle-ships and cruisers; all of our own passenger-carrying fleet is retained in the service; and efforts are being made to secure some of the passenger ships which Germany retained in her ports at the outbreak of the war. From all of these sources, it is hoped ultimately to obtain a capacity of from 200,000 to 250,000 men per month. These figures are stated, not as limits, but as the present prospect, it being understood that every resource is being explored in order to increase the rapidity of the return of the soldiers.

Both in Europe and here, the effort of the War Department is to return and demobilize this army fairly and without preference to individuals, and as rapidly as can be done in order that these men may return to their civilian employments. By this course, the re-

sumption of industry and commerce in the country will be expedited and the men who have forfeited industrial, commercial, and educational opportunity in order to serve their country will be justly and equally afforded opportunities to resume their interrupted careers.

It, is, of course, impossible to return and demobilize them all at once, and special branches of the service, by reason of their continued usefulness in the work still to be done, will necessarily still be delayed in their demobilization. But as far as possible men will be discharged equally and without reference to individual preference or desire, except in a relatively few cases of special hardship by reason of deaths and changed circumstances at home, in which cases camp commanders are authorized to recognize urgent situations by preferential discharge.

The machinery of demobilization is now fully organized and working. Each soldier must have a physical examination and careful

records must be preserved in order that the completion of honorable service may be made of permanent record in the War Department. We are, therefore, discharging men at the rate of about a thousand officers and twenty-five thousand soldiers per day, and have already given honorable discharges to more than 700,000 men.

By the time this statement is printed, the number discharged will be nearly a million; and those who are anxious to know when they can expect the return of their soldier friends will have seen the rapidity with which discharges are taking place. Both the soldiers and their friends can rely upon the War Department to speed up these discharges. Their patience and coöperation in the process will assist those who are doing the work. The one rule guiding us in this whole matter is that justice and speed in the return of the soldiers and their demobilization is the due of the soldier and the best interest of the country.

THE RETURN OF THE AMERICAN SOLDIER, AFTER WORTHY PARTICIPATION IN THE GREAT WAR

(In the illustration on the left the boys are enthusiastic over their approach to the Statue of Liberty, in New York Harbor. (In the right is a group of Marines who took part in the famous battles at Château Thierry, Belleau Wood, and elsewhere. All of them have been awarded the Croix de Guerre and many of them the Distinguished Service Cross also.)

EUROPE IN TRANSITION

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. DEMOBILIZATION

LAST month I reviewed in some detail the main political problems waiting upon the Versailles Congress for settlement. In the present article, covering in the main the period of preliminary conferences necessarily secret, before the main work begins, I shall discuss briefly some of the salient features of another great phase of war settlement, which is proceeding rapidly, changing the face of Europe, solving some problems only to raise others—namely, demobilization.

Leaving Russia out of the calculation, we can safely estimate that not less than twenty millions of men, perhaps thirty millions, are in part returning to peace conditions, and will in growing numbers return in the next few months until there is left only something like the number which was regularly employed in standing armies before the outbreak of the war.

This estimate covers Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and the minor states which have been fighting, including the fragments of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

Not all of this number (and I think 25,000,000 is a conservative estimate), not half of them, are returning from the front; not half of them have ever been used in the fighting. But all of them have been mobilized for the war, all of them have been working or fighting, occupied with tasks which were the direct or the indirect outgrowth of the struggle, tasks which were practically completed when the German power to resist was broken and the Armistice of Senlis was transformed into effective disarmament of the German nation.

Now for this great phenomenon we have no parallel in history, because we have no previous example of a general war of the peoples, as contrasted with the states. At the close of the Napoleonic struggle all the European states had large armies, but France, most completely mobilized, had raised 500,000 for the Waterloo campaign out of a population of 25,000,000, while Serbia, in the present war, with a population in excess of 4,000,000, but under 5,000,000, has cer-

tainly raised 400,000 men for fighting service alone.

In the old wars the business of the nations in many respects went on as before. There were men left to plow and to sow. A century ago the manufactures were still insignificant. Supplying an army with material was no great task. In no small degree the armies lived on the regions in which they fought or camped, and in nearly a quarter of a century of almost continuous warfare only an insignificant portion of France, for example, was invaded, while Germany, frequently overrun, suffered less in the way of destruction of material wealth than any one of the dozen northern departments of France in the latest struggle.

When the Napoleonic Wars were over the mass of the soldiers returned to the conditions which had existed before the struggle. As a matter of fact, those who had long been in the armies found better conditions of life, of communications, of material prosperity. At least this was true in Western Europe, where the wonderful achievements of Napoleonic organization had transformed territories always French, or territories long occupied by French armies and administered by French officials.

And this demobilization merely involved the soldiers. There was nothing to compare with the contemporary mobilization of the whole male population of the country and of a very large percentage of the women. Actually war, even the great Napoleonic Wars, surpassing the wars of the past enormously, affected but a relatively small percentage of the population of any country—so small a percentage that the soldiers who returned were absorbed easily; they created hardly a ripple on the surface of the economic sea.

In our own Civil War the same thing happened. In the South the great losses, in proportion to the total white population, left a gap not easily filled, while the change of conditions incident to freeing the slaves imposed upon the veterans of the Southern armies burdens which consumed all their industries. In the North, while in part the

absorption was rapid, there was the additional factor supplied by the sudden opening up of the great West. Thither went thousands of soldiers, who, having preserved the Union, contributed only less greatly to its future by laying the foundations for an expansion of the country economically to the Pacific. Thus were absorbed those who did not return to old conditions.

II. THE DIFFERENCE

But to-day the return of the vast hordes who were yesterday either in the armies or the factories devoted to war manufacture, presents a new problem. And the problem is accentuated by the fact that the percentage of men who come from agricultural pursuits, as contrasted with those who come from industrial occupations, is far less than fifty years ago. A century ago the percentage of the population not engaged in agriculture was comparatively insignificant.

For those who left the farm for the war, the farm remains, save in devastated districts, and even in the devastated districts there is only a restricted area in which, with government aid, agriculture cannot soon be renewed. But for those who worked in the factories—certainly the larger share of the British and German mobilized population—the return must be postponed until such time as the industries can be restored, until the factories and machine shops, which have been made over to do war work—to make shells, for example—can be transformed to their old uses.

Literally millions and millions of men and women will thus be temporarily without occupation. In France, in Belgium, in Poland, there must be added to this the population of districts whose cities have been destroyed, whose factories have been stripped of their machinery. Before the war Lille, for example, was one of the greatest manufacturing towns of Europe. But to-day, although the city is practically intact and the population only slightly reduced, the factories are without machinery; many have been ruined.

In the northern departments of France, which have been fought over for four years, even the villages are gone in many cases. The agricultural as well as the mechanical tools are lacking. In restricted areas even the fruit trees have disappeared, while for nearly five hundred miles, from Switzerland to the sea, there is a strip, varying in width

from twenty to fifty miles, which is more sterile than any similar area of the world's surface, save the immemorial deserts, by reason of long-continued shell fire.

The problem of demobilization is, then, difficult in the extreme. The fighting is over. The armies may in the main go home, but having gone home, what shall the soldiers or even the mechanics do? How shall they resume their old tasks and who will feed and clothe them until they can support themselves? To defeat Germany, Europe transformed itself until war was the only industry, but it took four years to do this and the reverse process will hardly be materially shorter.

Again, there is the question of communications. Anyone who has traveled in Europe in the last three years knows how progressively the railroads have run down, save only those lines which were immediately occupied in transporting men or material to the front. In Britain, in Belgium, in France, railway lines used before the war for ordinary purposes have been taken up and relaid along the front. The rolling stock of all lines has gone to pieces and there has been almost no renewal. The roadbeds have deteriorated because there was lacking both material and labor.

Add to this the consequences of submarine warfare on the ocean tonnage. The world is short of shipping, desperately short, and moreover such shipping as exists must in no small measure be employed in moving millions of troops back to America, Canada, Australia, and in transporting provisions to the armies still maintained in Europe by British and French colonies, as well as by the United States. Great maritime ports like Havre have been entirely taken over by the military and the naval authorities and can only be turned back after long delays, which will be extended by the need of readjusting things for the work of commerce. How long before Paris can expect to have full use of Havre, its natural port, is a thing no one can forecast.

Now one may multiply the examples of this dislocation in the life of the nations which have won the war, which have suffered no essential transformation in their political or economic conditions, have not experienced defeat or revolution and find themselves in such relations with their former commercial markets that they can, as soon as it is possible, look forward to new and even extended trade with them. Yet mobilization

and demobilization cannot take place in the same way. Millions may be called to arms in a relatively restricted time, but even there wise authority waits upon immediate necessity, but millions cannot be demobilized in a month or even a year without dangers incalculable, political quite as much as economic.

III. IN GERMANY

Now, looking at the German aspect, it will be seen that the difficulties are enormously increased. Germany has not been devastated, but Germany is invaded. More German territory is now in Allied hands than Germany ever held in France and almost half of it, Alsace-Lorraine, is permanently lost, while even larger areas are either in Polish hands or are scenes of contests between Polish and German elements, which are steadily growing more bitter.

But not only is Germany invaded; she is still blockaded. Her great ports are as idle as they were at this time last year. Her fleet, her commercial fleet, is still locked up in home or neutral ports, and it remains a matter of doubt as to whether it may not immediately pass to Allied control, and pass permanently, to make good the loss of Allied marine incident to the undersea warfare of the past four years.

Again, Germany is deprived of all possible chance to import those raw materials necessary to her industry. She cannot start her factories, even when she has transformed them to peace uses again, unless she gets permission. To this must be added the fact that the French have retaken the Lorraine iron fields, stolen from them in 1871, and will hold them henceforth. Thus Germany loses a very important source of her iron supplies. In addition the Poles are almost certain to take the great coal fields of Upper Silesia. The French may retake the coal districts of the Saar, taken from them by the Germans in 1814 and 1815.

Back of all this stands the fact that Germany cannot expect immediately, perhaps ever, to reclaim her old markets in countries once open to her. The character of the war has closed many avenues of trade to her—if not forever, for that important period when she will seek to get on her feet again. In the same way neither Britain nor France is likely again to open its ports to German ships on the old terms, and the same is true of Italy. All three nations permitted Germany to compete with their own citizens in

home lands on equal terms. This will not occur again for at least a generation, and Germany is thrown back upon South America as possibly her leading non-hostile market.

But if the machinery of national business in Allied nations has in a large measure run down, that in Germany, despite the absence of devastating invasion, has gone still more to general rack and ruin. Her railroads are in worse condition than the British and the French. Such essential materials as rubber have long been lacking. Her cities, once the cleanest, have become the dirtiest in Europe, and her population, while never starved, has suffered more from underfeeding over a long period than that of any other great nation in the war.

To all this must be added the financial condition due to the losses of the war. All nations have piled up terrific debts, but to the internal debt of Germany must now be added that external debt which will be demanded by her conquerors to repair the injuries, the wanton injuries and devastations, of German armies in the hour of temporary victory. To pay for these injuries Germany will have to turn over in the next few years sums which it is impossible to calculate, but will hardly fall very far below the \$20,000,000,000 mark.

This is the condition which confronts some ten million men, now returning from the battle front or laying down their tools in the war industrial establishments. Nor is this all. Besides there are the factors which grow out of the revolution. The whole governmental system of Germany has been upset. Not all the old officials are gone, but almost all are going, and with their departure progressive deterioration is inevitable. The old police force has gone, for example, and order is maintained haphazard in a country once the most rigidly policed in the world. The railroad system, once the model of the Continent, has become a thing of mere chance. Trains run or fail to run with no apparent regard to public convenience or necessity.

Such is the German problem of demobilization, accentuated by the political revolution, replete with minor problems which must take a full generation to solve and full of dangers which can hardly be overestimated when one thinks of the events in Russia, where the conditions were, to be sure, worse, but the population more fully accustomed to hardship and inefficiency.

IV. CASUALTIES

We have further to reckon the effect upon Europe of the terrible battle losses. Exact figures are still lacking, but approximate statistics of slaughter are beginning to be available. We know that the German loss in killed alone was not less than 2,000,000; the French, 1,400,000; the British, 1,000,000; the Italian, 500,000; the Austrian, close to 1,500,000. At least 6,500,000 men, the best of the various countries, were thus removed by death due to wounds or disease among the five great powers.

But to these figures we must add many more millions who died as an indirect consequence of the struggle—children by the hundreds of thousands, for example; and it will probably never be possible to fix the mortality of the populations of invaded districts in Belgium and France. Thus, while demobilization releases vast masses of men, it cannot restore many millions who were the most valuable part of the industrial resources of the great powers.

And as men have been drawn to the armies in ever-increasing numbers to replace the vast wastage in casualties, women have been drawn into industry until to-day many European cities are mainly operated by women, while millions of women have achieved independence and prosperity by labor hitherto performed by men. Moreover, upon these women, in Britain, the vote has already been bestowed, and the same is true in Germany. What, therefore, will be the political consequences of this double transformation of the rôle of the woman, first industrial and then political?

Now it is an axiom of all European politics that the world is waiting upon the return of the soldier, upon demobilization. The men who ran the war, on the political side, are still in charge, but their day is rapidly drawing to a close, unless it shall prove that the soldiers returning from the trenches and the workmen returning from factories where, because of war necessities, they have been able to demand and receive huge wages and vastly improved conditions of labor, give their support to the men now in power; and those who are in power show little confidence that this will occur.

The labor problems of the time to come are too vast even to be suggested here, but one may measure the political possibilities when it is recalled that in Great Britain there is a firm conviction in many quarters

that a Labor Ministry will follow the new Lloyd George Cabinet and at no very distant time. Labor and Women, these two elements—the one wholly transformed, the other a new factor—are certain to add to the puzzles of the time that is to come.

Thus roughly I have striven to recapitulate some of the main features of the situation which exists in Europe at the moment when the Congress of Versailles is undertaking its colossal task. In every one of the great countries of Europe there is the plain possibility that revolution, peaceful or violent, may at any moment intervene to recall the delegates representing them at Versailles. The volcano is there. One may exaggerate its immediate threat. One must recognize that there are two Europes, only one of which is fully represented at Versailles.

If German revolution takes a violent, a Russian, form the Congress of Versailles will have to be adjourned to deal with the German problem, as the Congress of Vienna was adjourned to permit Europe to dispose of Napoleon at Waterloo. If the debates at Versailles are too long protracted or take forms distasteful to the demobilizing millions, changes in ministry, or even more violent changes, in various Allied countries may likewise affect the Peace Conference.

We in America have no accurate appreciation of European conditions because we have nothing at home with which to compare them. The peoples of Europe have been strained by this war almost to the breaking point. In Russia they have broken. The whole fabric of their economic and political life has been changed. Having fought and suffered untold agonies for four years, millions of men are now returning, not to peace conditions, but to paralysis of all peace industries following upon the transformations due to the war. Those who would work may be unable to work for months, perhaps for years. Those who would not work will find an infinite opportunity for agitation and disorder.

V. DANGERS

I think it is the common belief of most of the best-informed observers of European conditions that the war went far too long to permit a return to the conditions of 1914 in any of the great nations. Men differ widely as to what is coming. Bolshevism is certainly one of the things that has grown out of the exhaustion of one great nation.

The paralysis of German leadership, with certain Bolshevistic tendencies, is at least a related phenomenon. But the changes which are assured in Britain are different rather in the manner they are to be accomplished than in their extent, if Englishmen are to be believed.

The thing which I am trying to say is that we in America shall make a very great mistake now if, the war being over, we concentrate our attention upon the Congress of Versailles alone. There are other great forces at work on the Continent. Europe is in transition. This World's War, with all its terrible sufferings, has unmistakably produced a dislocation of thought and of policy comparable only with the same effects of the Wars of the French Revolution.

The Congress of Vienna, which sought to liquidate the Wars of the French Revolution and of Napoleon, was blind to the facts which had been established during the great conflicts which it undertook to liquidate. It went blandly and confidently to the task of restoring the Europe of 1789 in 1815. The result was that nothing of its work survived the century, while almost every detail in its peace-making turned out to be a direct cause of a later war. The greatest problem to-day must be whether the Versailles Congress will better understand its world than did the last similar gathering.

But, unlike the Congress of Vienna, that of Versailles has not a firm grip upon the world. I have dwelt upon the different conditions in 1815 and 1919. Then the masses of the populations of the various countries were not involved in the war. Relatively small bodies of men, only, were demobilized and the governments themselves were the unchallenged masters of their nations. This is not true to-day. It is not even approximately true. Either the governments represented at Versailles will follow the will of their respective publics or they will fall, while the conference is still in progress. In a very large degree all the various ministries of the Allied countries are provisional, depending upon constituencies whose will has not been ascertained, since the voting population has been mainly under arms for the past four years.

And we must expect the currents of national emotion, unperceived at this distance, but instantly and powerfully felt in Paris, to have a great influence upon the historic debates at Versailles. Peace is being made at a moment when the whole economic and

political systems of the great as well as the small European nations are in a state bordering upon chaos. Concomitant with this process of winding up the war, there will be going on the far vaster task of beginning the business of peace, economically, industrially. Problems of food and of work will press upon the ministers who are debating at Versailles the questions of frontiers and of international agreements.

The Congress of Vienna broke up with its work only summarily done because Napoleon suddenly returned from Elba and threatened to undo all that had been accomplished. Versailles will be under a similar threat growing out of the dangers and the menaces to be found in the conditions in each great nation as a consequence of the prolongation of the war. Before it has progressed far powerful voices may be raised among the newly returned soldier and workman elements in one or many nations, and these voices will have to be heeded.

Moreover, keeping step with the Versailles Congress, great transformations will be going on in all countries. United for more than four years in a common determination to destroy the German peril, all the various elements in the political life of the several nations of Europe have regained and reasserted their freedom with the victory. Political feuds and struggles suspended for the war have been renewed. Not only this, but the balance between the forces has been greatly shifted in many instances. Labor, for example, has attained a new influence, which may make it at least temporarily dominant in several nations and capable of naming its own leaders as the ministers of the governments.

VI. THE FACT

It is entirely possible, it is even probable, that in the main Europe will outwardly slip back into old ways, at least for the time. The very exhaustion, which seems to be fraught with so much menace, may prove in the end to restrain exactly the forces which are most feared. Yet, holding to the optimistic view as one must, we are bound to realize that it may prove that the end of the World War is by no means the end of our perplexities, our confusions, and even our agonies.

There are two situations in Europe, in the world to-day, only one of them mirrored at Versailles, and the other, the economic

and political situation of Europe, will inevitably undo and overset the work of the Versailles gathering if it takes directions which are at least forecast by events in Russia and in Germany. We have nothing in America that remotely suggests European conditions. We have nothing which supplies us with any measuring-stick. We are in Europe and in the world of affairs, at this moment centering in Europe, to stay. But in this state of flux we are almost the only wholly stable element.

The Congress of Versailles is undertaking to settle political questions, to redraw political boundaries, and to redistribute political possessions. It is making a new map of Europe, western Asia, and Africa. It is undertaking to fix questions of indemnities and last of all to erect some sort of association of the nations of the world which will make war impossible in the future and provide the machinery for international combination against any disturbing factor.

But at the same moment there is abroad in Europe another spirit which seeks not to abolish but to perpetuate war, to substitute for international warfare the warfare of the classes. For those who press this newer doctrine that nationalism which at Versailles is to be a dominant principle, is liberating enslaved races and protecting small nations, is of no importance. Internationalism, not nationalism, is the prevailing principle of Bolshevism, and Bolshevism borrowed it directly from German Socialism.

If the Russian gospel prevails in Germany, Western Europe will find itself condemned to a new struggle, nor will it be immune from internal dissensions growing out of the presence in Italy, France, and even in England, of those who hold to the principles professed in Russia to-day.

We must see the thing as it is. We hope and we believe that order and democracy, as we understand and practise it in America, will continue to prevail in western Europe and ultimately rise to control in the lands east of the Rhine and of the Vistula. If it does, if the work of Versailles is performed in accordance with the principles of liberal democracy, of representative democracy, which concedes the fundamental axiom that just governments derive their authority from the consent of the governed, if no new Alsace-Lorraine is created and no old offense like those of Vienna against Italy repeated, the results will endure and prove the foundation for a better world, but a

world which has progressed without new and general revolution.

On the other hand, the conditions of demobilization, of economic disorder and disorganization in all the nations which have been long at war, provide the situations and the material out of which revolutions may develop. The next year is going to be far more critical than the last, when the enemy, strong as he was, could be recognized and fought across the trench-lines. And the greatest dangers and the most important developments will not be discovered by the most patient observation of the Conference.

At Vienna Old Europe undertook to lay down the conditions under which a new Europe it knew nothing about, save to hate, should henceforth exist. The failure was prompt and immeasurable. Now, I think everyone must recognize that, as a consequence of the recent war, there is, not a New Europe but a new world, and the question to-day is whether the statesmen who meet at Versailles and, in the great majority of cases, represent the Old World of 1914 perfectly, can understand or sympathetically represent the new. We in America think of the war as political and of the forthcoming peace in political terms, with certain moral amendments, but there are millions in Europe who are thinking not in political or moral terms, as we understand them, but economic. They believe that destruction incident to the war, destruction of institutions as well as property, has cleared the way for them. Throughout the next few months we can never afford for a moment to cease watching them or forget that none of the principles which they advocate will be championed at Versailles, which means that, so far as they are able, they will compel the repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles, when it is made.

VII. THE TASK

In a very real sense, then, we may say of the Congress of Versailles that it represents a desperate effort of democracy, as we understand it, to liquidate the World War and so liquidate it as to preserve itself. If it succeeds, if at the same time those men and those political parties now in control in France, Britain, and Italy, succeed in preventing domestic disorder and in achieving international accord, then the dangers which Bolshevism and its milder German image typify may be escaped.

But the alternative is obvious and under-

lies all the European apprehension, unmistakable to-day, when the Versailles Conference is assembling. The German aspect of the war disappeared with the signing of the Armistice of Senlis. Disarmed Germany is no longer a peril, and there is not the smallest likelihood that we shall have to fear a German attack for decades to come. The collapse of militarism in Germany is more complete than that of militarism as expressed by Napoleon in France a century ago. It has not only failed, but instead of Waterloo, with its magnificent if disastrous fight, there is the inglorious surrendering of the fleet and quitting of the army, with guns still in its hands and its machine intact in all save courage.

But the collapse of Germany has served to reveal new dangers. Almost a year ago conservative elements in Britain, of which Lord Lansdowne was the most conspicuous spokesman, perceived that a new peril, even greater for the things they cared about than the German, was arising, and, perceiving it, bade us make peace, lest the old order be utterly destroyed and Germany, ultimately sinking to defeat, drag down with her all existing governments and systems. The warning was repulsed with all proper scorn. It was an appeal to save property at the expense of principle and privilege at the cost of justice.

Yet the thing Lord Lansdowne saw remains. It is a visible fact within the vision of every intelligent statesman in Europe to-day. There is no longer any question in Europe of saving everything that existed before the war. It is now a problem of saving the best and avoiding the most obvious dangers inherent in the new principles which rule from the Urals to the Niemen and exercise a mighty influence to the east bank of the Rhine, which at the same time find disquieting echoes on the banks of the Seine and the Thames.

In the articles which I shall write for this magazine from Europe, henceforth, I shall seek to discuss both the political questions which form the basis of the negotiations at Versailles and the economic questions which are raised both by the Bolshevik and the Socialistic revolutions in Germany and the disorganization of the industrial life of the western and victorious countries. As I see it, Europe is already divided by a great contest between representative democracy in the West and extreme radical and even anarchistic socialism in the East, and the decision in this greater conflict may depend upon the success or failure of the Congress of Versailles, where representative democracy is undertaking to reorganize Europe, while saving it from the anarchy that is threatened even now.

BACK AGAIN

THE TRAVELER: "And this is the very place I started from almost fifty years ago!"
From *The Times* (New York)

In the Publishing Business

After getting through with his college work, Theodore came to my office with the view of securing some business experience. He became a special partner, but his home was near to the office, and he found it convenient to place his desk next to mine and to carry on his correspondence and his other activities from the publishing headquarters.

He became promptly interested in publishing possibilities, and he showed me from week to week how the business ought to be run. His plans were, naturally for the most part, not practicable, but he took with full good-nature, the turning down of his suggestions. I found myself holding the young man in increasing regard, but there was difficulty in carrying on my correspondence with this exuberant and suggestive personality at my right hand. I was glad, therefore, to have the opportunity of suggesting to the Republican committee in the district that Roosevelt would make an excellent representative in the Assembly. He came into the office on one Monday in great delight, with the nomination in his hand.

"Haven," he said, "I am going into politics. I have always wanted to have a chance of taking hold of public affairs." He never knew how the suggestion had come up, but, of course, it was only a question of one month or another as to his getting hold of the political life in which he was so keenly interested.

In Politics at Twenty-four

It was, if I remember rightly, in his twenty-fourth year, that Theodore began his political life by service in the Assembly. He had already married a wife and was writing his first book—a book that still remains an authority. It was the "History of the Naval War of 1812."

The year 1882 was for him, therefore, fully occupied. As a rule, a new Assemblyman is not able—however ambitious and energetic—to get a hearing during his first term. Roosevelt, however, made himself felt at once. He worked with the Republican leader in general party matters, but he refused to be bound by party shackles in regard to municipal matters, or in regard to any individual bills on which he had his own opinion. By the sheer force of will, he was instrumental with the aid of a small group of other assemblymen of the better class—among others his friend and mine, Walter

Howe—even during this first term, in exposing the bad purpose of certain measures affecting the City of New York, and in defeating them. He succeeded also in convincing the leaders of the desirability of giving consideration, at least occasionally, to the just claims of the city. In every public service that he undertook, he made himself felt. His action was not always judicious, and sometimes had to be reversed, but there never could be question of his absolute belief in the value for the cause of such plan or suggestion as he was submitting.

In his self-centered absorption in his own conception of a public measure and of his own duty, he could be, and from time to time was, unjust to other people who failed to agree with him, or at least failed to give immediate assent. It was difficult for his impetuous nature to have patience with opposition or delays.

An Admirer of Andrew Jackson

I remember, during his first term in the White House, being with him at a small lunch party, including six or eight friends. The guest of the occasion was an old Confederate General of Tennessee, who had been brought in by Senator Bate of that State. Roosevelt always felt his obligations as a host, and he turned the conversation to matters connected with Tennessee. In connection with the preparation of his "Winning of the West," he had made a careful study of the history of Tennessee, Kentucky, and the temporary State of Franklin, and he knew the careers of the men who had been produced in that region. He spoke of the early frontiersmen, of President Polk and (this with special pleasure and emphasis) of General Jackson."

"Jackson," said Roosevelt, "was a man who believed in the powers of the executive. Devoted as he was to the service of the Republic and convinced of the integrity of his own purpose, he found it difficult to accept with patience opposition or delay. With full belief in the powers that had been given to the executive under the constitution and with his readiness to brush to one side obstacles that stood in the way of what he believed to be essential for the country, he was able to render great service to the state. He had no regard for red tape, and he was impatient with official restrictions, but he was a great leader. Of course he had his faults. He was inclined to assume that the man who did not agree with Jackson was either a

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, BOY AND MAN

BY GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM

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much for the welfare of New York and of his fellow men generally. It was to the initiation and unselfish coöperation of Theodore's father and uncle that the City owes the Roosevelt Hospital, and this is only one of the many obligations to the family.

The father represented, as we all know, the old Dutch stock of the city, which, however, as far as energy and active-mindedness was concerned, had become very much Americanized. Theodore's mother, a most charming and gentle-natured lady, came from an old Georgia family. Her brother, Commodore Bulloch, was in fact the director during the Civil War of the naval operations of the Confederacy in Europe.

Theodore the younger was, as a boy, ac-

tive-minded and enterprising. He was rather slight in physique, and later during his college years there was dread of tuberculosis. The doctors advised a long open-air experience, and in his junior year Theodore was sent out to Montana, where he took in experience as a cowboy and ranchman. He learned to ride and to shoot, and his riding and his shooting (the latter done under the difficulties of near-sightedness) were both of the first class.

Ranch Life in Montana

I remember a word given to me by the senior cowboy of Theodore's ranch, who accompanied his chief a year or two later to New York, in regard to Theodore's encounter with a grizzly. "The party came suddenly upon a bear which charged at Theodore. For once his trusty rifle snapped fire, and it looked as if he could not escape the bear's onset. A tree, with an overhanging branch, happened to be within reach, and as the bear charged, Theodore jumped, lifted himself by one arm and swung clear over the back of the grizzly. A shot from one of the cowboys crippled the bear, which was then finished by Theodore's second rifle." The cowboy added, "Mr. Roosevelt lets old Ephraim [the ranch name for grizzly] get a good deal nearer than we should like."

The American boys have always been interested in reading of the pleasure taken by Theodore in sport and of his skill as a huntsman. Those who read the accounts of his hunting experiences understood that Roosevelt never killed for waste. He was a thorough student of nature, of birds and animals, and authorities on the science of nature, such as John Burroughs, tell us that Roosevelt's knowledge was precise and trustworthy. He could use in political utterances examples taken from his nature experience. Among these, I may recall his phrase of approval of the character and work of a political associate. "His career," said Theodore, "was as clean as a hound's tooth."

In the Publishing Business

After getting through with his college work, Theodore came to my office with the view of securing some business experience. He became a special partner, but his home was near to the office, and he found it convenient to place his desk next to mine and to carry on his correspondence and his other activities from the publishing headquarters.

He became promptly interested in publishing possibilities, and he showed me from week to week how the business ought to be run. His plans were, naturally for the most part, not practicable, but he took with full good-nature, the turning down of his suggestions. I found myself holding the young man in increasing regard, but there was difficulty in carrying on my correspondence with this exuberant and suggestive personality at my right hand. I was glad, therefore, to have the opportunity of suggesting to the Republican committee in the district that Roosevelt would make an excellent representative in the Assembly. He came into the office on one Monday in great delight, with the nomination in his hand.

"Haven," he said, "I am going into politics. I have always wanted to have a chance of taking hold of public affairs." He never knew how the suggestion had come up, but, of course, it was only a question of one month or another as to his getting hold of the political life in which he was so keenly interested.

In Politics at Twenty-four

It was, if I remember rightly, in his twenty-fourth year, that Theodore began his political life by service in the Assembly. He had already married a wife and was writing his first book—a book that still remains an authority. It was the "History of the Naval War of 1812."

The year 1882 was for him, therefore, fully occupied. As a rule, a new Assemblyman is not able—however ambitious and energetic—to get a hearing during his first term. Roosevelt, however, made himself felt at once. He worked with the Republican leader in general party matters, but he refused to be bound by party shackles in regard to municipal matters, or in regard to any individual bills on which he had his own opinion. By the sheer force of will, he was able with the aid of a small group of symblomen of the better class—his friend and mine, Walter

Howe—even during this first term, in exposing the bad purpose of certain measures affecting the City of New York, and in defeating them. He succeeded also in convincing the leaders of the desirability of giving consideration, at least occasionally, to the just claims of the city. In every public service that he undertook, he made himself felt. His action was not always judicious, and sometimes had to be reversed, but there never could be question of his absolute belief in the value for the cause of such plan or suggestion as he was submitting.

In his self-centered absorption in his own conception of a public measure and of his own duty, he could be, and from time to time was, unjust to other people who failed to agree with him, or at least failed to give immediate assent. It was difficult for his impetuous nature to have patience with opposition or delays.

An Admirer of Andrew Jackson

I remember, during his first term in the White House, being with him at a small lunch party, including six or eight friends. The guest of the occasion was an old Confederate General of Tennessee, who had been brought in by Senator Bate of that State. Roosevelt always felt his obligations as a host, and he turned the conversation to matters connected with Tennessee. In connection with the preparation of his "Winning of the West," he had made a careful study of the history of Tennessee, Kentucky, and the temporary State of Franklin, and he knew the careers of the men who had been produced in that region. He spoke of the early frontiersmen, of President Polk and (this with special pleasure and emphasis) of General Jackson."

"Jackson," said Roosevelt, "was a man who believed in the powers of the executive. Devoted as he was to the service of the Republic and convinced of the integrity of his own purpose, he found it difficult to accept with patience opposition or delay. With full belief in the powers that had been given to the executive under the constitution and with his readiness to brush to one side obstacles that stood in the way of what he believed to be essential for the country, he was able to render great service to the state. He had no regard for red tape, and he was impatient with official restrictions, but he was a great leader. Of course he had his faults. He was inclined to assume that the man who did not agree with Jackson was either a

fool or a villain." At this point, Theodore caught the expression of my face, which I thought I had well under control. "Now, Haven," he said, turning across the table, "don't you chuckle. I know what you are thinking about." At this the whole table, including the host, broke into laughter.

Theodore had, of course, not a few of the traits that he was admiring in Jackson, but his real sweetness of nature saved him from arousing the antagonism that Jackson had frequently provoked.

Theodore's habit of holding his opinions as burning convictions hardly lessened as the years went on. As above pointed out, he never outgrew certain boyish characteristics, but as he grew older, he grew fairer-minded. He was more ready to admit he had made a mistake, or had committed an injustice, and in the latter case his frank word of admission easily brought about a full restoration of personal relations.

Attitude in the War

Shortly after the beginning of the present war, Theodore asked me to lunch with him at the Harvard Club. He knew that with certain of his political measures during the preceding years I had not found myself in accord. He knew also, however, from my own platform utterances and printed word, that in matters relating to the war, we were in full agreement. I had not seen him for a couple of years, but he came across the club room with both hands extended and with the words, "Haven, we are again thinking alike, and I am *delighted*."

We had always been on *tutoyer* terms with each other, and my response was naturally sympathetic and affectionate. During the years of this war, we had, therefore, worked together to do what was practicable, after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, to get the country into the war and to make clear to citizens throughout the land what was the duty of America in this great fight to protect civilization against barbarism.

Promoting Anglo-American Relations

One of the last of Theodore's public utterances represented a reversal of opinion.

I had gone to see him in the hospital a week or two before he was sent home, and he told me then that there was something he wanted to get before the public.

"When I was in the White House," he said, "I took the ground that while we ought always to maintain good relations with Great

Britain, it was really not possible to agree in advance that every issue that arose was to be adjusted by conference or by arbitration. I had thought of the possibility of a difference affecting the honor of the country, which we ought not to permit to get out of our own control. I have changed my mind, and I want you, Haven, to bring before the public my present conclusion in the matter. I hold that there are, and that there can be, no possible issues between England and America, or among the English-speaking peoples of the world, which ought not to be, and which cannot be, adjusted, in the most cases by conference and in any extreme difficulty by arbitration."

I expressed my satisfaction that Roosevelt had arrived at a conclusion that I had always held. I said that his opinion ought to be made known to his fellow citizens, and to our friends across the Atlantic. I added, "I will write you a letter which will give you an opportunity of presenting this conclusion." He dictated from his hospital bed a letter, in which he took the ground that we, "the English peoples of the United States and the British commonwealth, possess both ideals and interests in common. We can best do our duty, as members of the family of nations, in maintaining peace and justice throughout the world, by first rendering it impossible that the peace between ourselves can ever be broken. . . . I believe that the time has come when we should say that under no circumstances shall there ever be a resort to war between the United States and the British Empire, and that no question can ever arise between them that cannot be settled in judicial fashion, in some such manner as would be settled questions between States of our own Union."

Theodore Roosevelt's last public word was a word of service to his own country, to England, and to international relations.

It was the ambition of his life to do what might be practicable to render service to his fellowmen. His thought was national and international. He believed in ideas. He held that every man owed it to himself, to his country, and to his Maker to utilize the powers that had been given to him for the good of his fellow men. His life showed that he stood for the highest ideals, and that he faithfully did his best towards the realization of those ideals. His country and the world are poorer for his loss, but they are the richer for his life.

New York, January 11, 1919.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

BY ALBERT SHAW

IN our entire history there has been no other public man about whom so much has been written during his lifetime as Theodore Roosevelt. Nor has there been any other whose own utterances, both written and spoken, have been so voluminous and of such great variety. He had been conspicuous in public life for more than thirty-seven years when he died on January 6, 1919, having attained the age of 60 on October 27, 1918.

Major George Haven Putnam tells our readers how the young Harvard graduate came back home to New York from college and entered politics, making the fight in his own ward for nomination to the lower branch of the legislature, known in New York as the Assembly. Taking all of our States into account, there were at that time thousands of men who were members of legislatures, and scores of thousands who had entered upon their experiences in the school of public life by running for county, city, and State offices. Nowhere else in the world have such opportunities been opened to young men of all ranks and classes for beginning a public career as our system of party organization and of local elective office has afforded to young Americans of several generations. It was into this situation, on equal terms and on his own merits and qualities, that Theodore Roosevelt projected himself in the fall of 1881. He was elected and took his seat in the legislature in January, 1882

A Leader to Whom Young Men Turned

The notable thing, to which I wish to call attention, was the fact that Mr. Roosevelt, in that earliest period of public life, caught the attention of young men, particularly those of school and college training, all over the country. Our cities were badly governed, and the spoils system held strong sway in national, state and local government. In New York the Civil Service Reform movement of that period was led by George William Curtis and Carl Schurz, with younger men like George Haven Putnam. Young Roosevelt promptly identified himself with all such movements.

In the legislature he took a leading posi-

tion, and so strenuously advocated certain reforms that his name was carried across the country as matter of ordinary public news, while it became at once a favored and familiar name in the circles of progress and reform from Boston to San Francisco. He wrote the Civil Service Law for New York State, and he secured investigations of New York City affairs which resulted in marked improvements. I well remember, as a young Western newspaper man at that time, writing editorials in support of Roosevelt's work and predicting for him a career that would provide the country with a leader about whom, at some future time, those of us in other States would be glad to rally.

Just now, at the time of his death, so many extended and intelligent reviews have been published in the newspapers, dealing with the successive stages of his public life, that I shall not in these pages attempt any connected account of the work Mr. Roosevelt performed as an office holder. The files of this magazine, for twenty-eight years past, contain so many articles about him—and so many inspired by him—that a very large volume could be compiled from this source alone, dealing with all phases of his life and public work, and illustrated with several hundreds of portraits, scenes, and illustrations. So central a figure in our American life had Mr. Roosevelt been through this long period, that a periodical devoted mainly to accounts and interpretations of public affairs and general progress could not have failed to give him more space and attention than was required by the activities of any other man.

In the Blaine Campaign of 1884

Many of us who belong to Mr. Roosevelt's generation, and who, like him, began while very young to take a keen interest in public affairs, whether as partisans and officeholders, or as editors or public-spirited citizens, are likely at times to forget that the great majority of those who are active on the stage to-day do not remember the great Blaine-Cleveland contest of 1884. These younger men remember very well the prominence of Roosevelt in the political conventions of 1912

and 1916; and the impression he made upon them in these recent periods of political storm was that of a very young and virile man, and not at all that of one of the elder statesmen. He was still regarded as having something of the fine rashness of untamed youth. He had in these later days all the appearance and manner of a man whose physical power was at its height, and whose mentality had lost nothing of its untiring vigor and its assertive boldness. Yet this same Theodore Roosevelt was the Chairman of the great New York delegation in the National Republican Convention of 1884, when he was only twenty-five years old!

Mr. Roosevelt was a supporter of the candidacy of Senator Edmunds and was opposed to that of James G. Blaine. Many of his friends, including most of the civil-service-reform leaders, declined to support Blaine, and later in the campaign became supporters of Grover Cleveland, who was the Democratic candidate.

Mr. Roosevelt's Theory of Partisanship

It was believed that Mr. Roosevelt would follow the course taken by Curtis, Schurz, and others. He had already formed the habit of going out into the far Northwest for his summer vacations, among the cowboys and hunters, and had acquired an interest in the cattle business on the Little Missouri River near the line between Montana and North Dakota. He hastened there after the Convention of 1884, studied the situation carefully, and decided that his proper place lay within the Republican party. He expressed this view in a notable statement which is worth quoting now because it throws some light upon his course of action in several subsequent periods of his political life. He said in that statement of 1884:

I intend to vote the Republican Presidential ticket. A man cannot act both without and within the party; he can do either, but he cannot possibly do both. Each course has its advantages, and each has its disadvantages, and one cannot take the advantages or the disadvantages separately. I went in with my eyes open to do what I could within the party; I did my best and got beaten, and I propose to stand by the result. It is impossible to combine the functions of a guerilla chief with those of a colonel in the regular army; one has greater independence of action, the other is able to make what action he does take vastly more effective. In certain contingencies, the one can do the most good; in certain contingencies, the other; but there is no use in accepting a commission and then trying to play the game out on a lone hand. During the entire canvass for the nomination Mr. Blaine re-

ceived but two checks. I had a hand in both, and I could have had a hand in neither had not those Republicans who elected me the head of the New York State delegation supposed that I would in good faith support the man who was fairly made the Republican nominee. I am, by inheritance and by education, a Republican; whatever good I have been able to accomplish in public life has been accomplished through the Republican party; I have acted with it in the past, and wish to act with it in the future.

While Grover Cleveland was the Democratic Governor of New York and Theodore Roosevelt a member of the Republican Legislature, the two men had worked together for state and municipal reforms and were good friends; but as a Republican Mr. Roosevelt voted against Cleveland and voted for Blaine. Meanwhile, for a brief period of years, he gave himself very largely to his far western life and to historical study and writing. As Mr. Putnam tells us, his first book, on the naval war of 1812, has always been a standard contribution. Meanwhile he was making research for his "Winning of the West," a very fascinating and valuable study of movements and developments during and following the American Revolution. In 1886 he was the Republican candidate for Mayor of New York in a three-cornered fight, the other candidates being Henry George and Abram Hewitt.

As Civil Service Commissioner

Mr. Roosevelt cordially supported in 1888 the winning Republican candidate, Benjamin Harrison, against Grover Cleveland, and would have liked the position of Assistant Secretary of State; but Mr. Blaine was made Secretary of State and remembered Mr. Roosevelt's attitude in 1884. President Harrison had other and less agreeable work for Roosevelt, and made him Chairman of the Civil Service Commission at Washington. A new Republican administration, following a Democratic régime, naturally encountered a terrible demand for the rewards of office. It was Roosevelt's business to uphold the standards of fitness and to enforce the unpopular law which required competitive examinations for the classified clerkships and other jobs. He held this hard position through Harrison's four years and continued through half of Mr. Cleveland's second administration.

It was this six-year period at Washington as Civil Service Commissioner that gave Mr. Roosevelt (who maintained his habit of study and investigation) such a practical knowl-

edge of the methods and work of the various departments of the Government, while also obtaining a theoretical and general knowledge of public affairs. It was not a pleasant office that he filled, but it was a remarkable training that he acquired for his subsequent life in Washington as head of the Government. In the Civil Service job he developed a knowledge of men and human nature, and came to understand the sources of political action, and the machinery of parties.

Police Commissioner of New York City

It was from this Washington position that he was called to be Chairman of the Board of Police Commissioners of New York City when Mayor Strong came in with his reform administration as a result of the election of 1894. His work in that office again brought out his personal qualities of courage and quick decision. He was told repeatedly that he was ruining his political future by enforcing the Sunday-closing law and by fighting for tenement-house reform, but he held his ground through storms of controversy, and New York has always been better for what he accomplished in that position.

In the election of 1896 he took a very active part against Mr. Bryan and in favor of Mr. McKinley, and made his first stumping tour. He was not naturally a good public speaker, but in the course of this tour, through sheer earnestness, sincerity, and energy, he won his audiences and acquired his reputation—always afterward sustained—of being a very effective campaign speaker. Here again it is worth while for young men to remember that Roosevelt's success was due to his having the courage of his convictions and to a vigor of personality that was the reward of his athletic training, out-of-door exercise, and unsparing use of all his energies and opportunities.

Assistant Secretary of the Navy

As Mr. McKinley entered upon the Presidency in 1897, the Cuban Revolution was two years and fully involved in it. He believed that it would intervene. He was in the first instance. He was ready to take part in stimulating the New York as unfavorable the opposition

was withdrawn and within a few weeks he became Assistant Secretary.

The "Rough Riders" and the New York Governorship

It is an old story how he encouraged the Navy to improve its marksmanship, how he selected Dewey for the command in the Pacific, and how valuably he assisted President McKinley and Secretary Long by his executive work. Nor will I attempt to recount the story of his stepping out of his safe office in Washington to organize the regiment of Rough Riders with his friend Leonard Wood. He was not acting under the impulse of ambition, but from the standpoint of duty. His western life, as well as his eastern, had given him the kind of acquaintance which made it easy to form the famous regiment.

His return from Cuba, at a moment of political exigency, made him the one available candidate for the Republican nomination as Governor. He was elected, and entered upon his work with that same enthusiasm for the useful possibilities of the job that he had always shown in every other sphere of public or private life.

Attainment of the Presidency

And thus he had reached a position in American politics which had definitely placed him in the limited group of men who were considered as "Presidential Timber." If Vice-President Hobart, who was elected with Mr. McKinley in 1896, had lived, he would, of course, have been renominated with McKinley in 1900. But Hobart's death left a vacancy, and the demand for Roosevelt as a popular figure who would contribute to Republican success in the election proved to be irresistible. There had come some political reaction after the Spanish War and the troubles following the acquisition of the Philippines; and the Republicans insisted upon having McKinley supported in the strongest possible way.

The death of McKinley soon after his second inauguration brought the Vice-President into the White House. We are publishing (see page 162) selections from an article written for this REVIEW in 1904, which set forth the qualities and achievements of Roosevelt as a President in his first term, and justified his nomination for the second period that ended with the fourth of March, 1909. The article was written by a man eminently qualified to discuss the

situation, and it would be hard to secure at this day any characterization of Roosevelt's work in the middle of his presidential career that would be so illuminating.

An Open-Minded Executive

These remarks are meant to relate to Mr. Roosevelt himself, rather than to the course of recent American history. It happened to be my good fortune to have become acquainted with him while he was Civil Service Commissioner, and to have known him well through most of his subsequent career. Perhaps the thing that will be best remembered by those who knew him was his open-mindedness, his desire to do the wise and the right thing in a practical way for the sake of results, and his capacity for swift decision in the performance of public work.

Contrary to the impression in some quarters, although he was a very strong executive, upholding every prerogative of the presidential office at all times, he got on with both houses of Congress exceedingly well, consulting constantly with Senators and Representatives, and giving the members of a coördinate branch of the Government prompt preference always at the White House as against any other class of callers. With the members of his Cabinet he was on terms of close and frank friendship, and he relied constantly upon the advice of his official family, always appreciating their wisdom and help.

As illustrating this point, I think I am justified in remarking that on many occasions President Roosevelt said to me in private conversation that he regarded Mr. Root and Mr. Taft as statesmen having the wisdom and scope of the distinguished men of our earlier period, like Hamilton, Jay, Marshall, Madison, and Jefferson; and that he considered that much of the success of his Administration was due to these men whom he was fond of describing as abler and wiser in many ways than he was himself. His trust policy in practical forms was shaped by Mr. Knox, his Attorney General. He had an intensely loyal belief in the younger members of his Administration like Mr. James R. Garfield; and his regard for men who had been close to him for long periods, like Mr. Cortelyou and Mr. Loeb, was that of unwavering trust and affection.

With his great sense of humor, and his knowledge of human frailties, he could never hold a grudge against any man, nor wish anyone ill fortune. He was a hard fighter

in politics, but his hand was always ready for the clasp of men with whom at some time he had differed. His influence throughout the nation came more and more to be that of the leader looking towards better times and new eras in which the large faults of his own generation would find remedy. Thus he realized the magnificence of our railroad and industrial development; but he saw that the public interest must prevail over the tendency towards private enrichment. He lived to recognize a wholly new spirit in corporation management, and to welcome many steps of progress towards better social conditions.

A Born Naturalist

One of the reasons why he accomplished so much as a public man was because he maintained the fearlessness that belonged to his early youth. This fearlessness, as his career matured, was in some part due to the fact of his great versatility. He liked always to remark that private life had no terrors for him. He could afford to commit political suicide as often as he pleased, because being out of office gave him a chance to do so many other things. The extent and quality of his scholarship is a topic that would require too much space for discussion here. Undoubtedly he was a great naturalist. His knowledge of birds and animals had begun with early boyhood and had increased throughout life. He was very happy in association with naturalists. It was as a man fond of "out-of-doors," and as a student of animal life, rather than as one who loved the excitement of shooting game, that he pursued his early life in the West and wrote his books on hunting; and it was in the same spirit that after he left the Presidency he went to Africa on his famous hunting trip.

His fondness for all men who had these common interests with him was generally recognized. Thus, as he was starting for Africa in 1909, it was upon his designation that Mr. Edward Clark, a Washington correspondent, wrote for this magazine an account of the plans of the expedition. Mr. Clark was also a naturalist, especially devoted to the study of birds, and this had brought him close to the President. Only a few weeks ago I was with Mr. Clark—who is now Major Clark, attached to American Military Headquarters in France—and he was constantly talking about Roosevelt's interest in natural history, and was identifying one bird after another as our automo-

bile moved across military areas, until he was suddenly halted by an air fight just over our heads. This bond that unites nature lovers is to be remembered as having borne a very great part in Colonel Roosevelt's life from his youth to the very end. When in England, after the year he spent in Africa, he and the British Foreign Minister (Sir Edward Grey, now Viscount Grey) slipped away from officialdom to spend the day in the New Forest among the birds; for Lord Grey is himself a great naturalist. Mr. Stefánsson, on another page of this issue, writes admirably of Mr. Roosevelt's interest in exploration and science.

Versatility in Many Lines

Mr. Roosevelt had always been a reader of history as well as of general literature, and his memory was one of the most remarkable of his entire generation. He told me after coming back from the visit among royalties that he found his memory of the facts of Prussian and Hohenzollern history more complete and accurate than that of the Kaiser, with whom he had spent some long hours in the palaces and among the memorials of Frederick the Great. The Hungarian nobles were amazed at his accurate knowledge of Mongolian migrations and early Hungarian history.

Professor Rhys, of Oxford (afterwards knighted as Rt. Hon. Sir John Rhys), unquestionably the greatest authority on Celtic literature, visited this country while Mr. Roosevelt was President and had a long talk at the White House. He told me afterwards that while he might be a poor judge of a man's erudition in other fields, he could not be mistaken in his own field; and he declared that President Roosevelt had the most remarkable knowledge of Celtic literary and historical backgrounds of any man with whom he had ever conversed. About this matter I have no knowledge or opinion of

my own, and I am merely quoting the one man who knew best.

Mr. Roosevelt was fond of saying to his friends that he was only an average man who had made the best use he could of such faculties as were given to him. He had built up physical vigor from frail and delicate beginnings. He had made himself a place among scientists and scholars, and among historical students and writers, through adding industry to natural interest. He had been willing to select the things to which to give his time and strength; and, having inherited a modest fortune, he did not choose money-making as one of his life occupations. Thus he was able to devote himself to the pursuits of a lover of nature, and to the occupations of a man of letters, while above all things offering his time and strength in the sphere of public service.

He felt that *citizens' duty* is a thing to be faced by each American; and that being an active and useful citizen was a very large part of the obligation that should rest upon every man who has the good fortune to owe allegiance to this country. What we had received as a heritage from our fathers, he declared, should be protected and should be transmitted with as much improvement as possible to those coming after us. He always recognized the fact that he did not stand alone in this sense of civic duty; and no one was more eager than he to recognize the value of the work of others all about him who, at one task or another, were striving for justice and human betterment. Thus he felt himself to be typical rather than exceptional. But his individual qualities were so extraordinary, his personality was so fascinating, that he will stand out on the pages of history as a great figure, just as in his own day he had achieved a reputation, not only throughout this land but in every other country, that justly elevated him to heights of fame.



ROOSEVELT'S TRIBUTE TO LINCOLN

[In 1909 the centenary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln was observed. On the first day of that year President Roosevelt addressed from the White House to the editor of this magazine a characteristic letter in which he commented on the famous Bixby letter of the Martyr President. It was published in our February number, a few days before the celebration of Lincoln Day. President Roosevelt was then greatly interested in spelling reform, and in this brief communication there were at least two instances of the modernized orthography—"thru" and "possest." We reprint the letter just as it appeared ten years ago.—THE EDITOR]

THE WHITE HOUSE,
WASHINGTON, January 1, 1909.

To the Editor of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS:

THE deeds and words of the great men of the nation, and above all the character of each of the foremost men of the nation, are one and all assets of inestimable value to the Republic. Lincoln's work and Lincoln's words should be, and I think more and more are, part of those formative influences which tend to become living forces for good citizenship among our people. There is one of his letters which has always appealed to me particularly. It is the one running as follows:

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
WASHINGTON, Nov. 21, 1864.

To MRS. BIXBY, Boston, Mass.

DEAR MADAM:

I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any word of mine which should attempt to beguile you from the grief of a loss so overwhelming. But I cannot refrain from tendering you the consolation that may be found in the thanks of the republic they died to save. I pray that our Heavenly Father may assuage the anguish of your bereavement, and leave you only the cherished memory of the loved and lost, and the solemn pride that must be yours to have laid so costly a sacrifice on the altar of freedom.

Yours very sincerely and respectfully,

A. LINCOLN.

Any man who has occupied the office of President realizes the incredible amount of administrative work with which the President has to deal even in time of peace. He is of necessity a very busy man, a much driven man, from whose mind there can never be absent for many minutes at a time the consideration of some problem of importance, or of some matter of less importance which

yet causes worry and strain. Under such circumstances, it is not easy for a President even in times of peace to turn from the affairs that are of moment to all the people and consider affairs that are of moment to but one person.

While this is true of times of peace, it is, of course, infinitely more true of times of war. No President who has ever sat in the White House has borne the burden that Lincoln bore, or been under the ceaseless strain which he endured. It did not let up by day or by night. Ever he had to consider problems of the widest importance, ever to run risks of greatest magnitude; and ever thru and across his plans to meet these great dangers and responsibilities was shot the woof of an infinite number of small worries and small annoyances. He worked out his great task while unceasingly beset by the need of attending as best he could to a multitude of small tasks.

It is a touching thing that the great leader, while thus driven and absorbed, could yet so often turn aside for the moment to do some deed of personal kindness; and it is a fortunate thing for the nation that in addition to doing so well each deed, great or small, he possest that marvelous gift of expression which enabled him quite unconsciously to choose the very words best fit to commemorate each deed. His Gettysburg speech and his second inaugural are two of the half-dozen greatest speeches ever made—I am tempted to call them the two greatest ever made. They are great in their wisdom, and dignity, and earnestness, and in a loftiness of thought and expression which makes them akin to the utterances of the prophets of the Old Testament.

In a totally different way, but in strongest and most human fashion, such utterances as

his answer to the serenaders immediately after his second election, and his letter which I have quoted above, appeal to us and make our hearts thrill. The mother of whom he wrote stood in one sense on a loftier plane of patriotism than the mighty President himself. Her memory, and the memory of her sons whom she bore for the Union, should

be kept green in our minds; for she and they, in life and death, typified all that is best and highest in our national existence. The deed itself, and the words of the great man which commemorate that deed, should form one of those heritages for all Americans which it is of inestimable consequence that America should possess. THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

ROOSEVELT AS CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT

IN the summer of 1904, after he had occupied the White House for nearly three years, filling the unexpired term of President McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt was nominated for the Presidency by the National Republican Convention. In the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for July of that year a delegate to that convention set forth with remarkable distinctness and political acumen the facts in Roosevelt's record up to that time which had made his nomination and election seem equally inevitable. In the opening paragraph of his article this writer said:

There has been no time, for nearly two years past, when it was not certain that Theodore Roosevelt would be nominated for the Presidency by the Republican Party with actual or substantial unanimity. The party at large made up its mind to bring that result about before Mr. Roosevelt had been a full year in the White House. From that time to the present, the party organizers and machine leaders have been as chips borne by a swiftly flowing current. Whatever other plans they may have had were quickly abandoned, and with more or less heartiness they have accepted the inevitable.

A Candidacy Almost Unopposed

The writer proceeds to show that the futile efforts to thwart this course of events that had originated and come to a head within a few months preceding the Chicago Convention had been mainly sponsored by certain interests not primarily political. Before the convention assembled this opposition had become negligible. The article continues:

So it happens that Theodore Roosevelt faces the next Presidential election with his own party enthusiastically behind him and the opposition hopeless of his defeat, and, on the whole, not very anxious for it. It is a rather remarkable situation. The explanation, however, is simple. It is the conquest of American public opinion by a strong, perhaps a great, personality, honest, sympathetic and just. Readers of our American history will find an instructive paral-

lel if they will study carefully the events leading up to the reelection of Andrew Jackson and to that of Abraham Lincoln.

No Issue but Roosevelt

After reviewing the feeble attempts of the Democrats in New York State and elsewhere to frame an "issue" for the campaign of 1904, this writer finds them all hollow and meaningless, and declares that genuine political issues were at that time altogether lacking. This being the situation, what, he asks, is the Presidential election of 1904 to be about? He answers his own question in these words:

It is to be about Theodore Roosevelt and nothing else. The voting population has but one question to answer this year, and that question is, Do you want Theodore Roosevelt as President for four years more? The Democratic candidate may be Cleveland, or McClellan, or Francis, or Harmon, or Parker, but this one question states the issue.

The result, as the returns from Oregon already foretell, will be what a friend has recently described as "a prairie fire for Roosevelt." Why?

Because, of all the public men in the United States, Theodore Roosevelt is absolutely the best fitted to meet the problems and fulfill the duties of the Chief Executive for four years from March 4, 1905. He has proved this abundantly, and the American people know it.

The Presidency is, without exception, the most difficult office in the world. It knows neither privacy nor rest. It demands physical and mental health, wide information, quick and accurate judgment, alertness and versatility of mind, buoyancy of spirit and good temper. Mr. Roosevelt has all of these qualities in high degree, and in addition he has a reasonable, if not an excessive, amount of patience. The elemental virtues no one denies to him.

Echoes of the Coal Strike

It seemed probable that during the next Presidential term the pressing problems would be administrative, economic and social. No man in public life at that time was bet-

subtlety of mind behind which to hide his natural simplicity and directness.

Mr. Roosevelt's record of positive achievement is astonishing, and the people recognize it. They held their breath when he summoned to his presence the warring coal magnates and labor magnates, whose selfish fighting had brought great communities to the verge of want and had prepared a series of social and political explosions that a chance spark would set off. He told these public enemies that, under the Constitution and the laws, he could not act officially toward them, but that armed with his moral responsibility as trustee for the public at large, he had a right to insist that they must not goad innocent people to madness by depriving them of a necessity of life, but must go ahead and mine coal and submit their differences to an impartial, if unofficial, tribunal. They both grumbled, but they both yielded. That event marked a turning point in our history, and we owe it to Mr. Roosevelt's courage and unselfishness. It was a great, and in one sense an unnecessary, risk for him to take. But he took it, accomplished his end, and demonstrated the fact that the moral rights of the whole people are not forever to be held in abeyance while organized capital and organized labor go through one of their periodical rows, causing widespread loss, damage, and suffering, of which fact both parties to the quarrel appear to be utterly oblivious. Those persons who are fond of contrasting President Cleve-

land's action in reference to the Chicago strike and riots of 1894 with President Roosevelt's action in reference to the coal strikes and riots of 1902, might like to know what Mr. Cleveland thought of Mr. Roosevelt's action and what he said to him about it.

Achievement of Panama

President Roosevelt's initiative in connection with the Panama Canal is strongly commended by this writer, who has only words of praise for his management:

Mr. Roosevelt cut the Gordian knot that made the early building of an Isthmian canal seem impossible. He acted, as fair-minded people generally assumed, and as the long debate in the Senate conclusively proved, after long deliberation, in strict accordance with the precepts of international law and our treaty obligations to Colombia, and in such a way as to command the

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AT OYSTER BAY DURING THE CAMPAIGN OF 1904

ter equipped to deal with such problems than Mr. Roosevelt. A capital illustration of his willingness and ability to make the cause of the people his own had been afforded only two years before by his action in the anthracite coal strike. This is clearly brought out in the article from which we are quoting:

There is a conviction throughout the country that the interests of the plain people, who ask nothing of the Government but ample protection in their right to earn an honest living in their own way, are looked after by Mr. Roosevelt, and that he does not forget them when under pressure from the political and personal representatives of privilege-hunters of all kinds. Different as Mr. Roosevelt is in so many ways from Lincoln and from McKinley, he is like those two great men in his intuitive insight into the mind of the plain people. Mr. Roosevelt's scholarship has not blunted his human sympathy, and he has no

In the Publishing Business

After getting through with his college work, Theodore came to my office with the view of securing some business experience. He became a special partner, but his home was near to the office, and he found it convenient to place his desk next to mine and to carry on his correspondence and his other activities from the publishing headquarters.

He became promptly interested in publishing possibilities, and he showed me from week to week how the business ought to be run. His plans were, naturally for the most part, not practicable, but he took with full good-nature, the turning down of his suggestions. I found myself holding the young man in increasing regard, but there was difficulty in carrying on my correspondence with this exuberant and suggestive personality at my right hand. I was glad, therefore, to have the opportunity of suggesting to the Republican committee in the district that Roosevelt would make an excellent representative in the Assembly. He came into the office on one Monday in great delight, with the nomination in his hand.

"Haven," he said, "I am going into politics. I have always wanted to have a chance of taking hold of public affairs." He never knew how the suggestion had come up, but, of course, it was only a question of one month or another as to his getting hold of the political life in which he was so keenly interested.

In Politics at Twenty-four

It was, if I remember rightly, in his twenty-fourth year, that Theodore began his political life by service in the Assembly. He had already married a wife and was writing his first book—a book that still remains an authority. It was the "History of the Naval War of 1812."

The year 1882 was for him, therefore, fully occupied. As a rule, a new Assemblyman is not able—however ambitious and energetic—to get a hearing during his first term. Roosevelt, however, made himself felt at once. He worked with the Republican leader in general party matters, but he refused to be bound by party shackles in regard to municipal matters, or in regard to any individual bills on which he had his own opinion. By the sheer force of will, he was instrumental with the aid of a small group of other assemblymen of the better class—among others his friend and mine, Walter

Howe—even during this first term, in exposing the bad purpose of certain measures affecting the City of New York, and in defeating them. He succeeded also in convincing the leaders of the desirability of giving consideration, at least occasionally, to the just claims of the city. In every public service that he undertook, he made himself felt. His action was not always judicious, and sometimes had to be reversed, but there never could be question of his absolute belief in the value for the cause of such plan or suggestion as he was submitting.

In his self-centered absorption in his own conception of a public measure and of his own duty, he could be, and from time to time was, unjust to other people who failed to agree with him, or at least failed to give immediate assent. It was difficult for his impetuous nature to have patience with opposition or delays.

An Admirer of Andrew Jackson

I remember, during his first term in the White House, being with him at a small lunch party, including six or eight friends. The guest of the occasion was an old Confederate General of Tennessee, who had been brought in by Senator Bate of that State. Roosevelt always felt his obligations as a host, and he turned the conversation to matters connected with Tennessee. In connection with the preparation of his "Winning of the West," he had made a careful study of the history of Tennessee, Kentucky, and the temporary State of Franklin, and he knew the careers of the men who had been produced in that region. He spoke of the early frontiersmen, of President Polk and (this with special pleasure and emphasis) of General Jackson."

"Jackson," said Roosevelt, "was a man who believed in the powers of the executive. Devoted as he was to the service of the Republic and convinced of the integrity of his own purpose, he found it difficult to accept with patience opposition or delay. With full belief in the powers that had been given to the executive under the constitution and with his readiness to brush to one side obstacles that stood in the way of what he believed to be essential for the country, he was able to render great service to the state. He had no regard for red tape, and he was impatient with official restrictions, but he was a great leader. Of course he had his faults. He was inclined to assume that the man who did not agree with Jackson was either a

fool or a villain." At this point, Theodore caught the expression of my face, which I thought I had well under control. "Now, Haven," he said, turning across the table, "don't you chuckle. I know what you are thinking about." At this the whole table, including the host, broke into laughter.

Theodore had, of course, not a few of the traits that he was admiring in Jackson, but his real sweetness of nature saved him from arousing the antagonism that Jackson had frequently provoked.

Theodore's habit of holding his opinions as burning convictions hardly lessened as the years went on. As above pointed out, he never outgrew certain boyish characteristics, but as he grew older, he grew fairer-minded. He was more ready to admit he had made a mistake, or had committed an injustice, and in the latter case his frank word of admission easily brought about a full restoration of personal relations.

Attitude in the War

Shortly after the beginning of the present war, Theodore asked me to lunch with him at the Harvard Club. He knew that with certain of his political measures during the preceding years I had not found myself in accord. He knew also, however, from my own platform utterances and printed word, that in matters relating to the war, we were in full agreement. I had not seen him for a couple of years, but he came across the club room with both hands extended and with the words, "Haven, we are again thinking alike, and I am *delighted*."

We had always been on *tutoyer* terms with each other, and my response was naturally sympathetic and affectionate. During the years of this war, we had, therefore, worked together to do what was practicable, after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, to get the country into the war and to make clear to citizens throughout the land what was the duty of America in this great fight to protect civilization against barbarism.

Promoting Anglo-American Relations

One of the last of Theodore's public utterances represented a reversal of opinion.

I had gone to see him in the hospital a week or two before he was ~~sent home~~, and he told me then that the ~~something~~ he wanted to get before the

"When I was in the hospital," he said, "I took the ground that we should always maintain good

Britain, it was really not possible to agree in advance that every issue that arose was to be adjusted by conference or by arbitration. I had thought of the possibility of a difference affecting the honor of the country, which we ought not to permit to get out of our own control. I have changed my mind, and I want you, Haven, to bring before the public my present conclusion in the matter. I hold that there are, and that there can be, no possible issues between England and America, or among the English-speaking peoples of the world, which ought not to be, and which cannot be, adjusted, in the most cases by conference and in any extreme difficulty by arbitration."

I expressed my satisfaction that Roosevelt had arrived at a conclusion that I had always held. I said that his opinion ought to be made known to his fellow citizens, and to our friends across the Atlantic. I added, "I will write you a letter which will give you an opportunity of presenting this conclusion." He dictated from his hospital bed a letter, in which he took the ground that we, "the English peoples of the United States and the British commonwealth, possess both ideals and interests in common. We can best do our duty, as members of the family of nations, in maintaining peace and justice throughout the world, by first rendering it impossible that the peace between ourselves can ever be broken. . . . I believe that the time has come when we should say that under no circumstances shall there ever be a resort to war between the United States and the British Empire, and that no question can ever arise between them that cannot be settled in judicial fashion, in some such manner as would be settled questions between States of our own Union."

Theodore Roosevelt's last public word was a word of service to his own country, to England, and to international relations.

It was the ambition of his life to do what might be practicable to render service to his fellowmen. His thought was national and international. He believed in ideas. He held that every man owed it to himself, to his country, and to his Maker to utilize the powers that had been given to him for the good of his fellow men. His life showed that he stood for the highest ideals, and that he faithfully did his best towards the realization of those ideals. His country and the world are poorer for his loss, but they are richer for his life.

New York, January 11, 1919.

and those who make from science a salaried livelihood, this feeling takes on much the aspect of trade-unionism. It was from men of this class that one frequently heard slurs to the effect Colonel Roosevelt was a politician and not a scientist, and that he ought to stick to his last. But I for one have never heard such remarks from the leaders in any department of science, and I take it that my experience is typical.

An Authority in Many Fields

The truth, acknowledged by all who knew him, is that with an indelible memory and an interest in every field of knowledge he combined a sanity of judgment that quickly made him master of any development that was truthfully reported to him. And seeing that not even a specialist can personally test every alleged fact, but must rely in most instances on the good faith of other investigators, it came about that Colonel Roosevelt, with his catholic interests and unique memory, became a specialist in many things in the same way that men of ordinary gifts become specialists in one thing, and with a liability of being in error not greater than theirs. Just as I have heard ichthyologists and ornithologists and mammalogists comment on the range of his exact knowledge and the soundness of his judgment, so can I say that in the field of exploration and in the one or two other departments that are peculiarly mine through study or through the accidents of birth and environment I have known no better informed authority or discerning critic than Colonel Roosevelt.

His Work in South America

Apart from the political and other personal motives of deliberate detractors, what disparagement there was of Colonel Roosevelt's geographic explorations in South America came from the labor-union-minded explorers and geographers who saw him as an outsider because he had not served a protracted apprenticeship to their craft. But those who looked merely for competence and truthfulness gave his notable achievements due recognition from the start.

Colonel Roosevelt's detractors came the nearest they ever did to achieving a partial victory when they adopted the method which Herbert Spencer has defined as an elaborate misquotation of what has been said and a detailed disapproval of the statements as mis-

quoted. The way in which this method was used at the time of his return from South America was asserting that he had claimed to have discovered the "River of Doubt," and then showing that the existence of that river had been known before he went south. But never in speech and never in writing did Colonel Roosevelt say he had discovered that river, but merely that he had explored it, which is a quite different matter. Had its existence been unknown it would obviously have had no name, and that it was called the River of Doubt implied that it was known to exist, but that no one could say beyond a guess through just what territories it flowed or by what courses. This question the expedition of Roosevelt and Rondon settled with finality by a good astronomically checked instrumental survey that has been adopted on the charts of the Brazilian Government and that is likely to be subject to no more future corrections than are generally those first surveys of great rivers that are made by competent explorers.

Colonel Roosevelt's estimate of the importance of his own geographic work was whimsically expressed in a letter I received from him shortly before his death—a letter generously devoted to the praise of others and especially to that of Colonel Rondon. "I do not make any claim," he wrote, "to the front rank among explorers, which includes" . . . [Here he named several of the best-known explorers, among them Colonel Rondon], "but I do think I can reasonably maintain that, compared with other presidents, princes and prime ministers, I have done an unusual amount of useful work."

Colonel Roosevelt's geographic work in South America was of lasting importance, and his name printed indelibly on the map of that continent is not the least, though it is not the greatest, of the imperishable memorials he has left to us. But in geographic exploration, as in many other fields, his influence was far beyond his achievements and direct word of encouragement. No matter what your field, his enthusiasm for good work of any sort was contagious. Those who were infected with it by him became in turn centers of infection for others. Many a man has been twice the man he would have been because he had Roosevelt to admire and had Roosevelt's indomitable moral courage to teach him to look upon each defeat but as a deferred victory.

THE CATHEDRAL AT ALBERT—AFTER THE GERMAN EVACUATION

FRENCH RECONSTRUCTION PROBLEMS

BY HENRI-MARTIN BARZUN

(Formerly Secretary to the French Minister of Labor)

THE first act of Prime Minister Clemenceau, on coming into office on November 7, 1917, was to create a new ministry, that of the Liberated Regions.

One could see in that act the whole spirit of daring which was known to be characteristic of the President of the Council. There was even in his act a certain defiance cast in the face of destiny, for November, 1917, marked the beginning of the final crisis of the war, which was to attain its maximum a few months later in the gigantic German offensives of March and May, 1918.

To speak of liberated regions when the enemy was sure to advance still farther and come to put Paris under the fire of his cannon, was, at that time, nothing more than a revelation of the feeling of absolute confidence in the final result which animated Georges Clemenceau at the very moment when the opinion of the world might perhaps very well remain in doubt.

The task of the Ministry of the Liberated Regions began the very day of its creation, and continued despite the fluctuations of military effort. The new administrative department had to form a plan of general action,

and did so by separating the difficulties of reconstruction into four responsible sections.

I. ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

The first section studied the conditions of repatriation of the population evacuated to the rear or scattered over the territory as a result of hostile occupation. This section also assumed, in addition, the distribution of food and clothing, the resumption of municipal life, the reestablishment of the work of the schools, and, at the same time, took charge of estimating the ravages and losses of the war in the regions thus reoccupied.

The second section took care of all questions concerning the housing of the people who returned to find their houses destroyed. The building of temporary barracks on the very site of the destroyed dwellings was intended to permit the sufferers to await the realization of the definitive program of reconstruction of buildings.

For the repair of houses and properties which were merely damaged, building materials were to be provided for the inhabitants.

Finally, the second section looked after the

reestablishment of the material conditions of labor in the communes, this task being preceded by the leveling of the terrain, the cleaning of highways, and the suppression of all traces of military defense which might still exist.

Essential and general conditions being thus rendered satisfactory, a return to economic life became possible.

The third section prepared the ways and means of agricultural reconstruction by furnishing all the things that contribute to it: raw material, farm implements and machinery, poultry and stock, manure and seed, shrubbery and plants, means of transportation, etc.

The coördinate action of the three first sections could thus assure, in proportion as the territory was evacuated by the invader, methodical reestablishment of the life of the rural population, which chiefly inhabited the devastated regions.

As for the fourth and last section, it was specially charged with the reorganization of industrial cities, and was subdivided into numerous committees, corresponding to all the industries involved, such as: spinning mills, steel works, breweries, sugar refineries, coal mines, electric plants, all mines, quarries, etc.

There was added to this fourth section a Central Bureau of Supplies, composed of

the principal proprietors of local industries who desired to reconstitute their enterprises under the very same conditions of exploitation that had prevailed before the war. Each one of these competent committees had, first of all, to establish its program of action and submit it to the Superior Committee of Industrial Reconstruction for authorization and execution.

Such was the work of organization planned by the Ministry of the Liberated Regions and put into action just as soon as the territories of northern France were freed from the invader.

II. LOSSES AND DEVASTATION

One cannot appreciate the gigantic task which at this moment is incumbent on the new ministry, unless one knows the extent of the ravages caused by four years of German invasion and occupation. To prove this statement, facts and figures are more eloquent than all commentaries.

The present article borrows such data from the official authorized sources, from parliamentary reports, from special missions of investigation, and from the remarkable balance-sheet drawn up by Mr. André Tardieu, High Commissioner of the French Republic to the United States.

AGRICULTURE: The German invasion, at its maximum, covered about eleven departments of the North and Northeast of France, out of the eighty-six which compose its territory. But the surface of this portion corresponds to only six per cent. of the total superficial area, and includes several thousand villages, towns and cities, where 350,000 houses were destroyed.

To reconstruct these houses, dwellings and farm buildings, without taking into account work necessitated to complete their interiors, would require, it has been calculated, a half-billion days' work, which, if we include the cost of materials for construction, amounts to a total expense of two billions of dollars, to be increased perhaps by a third billion if we wish to cover personal property destroyed.

As for agriculture, no source of revenue whatever exists in this region; the soil has been ravaged by artillery, the crops and live stock have been wiped out or carried away. The lowest estimate fixes the losses in herds of live stock at a million and a half heads, in farm machinery and wagons, at a half-million articles; in other words, a market



THE DEVASTATED SECTION OF FRANCE (IN BLACK)

(In the dash for Paris, during the first month of war, the German armies covered a slightly larger area, but the black portion of this map represents the section fought over, or enemy-occupied, for four years. It approximates one-sixteenth of the entire area of France.)

THE RUINS OF A TYPICAL AGRICULTURAL COMMUNITY

(Throughout the entire devastated region, not only farm buildings and machinery, but roads, bridges, trees, the banks and beds of streams, even the soil itself—all have been ravaged by artillery fire. Livestock has entirely disappeared)

value of a billion and two hundred million dollars' worth of property has been here annihilated.

MANUFACTORIES: But this region of the North was not alone rich in agriculture. Manufactories here were, before the war, the most flourishing of all industries, and, although comparatively small in extent, this region contributed not less than one-fourth of the national budget.

The figures for 1913 attest that the industrial production of the North represented 94 per cent. of the total production, and the following figures permit us to estimate: steel works, 70 in number; metallurgy, 90; spinning mills, 90; weaving mills, 60; coal mines, 55; electric plants, 45; refineries, 70, etc.

The official report declared with regard to the destruction of this industrial wealth:

Nothing exists of all that—work-shops, machine-factories, mines, factories; everything has either been destroyed or carried away by the enemy!

The destruction is so complete, that, in the particular case of our coal mines, two years of effort will be necessary before a single ton of coal can be mined, and ten years must elapse before the production of these mines can even equal that of 1913.

FINANCES: Such a destruction of property does away with all possibility of financial reconstruction on the basis of the national budget in times of peace. The liquidation

of the total expenses of the war, which amount to twenty-four billions of dollars, augmented by the expenses of reconstruction, has increased the ordinary annual budget, which was a billion of dollars in 1914, to more than two billions in 1918. To meet such an outlay, the country finds itself deprived of the resources of the ravaged North, which, as we have seen, amounted to 25 per cent. of the total revenues. Such a wide disparity between the expenses and the revenues cannot fail to weigh heavily on national prosperity during all the period of reconstruction.

But agriculture and manufactories are not the only things needing to be reestablished in full possession of their means of existence. We must also take into account the quantity of rolling stock destroyed, whose speedy replacement is essential.

Now, the enemy destroyed the lines of communication, rendered useless the roadbeds of the railways, and reduced the rolling stock by several thousand cars and locomotives. If we add to these devastations the destruction or theft of all stocks of raw material in the invaded regions, we may estimate that the sum of five billions of dollars, indicated as necessary for industrial reconstruction alone, is no exaggeration of the reality of immediate requirements.

NATIONAL ECONOMY: But, by the side of this reconstruction, locally limited or de-

fined by precise losses, there remains the vaster work of national reconstruction.

The concentration, through four years, of the entire energy of the country on military needs has caused a profound injury to the economic life of France. The displacement and the transformation of general production into purely military effort, the ruin of the merchant marine (what between the losses due to submarines and the cessation of ship-building), the disappearance of export trade and the loss of all foreign markets, constitute numerous problems which require efficacious, practical, and rapid solutions by the national administration.

Already the immense program of needs created by this reconstruction has been established and put into operation, and American production has lent powerful coöperation.

It is, in fact, to the extent of tens of billions of dollars that America will have to furnish France with iron, steel, coal, manufacturing machinery, rails, locomotives, cars, boats, not to mention raw material of all sorts necessary to the revictualing of her population and the restoration of its firesides.

THE IRREPARABLE: But what cannot be replaced, what constitutes the only irreparable loss, which no indemnity in the world can ever compensate, is the sacrifice of *two million and a half of human lives*, through death, mutilation and disease. Such a loss represents about one-fifteenth of the total population—a source of wealth which is completely annihilated and lost for the restoration

of national life, and which will never answer the call of peace.

The nation owes a sacred debt to the dead—that of caring for the needs of their families, of their widows and of their children.

It has also promised to care for and support those whose wounds have rendered them incapable of work. Looked at from the material standpoint, this is a new and heavy charge, which will run into billions in the years to come.

But, here again, no figures could give an exact estimate of such a national social and economic weakening, caused by the disappearance of such a mass of men, who constituted by their youth, health and intelligence the fortune of the nation and the hope of generations to be born.

The reannexation of Alsace-Lorraine may appear to certain persons as it were a sentimental amelioration of the sacrifice of these living forces and an evident economic compensation, since these two provinces have a population of about two million inhabitants.

None the less, the irreparable loss remains not only for all the firesides which deplore the disappearance of a loved one, but also for the nation as a whole, stricken in its very vitality. This applies not only to the present but to the future as well.

III. READJUSTMENTS OF LABOR

NATIVE LABOR: Among so many difficulties involved in the national regeneration, that of labor occupies a position at the front

A BUTTON FACTORY IN A CITY OF NORTHERN FRANCE

(Ninety-four per cent. of France's industrial product before the war came from the North. Now, to quote an official report, "Nothing exists of all of that; everything has either been destroyed or carried away.")

THE FAMOUS CATHEDRAL AT RHEIMS, UNDER GERMAN ARTILLERY FIRE FOR FOUR YEARS
 (The destruction is much greater than appears from the picture on the left. The other view indicates that the beautiful structure is now little more than a shell)

of the stage. In the very first year of the war, the government was obliged to call to its aid inhabitants of the colonies, in order to fill the gaps caused by the mobilization of several millions of men, snatched away from their work. Thus it happened that, both for the tilling of the abandoned soil and for the manufacture of war material in factories, laborers from Kabylia, Annam, Siam, China, were called to replace workingmen who had gone to war.

However much such a substitution during the years of national defense may be justified in the name of interests superior to interests of class, the return of peace evidently requires other solutions.

When the workers return to the fields and factories, they will find themselves in economic competition with "natives" of all colors, who had come to replace them temporarily. Hence the questions of salary, housing, customs, morality, which have already been raised and studied by the Minister of Labor. He, animated by the most ardent democratic spirit, has not failed, in proposing happy solutions, to make an appeal to the various interested workingmen's unions.

It would, in fact, be deplorable if conflicts should arise among workers who have diversely contributed during four years to the same cause, at a time when the country, weakened economically, needs for its regen-

eration the effort of all—of both the settled workers, whose rights in the nation are incontestable, and the colonial auxiliaries, who responded to the call of the government in order to make sure the common safety.

FOREIGN LABOR: But "men of color" are not the only ones who have collaborated in this task: Englishmen, Belgians, Italians, Americans not called out by mobilization or specially assigned to work back of the lines, have constituted in many regions of France populous colonies employed on equal terms with the local workingmen.

Many of them will desire to remain in the hope of a better situation than in their own country; others, to found here a family—and these cases are already very numerous. It will evidently be necessary, after the adoption of temporary solutions for the peace readjustment among all these workers, to formulate a general statute regularizing their citizenship, duties and rights.

If to govern is to foresee, we feel able to affirm that these important questions are being taken under serious consideration by the Ministry of Reconstruction, lately constituted, by the Superior Council of Labor and by the parliamentary commissions.

There will not be too many of these "reconstructing" workers, whatever be their color or origin, when the time comes to un-

dertake the programs of great enterprises of reparation and of new extension. The rebuilding of lines of communication devastated by artillery, the construction of bridges and other works of economic art, the increase in the system of canals and waterways, the multiplication of railways—all of these things being channels equally indispensable for the commercial and industrial renaissance of the country—will oblige the government to make a deliberate appeal to all possible sources of labor.

A central bureau of employment is already coördinating "supply and demand," and dividing, according to regional and local needs, the workingmen whom manufactories now idle or war industries have released.

ACCESSION TO PROPERTY RIGHTS: The question of salaries is not the whole thing, in France. There exists a strong tradition, which, ever since the claims of labor in 1848, has oriented reformers toward the search for a method of opening to employes the door to collective property rights. The law of March 25, 1884, which gives a legal status to labor unions, does not, however, accord them the rights of civil personality, and many democrats, defenders of the working class, would like to complete this law.

Previous to 1914, the majority of union workingmen were themselves hostile to any

conception which was not revolutionary. Perhaps after four years of sacrifices the reformist elements will convince the extreme elements that it is worth while to give political rights their economic interpretation by conferring on them collective property rights and labor contracts.

As early as 1906, Mr. Aristide Briand, who became later President of the Council, had devoted himself to this problem of the rights of organized unions to hold collective property: rights to own the places where their meetings were held, to own factories and commercial enterprises, and to own, by means of shares, a part of the capital of a corporation. Many groups interested in economic studies have enunciated projects giving form to these principles, and several members of Parliament have introduced propositions looking to the same object.

The war, having ripened our intellects and given more solidarity to rival national interests, has certainly prepared the way for this decisive experiment, which may have a salutary effect at a time when the extremist efforts of Russia and Germany show conservative interests the danger of opposing inevitable transformations.

THE INTELLECTUAL CLASS: The common sacrifice of all classes of the nation has conferred on them rights which no one would dream of contesting. If the best among the working class paid with their lives for the liberties whose defense they made sure; if it be true that in democracy and in humanity one man is the equal of another and has an equal right to respect, one cannot forget, nevertheless, that the intellectual class was, to a large extent, the depositary of all the acquisitions of the civilizing thought which, precisely, aids the world to escape from war-like barbarity.

In France, the intellectual class paid amply also for its right to maintain its rank and to play its rôle in the work of national reconstruction.

In fact, it was by thousands that savants, sociologists, authors, poets, painters, and the representatives of all branches of art, laid down their lives.

There perished equally by thousands the students of the great schools which are the nurseries of physicians, chemists, learned doctors, philosophers, mathematicians, engineers, lawyers.

And these losses are likewise irreparable, for they constitute a painful weakening of

A WRECKED BUILDING IN PERONNE

(Also a specimen of German humor, the sign saying, "Do not be angered, only surprised")

THE RUINS OF BAPAUME, WITH THE ROADWAY CLEARED

the intellectual and moral radiance of the nation in the world.

Those who fought and who survived them—their elders and their juniors—are now the ones who must give forth that radiation, the quality always mentioned by foreign nations when they wish to glorify France.

The intellectual class may well play the rôle which is now incumbent upon it, after the sacrifices which it gladly made, and that rôle is to be the moral arbiter among the internal rivalries, the social pacifier in the task of reconstruction. The generous zeal and the disinterestedness with which the élite of France collaborate in this reconstruction are the best guaranty of its success.

IV. SOCIAL EVOLUTION

NEW CITIES: When the engineers set to work to reconstruct the devastated regions, numerous conflicts of ideas and tendencies arose. The most eager partisans of the picturesque wanted an exact reconstruction of the villages and towns destroyed, a reconstruction preserving their former topography and aspect. The houses were to have the same size, the same shape, and, to attain this resurrection, one would make use of photographs and even of the memories of survivors.

This was evidently a thrilling conception which, in the thought of its defenders, was to abolish the image of the war and offer the soldier returning from the front the very illusion of his former home.

An exposition of drawings and models at Paris recently permitted one to appreciate the ingenuousness of such a conception. None the less, the plan early prevailed over wisdom, so deeply did it touch sentiment.

But, after reflection, it was quickly decided that this sentimental reconstruction no longer suited the conditions of modern life.

For, outside the large cities, which, of course, are not numerous, the devastated regions contained only archaic villages, built without any plan, along the edge of the roads, and generally built of primitive materials. These villages were innocent of nearly all the elementary requirements of hygiene.

If we except the churches and a few historic edifices, for which a special plan of reconstruction is contemplated by the Ministry of Fine Arts, all the houses and farm buildings destroyed do not materially merit the least regret.

Reason being in accord with hygiene, as also with the necessities of the new economic life which is to animate the reconstructed regions, an agreement was reached on the basis of modern villages, reconstructed with

moral progress, and that the social level will rise there more quickly in the general evolution of the country.

V. NECESSARY TRANSFORMATIONS

Taken as a whole, the work of reconstruction is destined to transform all the conditions of national life, and there would be no use in rebuilding the country economically if its laws took no account of new necessities and legitimate aspirations determined by the war.

Already the reform of taxation in the form under which Parliament has voted it will have a salutary effect in the villages and cities. The old system, by taxing doors and windows, really taxed the air and the sunlight.

How many times, as I have traveled through the country in the course of democratic campaigns, I have been struck with the physical degradation of the race as seen in the children, a degradation caused by too many people inhabiting houses where small orifices allowed insufficient quantities of oxygen to penetrate!

Henceforth the law taxes income—and this only since the war—and France follows in the footsteps of England and America, after a delay which we may well regret.

The question of alcohol is still pending. It will soon claim its solution, if we wish to avoid—in the formidable agglomerations of working people, brought together by new industries—dangerous fermentations and a de-

IN BETHUNE—THE RUE DE SADI CARNOT

healthful and comfortable houses, utilizing solid and practical materials, such as reinforced concrete, and profiting by the principal improvements in household economy in the matter of heating, supply and use of water, air, etc.

Naturally, new means of communication were arranged for, whether by automobile trucks, trolleys or trains, for the villages which, as the case might be, were lacking any of these conveniences. And architects, following the suggestions of the sociologists, have logically provided the new cities with municipal and educational buildings, with halls for public meetings and for theatrical representations, for open-air games and public gardens, all worthy of a new era of prosperity and peace. The very completeness of the ruin makes it the more easy to adopt radical changes.

It will be seen that such a reconstruction is both industrial and social; it is inspired as much by the democratic spirit as by general morality.

In fact, it is much less a question of piling brick on brick than of creating in each village a new social milieu where everything contributes to the collective well-being, to the communal spirit, to the education of all through comfort and individual liberty.

By improved means of transportation, as well as by this regeneration of the home, one may say that the devastated regions are destined to a very considerable material and

A HOUSE REBUILT BY THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

(The building, in Bethencourt, has evidently retained its original design—for the lack of windows, due to the old taxation system described by the author, is noticeable)

cline in morality among workingmen of many different origins.

The abolition of the popular consumption of alcohol, which is a veritable poison, will soon be imposed, for, if it is prohibited to the soldier, why should it be permitted to the soldier who has again become a citizen? Here again France may follow in the footsteps of America.

Finally, the suppression of child labor in factories and the franchise accorded to all women will constitute two reforms which are not only important but vital for the regeneration of the home.

VI. CONCLUSION

Although social reconstruction depends only on the nation, material reconstruction cannot be undertaken in France without the aid of the Allies.

The economic interdependence of countries is such that if one suffers all the others are also injured. The nations united in the war ought, then, as much through self-interest as through sympathy, to remain united in peace.

By the means of coöperation and contracts, France can be assured of the efficacious aid which she will receive from without, and particularly from America.

A close financial and industrial coöperation exists already between the two republics, and this will give them more solidarity in the future. For it would be quite useless to proclaim noble ideals of friendship and fraternity, if economic relations engendered among nations regrettable antagonisms, with whose fatal outcome we are familiar.

In this economic entente of the nations allied in the great common construction, everything, then, will depend on the spirit of democracy which animates them. And to assure the success of this work, let us dare to say that those directing our governments should not be afraid of new and bold solu-

THE CITY HALL AT MONTDIDIER

tions in all the domains where they shall have to come to a decision.

Financial, economic, industrial, political solutions demand everywhere daring, nothing else, if one wishes to avoid the danger of remaining stationary and of clinging stubbornly to ancient social dogmas, with the inevitable consequences that we know about.

As for France, the chosen country for democratic experiments, the favorite soil for revolutions in ideas, one need not worry about the results of bold solutions, for the country is morally and intellectually strong, and is capable of absorbing anything, with the essential condition that liberty prevail.

"In the twentieth century," wrote Michélet, one of the greatest historians and poets, "France will declare peace to the world."

This prophecy is doubtless being realized at the conference now going on at Paris. Let us hope so, and may the land drenched in so much blood conceive that there is a "democratic order" capable of increasing and preserving humanity from itself!

For, to preserve the national reconstruction of each people against the risks of a new war, it is evidently necessary that all the peoples put into practice a broad international policy, based on ideals which the Entente leaders have proclaimed. The economic peace of the world may be had for this price.



WISCONSIN'S NEW PRESIDENT

BY FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG

(Professor of Political Science at the University of Wisconsin)

It need hardly be remarked that this colossal task of reorganization calls for wise counsel and for sure leadership. The situation is rich in opportunity; it abounds also in pitfalls. That the high demands of the day will be met by most institutions no one may doubt. It is to be expected that they will be met by the University of Wisconsin; and here their surest guarantee is the election of Dean Edward Asahel Birge, in succession to the late President Charles R. Van Hise.

The University of Wisconsin opened its doors seventy years ago. It has had eight presidents, most of them—and especially John Bascom the philosopher, T. C. Chamberlin the geologist, Charles Kendall Adams the historian, and Charles R. Van Hise the geologist and economist—men whose personal contribution to learning and to the public well-being has become a part of the nation's treasured record.

President Birge is eminently worthy of the succession; and he could not have come into his present position at a time when his special qualifications were in stronger demand. It is safe to say that no man knows the University through and through as does he. He is not, indeed, as was Van Hise, a native of the State and a graduate of the institution. His birthplace is Troy, New York, and his *alma mater* Williams College. But he migrated to Wisconsin, as instructor in natural history, in 1875, and his connection with the institution has been continuous from that date. One of the happiest events in the University's history was the celebration, in 1915, of his fortieth anniversary in the institution's service. From 1879 to 1911 he was professor and head of the department of zoölogy. From 1891 until his election to the presidency he was dean of the College of Letters and Science; and it is doubtless as "Dean Birge" that he will longest be remembered by Wisconsin men. From 1900 to 1903, and during two or three brief intervals later, he was acting president.

Like two of his nearer predecessors, President Birge is a scientist. His chief interest

PRESIDENT EDWARD A. BIRGE, OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

AMERICA'S institutions of higher learning, no less than her industries, her railroads, and her commercial establishments, are about to be rehabilitated on a peace basis. Throughout the war period they have lived up to their rich traditions by giving generously, and of their best, in the service of the nation. Their student bodies have been depleted, their faculties decimated, their curricula disarranged, their notions of educational values rudely challenged. Eventually they will be the better for the experience. If any were in a rut it is safe to assume that they have been jolted out. All will be compelled to take stock of their assets, reconsider their functions, scrutinize their methods, re-adjust their machinery, freshen their spirit, tone up their *morale*, in a helpful fashion.

is fresh-water biology, and he is everywhere recognized as a leading authority on the biological and physical aspects of inland lakes. His investigations and publications have made one of Madison's "four lakes," Lake Mendota, scientifically one of the best-known bodies of fresh water in the world. Fitting recognition has come from many scientific societies, which have conferred upon the investigator their highest honors.

The new president is not only an administrator of well-tested quality, a scholar of international reputation, and a teacher of uncommon skill; he is above all, a man of culture and personality. His familiarity with literature would do credit to a university professor of that subject; his solicitude for

the interests of learning in all its branches finds fitting expression in his prominence in the scholarship fraternity, Phi Beta Kappa, of which he has been a senator since 1904 and vice-president since 1913.

Sharp-eyed, keen-minded, terse of speech, adept as a wielder of the rapier in debate, he is recognized by his colleagues as easily the most striking figure among them. He has, too, the homelier human qualities that compel regard: kindness of manner, modesty of demeanor, simplicity of tastes, genuineness of friendly interest, and, withal, a sense of humor. One may be pardoned the suspicion that in these unsettled days the last-mentioned quality is a university president's most valuable asset.

CANADA'S CARE OF HER SOLDIERS

HOW THE DOMINION DEPARTMENT OF SOLDIERS' CIVIL RE-ESTABLISHMENT CARRIES OUT ITS WORK

BY OWEN E. MCGILLICUDDY

THE Dominion of Canada was not only one of the first Allied nations to deal with the problem of the invalided soldier, but she has, during the last few months, evolved one of the most successful systems for helping all her fighting sons find their way back to the constructive activities of civilian life. It took much time, money and effort on the part of the government before the responsibility for this important and urgent work was properly adjusted and distributed. But it was worth it. For it resulted in the formation of a separate federal department and thus provided an efficient, all-embracing organization for enabling the returned soldier to get out of khaki into tweeds in a more profitable way to himself, his family, and the community at large.

It was early in 1915 when the problem of the returned soldier received the first attention of the cabinet. After a survey had been taken of the situation the government came to the decision that a special Royal Commission would be the best solution and the Military Hospitals Commission was thereupon organized. At that time the prob-

lem of according the best possible medical treatment for the invalided men was the one which was uppermost in the minds of the authorities. As a consequence the work of the Commission in its initial stages was planned primarily to provide adequate hospital accommodation and supervise the general care of the returning sick and wounded.

Up to March of 1918 the medical service was made up partly of civilian and partly of military doctors, the latter being members of the Canadian Army Medical Corps. But owing to the difficulties which were being experienced in dual administration between the C. A. M. C. and the Commission, and because of the apparent necessity for creating another administrative body which could deal with the constantly developing civilian problem of the returning veterans, a readjustment in the work was made necessary. This resulted in the turning over of all military hospitals, active and convalescent, other than those at Guelph, Whitby and Saskatoon, to the Department of Militia and Defense to be operated under the direction of the Army Medical Corps. To these hospitals men re-

turning from overseas are admitted for treatment and held there until such time as their cases are diagnosed or medical finality in the sense of a man being found unfit for service has been reached. But all incurable, such as paralytics, mental deficient, epileptics, tubercular and insane patients are transferred to the care of what is now known as the Invalided Soldiers' Commission, formerly the Military Hospitals Commission.

A New Government Department

After the hospital readjustment had been finally disposed of the government came to the conclusion that a new federal department, separate and distinct from all military control, was absolutely essential for the fitting back of the veterans into civilian life. This resulted in the creation of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment, with a representative in the cabinet in the person of Sir James Loughheed.

To this department are now attached the Invalided Soldiers' Commission and the Pension Board. The Order-in-Council bringing about this readjustment provided also that all occupational therapy or vocational training which was considered necessary in the various military hospitals should remain under the control of the Invalided Soldiers' Commission, but subject to the direction of the medical officer in charge. This arrangement has been found of much advantage to the Army Medical Corps, as it places at their disposal the teaching facilities of the vocational branch, while it has been found equally advantageous to the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment because it enables its officials to make a closer study of the men prior to discharge, and in some cases to commence the preliminary work of his industrial reeducation.

The arrangement has also a marked advantage over the American organization inasmuch as the American plan has resulted in some duplication of teaching organization brought about by the fact that all occupational therapy treatment is controlled by the Surgeon General. Canada's system, on the other hand, provides for a civilian organization which picks the man up after a discharge from the army, looks after his disabilities, gives him his industrial reeducation, and then endeavors to locate him in a position where his capabilities will be best suited to the trade or profession he wishes to enter.

The organization for administering and controlling the work of the Department of

Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment, including that of the Board of Pensions, is carried on by five branches, the heads of which are directly responsible to the Minister of the Department, Sir James Loughheed. While the general policy for carrying on the reestablishment of veterans is initiated and directed from Ottawa, each province—or unit, as it is referred to in routine orders—has its own branch headquarters to which all schools, hospitals, and sanatoria in the territory report at regular intervals.

The work of the department, apart from that of the Pensions Commissions, which is a self-contained branch of the department, is divided into five branches and known in order of routine as follows: (1) Medical Services; (2) Commandant's Branch; (3) Demobilization Branch; (4) Vocational Branch; and (5) Directors' Branch.

Medical and Surgical Attention

In considering the duties of the first branch—that of the Medical Services—it must be borne in mind that the men given treatment are in all cases veterans who have been discharged from the army as unfit for further service. The branch as organized under the administration of Col. McKelvey Bell, has considerably enlarged its usefulness by extending the scope of its work. It now provides medical and surgical treatment, together with medical supplies and orthopedic requirements, to all discharged members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force free of charge, whether in hospital or at home. Not only does the branch look after all incurables and incapacitated patients scattered among the various sanatoria and hospitals which have been established throughout the Dominion, but all discharged soldiers, whether they reside in city, town, village, or remote rural districts, may now have their medical needs supplied in the quickest possible time upon a recurrence of any physical ailment. Up to date nearly 60,000 men have received treatment, and it is estimated that when the sick and wounded now convalescing in Great Britain are returned to Canada these figures will be augmented by 40,000 patients who will have to, in a more or less degree, receive treatment at various times after their discharge from the army.

Order and Discipline

The second branch of the department is that known as the Commandant's Branch, or, as it is familiarly called by the veterans,

the "Law and Order Brigade." It is the duty of the Commandant's Branch to see that order and discipline are maintained in all hospitals, sanatoria and schools which are operated under the control of the Invalided Soldiers' Commission. The procedure of the work of the Commandant's representative in each unit is to keep in touch with returned men who are about to be discharged from the Department of Militia and Defense. As soon as a returned soldier is discharged the Commandant's representative must see that copies of all medical and military papers are handed over to the Deputy Commandant of the unit, who thereupon assumes responsibility for their safekeeping. The only time that a veteran is not responsible to the representative is the time which is actually taken up in vocational and industrial re-training. The work of the Commandant's Branch as organized is not discipline by force, but discipline by persuasion, the men in each unit having their time taken up either in legitimate amusement or personal development.

Securing Employment

The third branch, which was created during last November, is known as the Demobilization Branch, and is directed by Major L. L. Anthes, a prominent Toronto manufacturer. The duties of this branch will, for the most part, consist of classifying and finding employment for all soldiers who have no work in prospect when they secure their discharge. This will be done by coördinating the plans of the department with those of the departments of Labor, Militia and Defense and the Soldiers' Land Settlement Board. The department will, through this branch, establish direct contact, not only with the twenty-one dispersal centers of the Militia and Defense, but also with each of the demobilization employment offices now being organized throughout all of the provinces of the Dominion.

At each unit headquarters of the department there will be a unit council composed of two staff members of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment, a representative of the labor unions, a representative manufacturer, a representative returned soldier, a representative of the demobilization employment office, and two members of the Provincial Returned Soldiers' Commission. This council, keeping in close touch with the needs of the returning soldiers, will, it is believed, be in a position to anticipate and remove many of the industrial obstacles which

have hitherto handicapped the soldier on his return from overseas.

Vocational Selection and Re-Training

The fourth branch of organization is that of the Vocational Branch, which, under the control of Mr. W. E. Segsworth, has made remarkable strides in efficiency and has been investigated by officials of all of the Allied countries. The work of the Vocational Branch is divided into two classes; viz., (1) Occupational Therapy, and (2) Industrial Re-Training.

The Occupational Therapy treatment is provided for the patients of the hospitals or sanatoria who are partly recovered from their disabilities but are unable to get from their beds. This is sometimes known as bedside occupational work or ward occupations, and consists for the most part of knitting, embroidery, sewing, plastic clay modeling, etc., the idea being to take the patient's mind away from his bodily ills by employing his hands in work he may be interested in. After the patient is sufficiently recovered to be able to move about, his spare time, during school hours, is spent in the curative work shops which are usually annexed to the hospital. In these shops the work taken up is similar to that which is given in an ordinary manual training shop, and embraces such forms as carpentry, light metal-work, leather and metal embossing, typewriting, light machine-shop work, and so forth. While the men are pursuing the work in the curative workshops they are closely supervised by a medical representative and an expert instructor who has made a study, not only of manual work, but its effect on disabilities. Periods of fatigue and strain are watched very closely and the manipulation of tools is prescribed in such a way that the weakened members of the body will only receive the required amount of strengthening exercise.

The second division of the Vocational Branch is that familiarly known as Industrial Re-Training. In the early days of the war it was found that of the number of men returning to Canada physically unfit for further combative service a percentage were so disabled by injury or disease that they were not, or would not, through treatment or training, be in condition to carry on in their former wage-earning capacity. As a result the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment, through the Invalided Soldiers' Commission, provides industrial re-training for these men in its various schools and insti-

tutions under the control of the Director of Vocational Training.

The range of opportunities for the training and employment of returned soldiers has been considerably clarified as the result of a careful and extensive industrial survey conducted during the last six months of 1918 by the Vocational Branch of the Department. As a result of this investigation it was ascertained that in the classes under the control of the branch, or in industrial plants which were coöperating with the Department, there are now two hundred distinct fields of endeavor in which disabled men can be trained for future usefulness. On November 5, 1918, 7594 applications for re-training had been received at Ottawa, and of this number 5477 had been granted courses and given pay and allowances. The last registry showed that 158 courses of training were being given in various parts of the Dominion and that the total number of graduates was 2063.

Business Organization

The fifth and last division is known as the Directors' Branch. This branch is charged with seeing that the business organization of each unit throughout Canada performs its functions with system and despatch. It is really the clearing-house or "trouble zone" of the Department. The work entrusted to this branch has principally to do with the purchasing of supplies and equip-

ment of all kinds, and the control and upkeep of all buildings. It looks after the payment of men and their dependents while taking treatment or training, and the providing of clothing, foodstuffs, medical supplies, and orthopedic supplies.

Summing up the work of the new Department, it may be stated that the records available at the various unit headquarters and at Ottawa set forth one of the most interesting successes in national administration since the outbreak of war. The Canadian veterans who have been salvaged and brought back to useful endeavors after being broken on the wheel of battle, are a living evidence of what Canadian initiative and enterprise have succeeded in accomplishing. Previous to the war there is no record that Canada boasted of a single trade school. To be sure there were some colleges which had a reputation for thoroughness and quality of their work, as well as some technical schools in the larger cities which ministered to the needs of the community so far as the training of minors was concerned. But there was no machinery in existence for dealing with the problem of adult retraining and the wide variety of subjects or occupations which the demands of to-day now call for. When these facts are considered Canada's success in restoring her warrior sons to health and industrial usefulness is one of the crowning achievements of her tremendous war efforts.



A PROPOSED THROUGH RAILROAD ROUTE, ON TERRITORY OF THE ALLIES, FROM THE ATLANTIC OCEAN TO THE BLACK SEA

(Transcontinental railroad traffic in Europe has always been via Germany and Austria. The route outlined on this map is already in existence, over practically all of its length, but is not equipped for heavy and fast trains. It would be of prime importance to France and Italy, and to the new nations of Central Europe. It would also open up unlimited possibilities for American business, especially since its western terminus is at Bordeaux, the French port developed so importantly by the American army. The project is one evidence only of the great changes in transportation that will come during the readjustment and reconstruction period.)

ODESSA TO THE ATLANTIC

A NEW RAILROAD ROUTE PLANNED ACROSS SOUTHERN EUROPE

BY WYATT RUSHTON

ROME, October 25.—The plans for the future direct railway line between Bordeaux and Odessa are receiving special attention from the Italian Ministry of Transportation.

It will be necessary only to link up the existing lines between Bordeaux, Marseilles, Ventimille, Turin, Milan, Trieste, Belgrade, Bucharest and the Odessa terminus.

Direct communication between the Atlantic and the Black Sea by rail will be one of the most important "after-war" problems.—News Item.

PRESIDENT WILSON'S declaration in his Red Cross speech last May that America will not abandon the struggling Russian democracy, pledged us to a policy of helpful interest for at least some years after Russian territory is evacuated. Previous promises to protect the interests of Rumania at the peace conference, and the Senate speech of January, 1917—when the President declared that one of the essential bases of peace was an outlet for Serbia to the sea—also bind us to a guardianship over the interests of these smaller peoples.

That this guardianship will be exercised in conjunction and in full accord with Great Britain, France, and Italy is made plain by

our attitude, before the war, in regard to purely European affairs, and by the circumstances through which we have become interested. For the next generation at least, the United States and the major Allies will be equally concerned for the future of their smaller brothers in arms; and it is on the political and economic independence of these latter that they purpose to found and maintain the peace of the world.

SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE AS A MARKET

The crying need in these countries during the period of their economic reconstruction and development will be machine tools and the means of transportation. Without these, furnished by a disinterested third party, Russia, Serbia, and Rumania will not have been liberated. If America fails to find some means of supplying cheaply and quickly motor-trucks, reapers, binders, and even locomotives and rolling stock to Eastern and Southern Europe, Germany will have the market entirely to herself as she did before the war.

Another era of dependence upon Germany similar to that which lasted for some

thirty years before the war is certainly in the present state of Western Europe opinion unthinkable for any of the nations which have been at war with her. Yet English and French steel-working concerns cannot begin to supply the demand which will arise from the more backward countries of their own continent when the war is over.

GEOGRAPHY, TOPOGRAPHY—BOTH COMMERCIAL AIDES OF THE CENTRAL POWERS

Nor will public opinion allow the central position occupied by Germany and Austria to make those countries, under whatever form of government, the arbiters of European commerce between North and South or East and West. It needs only a glance at the map of Europe to show the geographical advantages possessed by the Central Powers and exploited by them in the past.

Europe is a continent of many long and comparatively narrow peninsulas (Great Britain but for the accident of the Channel being one), all of them lying in a prevailing north-and-south direction almost at right angles to the main body. This main body itself may then be considered as another narrow peninsula running east and west and at right angles to the continental mass of Russia. On this larger peninsula the Germanic states occupy the territory to the west of Russia, to the south of the Scandinavian countries and to the north and west of the independent states of the Balkan peninsula. Italy is to the south and most of France is to the west.

Their geographical position, together with the mountain features which give direction to the watersheds of Europe, sufficed before the war to give these Central Powers control of most of the land transportation in Europe. For instance, there was through land transportation between Paris and St. Petersburg before the war; but considerably more than half of it was through German territory. Prussia controlled practically all of the plain falling away from the Alps towards the North and Baltic seas. Routes farther to the south invariably encountered mountain barriers, where the passes running north and south were also practically in Teutonic hands.

EARLIER ATTEMPTS TO CHECK GERMAN COMMERCIAL DOMINATION

This control had been broken to some extent by the piercing of the Simplon tunnel in 1906 which connected Paris by rail with

Southern Italy by way of the Swiss Alps. Another tunnel through the French Alps had been completed considerably earlier.

Again, Serbian resistance to Austrian and German schemes for a right-of-way through Serb territory to Salonica and Constantinople checked plans for expansion to the south, now definitely set at naught.

MOUNTAIN BARRIERS IN FRANCE AND ITALY

Nothing, however, will give Europe an east-and-west railway route, as an alternative for that running through Berlin, until a system is developed to the south of the Alps. Such a system can be evolved only after natural difficulties of some seriousness have been overcome. The spurs of the Alps projecting southward—and forming the spiny backbone of Southeastern France, of Italy, the Balkan peninsula, and a portion of Bessarabia—prevent this route from being a smooth and level road such as that which stretches along the northern plain.

Railroads have with difficulty penetrated the massif of the Cevennes Mountains, lying north-and-south across Southern France; and no direct line east from Bordeaux has yet been constructed. The passes of the Alps near Modane and Ventimille, at the Franco-Italian frontier, have been utilized to admirable advantage, but doubtless the grades and curves on these lines could be greatly improved. Beyond Trieste the railway construction is rather a matter of conjecture—in spite of the fact that the valley of the Save carries one line almost straight to Belgrade—but much rebuilding of roadbed is necessary before the road could carry heavy transcontinental traffic. New construction to the east of Belgrade, also, would seemingly be necessary to secure a short route into Rumania; while the state of the Rumanian railways is such as to demand undoubtedly a vast amount of repair work.

HOW THE DANUBE IS CONTROLLED

These difficulties, however, seem small in view of the political and economic importance of a real trunk line across Southern Europe. The delays and annoyances to which both passengers and shippers would undoubtedly have been subject before the war, through lack of coördination on the various national systems and at the several national frontiers, lead one naturally to suppose that this route was rarely if ever taken.

The situation was really not very different from that of river navigation on the Dan-

ube previous to the interest taken in it by the European powers after the Crimean war. A great east-and-west route for steamboats existed, but its use was subject to both natural and political obstacles. Austria and Russia had rival claims to control on the banks, while the trade of other nations was hampered through restrictions imposed by both. Neither Austria nor Russia, moreover, had sufficient control of the whole length of the river to keep it always in navigable condition.

These obstacles were cleared away by the Treaty of Paris in 1854, through the formation of an international commission consisting of representatives of all the countries which had participated in the war. This commission was entrusted with sovereign powers over the whole of the lower river and over the port at its mouth. At the same time the Rumanian principalities were declared independent of Russian influence, and were given control of the banks from the Iron Gate to the sea.

INTERNATIONAL CONTROL OF A RAILWAY SYSTEM

A similar procedure would suffice to link together in a real international highway the railway lines from Odessa to Bordeaux. Croatia, Istria, and Dalmatia will undoubtedly be made free of Austrian domination, while Trieste will go to Italy. Serbia and Rumania will be so enlarged territorially as to assure that the railway will be all theirs. Control over the right-of-way ought, however, to be given to an international commission with powers to coördinate and standardize the track and rolling-stock all along the line, together with the authority to issue bonds for necessary improvements and to acquire dockage facilities at several of the principal ports.

The system under control of such an international railway commission would cover at least twenty-five hundred miles of main line, with stations at three large ports and four important inland cities. It would not only offer unlimited advantages over the Siberian route for tools, machinery, and automobiles coming from America, but would save several days for American business men, especially those with interests in Southern Russia. Goods cabled for could reach Rus-

sia within two or three weeks after being ordered from the factory in America.

On the other hand, the line would bring Russian and Rumanian agricultural products so essential for feeding the industrial workers of France, Italy, and England, to Western Europe in record time and without the necessity of passing under the eyes of the Turk at the Dardanelles. A rich trade between Russia and America would undoubtedly spring up.

AMERICA'S INTEREST

The project of a railroad across Southern Europe is now being studied by the Italian Ministry of Transportation, to whom it naturally first appeals. It can probably be completely realized only with British and American aid. The governments of France, Italy, Serbia, Rumania, and Russia (the Ukraine) will naturally fix the terms whereby an international right-of-way is created. British interests will nevertheless probably be allowed to take up a good deal of the capitalization or bond issues, while purchases of heavy rails and transcontinental rolling-stock will have to be made in America without prejudice also to American financial support.

The western European allies have had an opportunity already to judge of the greatly increased carrying capacity and tractive power of American freight cars and locomotives used by our army in Europe. Undoubtedly, with the war over, many of these cars and locomotives will find their way into use on European railways, especially where long hauls are necessary, and on this account will become almost indispensable in Italy, Russia, and the Balkans. With a commodious type of freight car and with locomotives of the heavy Mogul type, capable of pulling steep mountain grades, natural obstacles to transportation by the southern route will be reduced to a minimum.

The giant merchant marine built up during the war can serve us and the rest of the world no better than in connection with speedy communication across Europe by land; and President Wilson's third condition of peace, which involves "the suppression as far as possible of all economic barriers between nations," could not be given a more practical application.

AN OUTLET TO THE SEA FOR EUROPE'S NEW NATIONS

BY ALFRED C. BOSSOM

[Mr. Bossom is well known both in London and New York as an architect, having come to this country from England some years ago. His suggestion for a neutral zone or highway was presented at a dinner in New York for President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia, just before Dr. Masaryk sailed to take up his official duties. Mr. Bossom's project is ingenious, and suggests how many important changes there may be in the future, in what may be called the transportation and engineering map of Europe, having to do with waterways, through railways, and highways.—THE EDITOR]

• **I**N the center of Eastern Europe, recognition has been accorded by America and the Allies to three Slavic peoples: the Poles, Czechoslovaks, and Jugo-Slavs, who for a century at least have been subject to Teutonic or other oppression.

These lately freed peoples occupy the major part of the land between the Baltic and the Adriatic and with the others approximate sixty million people in this section, none of whom has practical access to the sea. River or rail transportation through enemy or unfriendly territory provides their only outlet to the world. The temptation of the sea-coast nations to take advantage of this abnormal situation is bound sooner or later to develop, irrespective of any agreement or regulations; for the land-locked position of these interior peoples causes every ton of imports or exports to be at the mercy of freight rates, speed, and volume of transportation, and of tariff charges at the discretion of unsympathetic powers.

Any just peace settlement certainly should give to these freed nations the right to trade with any other free nation without being under the constant risk of being subject to restrictions imposed by intermediaries.

One of the strongest of President Wilson's "points" of peace was the elimination of commercial restrictions; and that is definitely denied to these people on account of their location, unless they are given suitable access to the sea—the world's commercial highway.

WHY NOT AN INTERNATIONAL HIGHWAY?

Sea access is vital to national economic existence, and to provide for the land-locked countries a new principle will have to be introduced into international arrangements. My suggestion is that these interior nations

be given a practical right of way over the land to the sea, with duty-free ports at the terminations. But the proposed highway must be under international jurisdiction; the Freedom of the Seas must be carried over the land.

Once this principle of right-of-way is demonstrated to have the same importance internationally as it has nationally, branches could be run wherever so required, thus in practical manner definitely avoiding commercial restrictions and giving to each people the power of self-determination in connection with their commercial development.

AVOIDING BOUNDARY DISPUTES

Among the secret agreements given out by Trotsky when the Bolsheviki took possession of the Russian archives was the Treaty of London entered into between April 26 and May 19, 1915. In that treaty England, France, and Russia agreed, as part of the reward for joining them against the Teutonic alliance, that Italian possessions in the northern Adriatic should be materially enlarged.

At that time these new nations (except Serbia and Montenegro) were held by the enemy combination, and although known to be in opposition to the governments under which they existed they had an entirely different status from that which they are now entitled to enjoy as independent peoples recognized as free by the Allies and America.

At worst the Treaty of London contemplated leaving certain portions of the coast to the peoples of the hinterland; but under the armistice agreement with Austria, Italy has taken physical possession of the entire upper end of the Adriatic. Both Trieste and Fiume, the only good ports thereabouts, have been taken, although Fiume was not

covered by the Treaty of London. This situation has caused great dissatisfaction among the Jugo-Slavs and other kindred people, as possession of ports and the mountain passes through which the railroads have to travel seems to them vital.

A NEUTRAL ZONE

My specific proposition to remedy such rivalries is to set apart—from Danzig on the Baltic, to either Trieste or Fiume on the Adriatic—a neutral zone, or international right-of-way, or highway, wide enough to provide fully for indefinite future requirements and available with equal rights for all peoples as they shall be admitted to the concert of nations.

The highway for its entire length would lie on territory that formerly belonged to Germany or Austria-Hungary, land that will be redistributed on account of the recognition of new nations.

The western boundary for these freed people most probably will be determined, first, by approximate ethnographic boundaries, and secondly, by geographic features which most nearly coincide with these ethnographical lines. The highway would coincide with this boundary.

Ten miles, the suggested width of the zone to be set apart, would comprise a very large area, as the path of the highway is approximately 1500 miles long. But any of the land not required for railways or roadways would be available for agriculture or grazing purposes. When it is realized that ultimately the zone might have to provide accommodation for all exports, imports, and transportation for this vast section of Europe, it can easily be understood that it is advantageous to be liberal now.

To acquire territory later to widen such a highway would undoubtedly entail unpleasant international complications. The width proposed would make geographical obstacles less difficult or expensive to circumvent, as a railroad might go around an obstruction and still be within the international zone.

ROUTE OF MR. BOSSOM'S PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL HIGHWAY, AND ITS RELATION TO THE NEW NATIONS OF EUROPE

NO SERIOUS PHYSICAL OBSTACLES

Regarding such obstructions: From Danzig (the only practical port on the Baltic) south to Bohemia, no great physical difficulties need be encountered. Encircling the western end of Bohemia, there are ranges of mountains on both the north and the south; but by keeping free of these, as suggested, the vast mineral deposits there could be retained for the Czechoslovak lands. From Bohemia to the Adriatic, to either Trieste or Fiume, there are existing railroad lines through the mountain passes. These lines are in close relationship with the ethnological divisions, and by adhering to the one selected at the peace conference the physical difficulties present no great problems.

For the present at least, the existing railroads could be used; and the presence of the international zone would compel them to give satisfactory freight rates, etc., for it

would allow a competing line to be built at once should they fail to give proper service.

The Italian Bureau of Public Information, at Washington, has expressed its opinion that the proposed highway would be to the advantage of Germany and her late allies, and that they would control it, as Germanic lands would form one side of it. In my own opinion, it would have the opposite effect. It would form a defining fence under international regulations which would be of far greater force than any boundary between Germany and one of these smaller new nations.

An examination of the map of Europe demonstrates that the old western boundary of Germany was a comparatively straight line; for France, Belgium, and Holland were intellectually organized on practically an equal basis with Germany. But on the eastern boundary long tentacles stretched out into the Slavic lands, due to Germany's greater organizing force, striving to acquire the wealth of these lesser developed peoples.

Thus by the very simple process of infiltration—if this highway or defining zone be not set apart—the Germans would cross into Poland or Czechoslovakia and soon be controlling economic affairs to the detriment of the rightful owners of the lands that they had invaded; and in any dispute the smaller, newly organized nation would be at a disadvantage. The existence of this highway, on the other hand, would be a constant reminder to Germany that should any passage be made across it in opposition to regulations the displeasure of the remainder of the civilized world would have to be faced.

TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS

For transportation along this highway, either of two methods could be adopted with satisfaction. First, each of the nations affected could have its own railroad, paying for the same and maintaining it. Secondly, there might be one common railroad for the use of all of the peoples.

Either method would of necessity require that all details be mutually agreed upon and that the general supervision be under an international committee; for in certain places (as at bridges, mountain passes, tunnels, etc.)

it would be unnecessary and unjustifiable for each to build separate expensive improvements, for many years at least.

Well-constructed roadways capable of sustaining the utmost automobile traffic would also be necessary, as this form of transportation is yet only in its infancy. Without doubt later this will take the place of the slow freight train to a large extent.

It has been suggested that a few canals might so aid these central nations as to make any other means of sea access unnecessary, but sufficient canals to do this would be of such colossal expense and take so much time to build that the proposition is quite impractical; and at the best the outlets would have to be along rivers which pass for the major portion of their length through territory occupied by unsympathetic peoples.

The Danube running to the Black Sea, or the shallow Elbe, with its numerous locks running to the North Sea, would both entail great time and considerable rehandling for freight ultimately intended for countries such as the United States or England. This would require that workers in the land-locked nations must receive a lesser wage for their efforts, and the manufacturers less for their goods, than their German neighbors who have the most efficient freight distribution system in Europe.

It is of the utmost importance that these peoples be given an opportunity to earn wages that will enable them to maintain their state on a dignified basis, and justify them staying at home to develop their national resources.

The birth pangs of these newly recognized people are likely to be exceedingly harrowing even under most favorable conditions; and if their workers are compelled to take less wages, due to avoidable transportation or tariff obstacles, they will believe that they have not been treated justly.

In conclusion, these land-locked peoples are entitled to the opportunity to live on a just economic basis, which can only be enjoyed if the principle of the Freedom of the Sea is carried over the land to them. Access to highways for transportation is recognized as indispensable to individuals. Why, therefore, is it not essential to nations?

SERVICE—THE KEYNOTE OF A NEW CABINET DEPARTMENT

BY HARLEAN JAMES

THE establishment of strong federal control in numerous war bureaus has been—like the declaration of martial law in an area devastated by flood, earthquake, or fire—in-avoidable and efficient, but for peace times not in character with the genius of our republic.

It is quite clear, however, that we should not allow ourselves to drop back into the deplorable hodge-podge methods which have too frequently characterized our State and municipal administrations in the past.

The Service of the Federal Government

It is not, as many persons seem to suppose, a question of federal control against local initiative. Increasingly our federal government stands for *service* and not for arbitrary control.

Of the six departments whose heads sat in the cabinet of the first administration, only one—the Post Office—came in close contact with the individual citizens. The War and Navy Departments were for the national defense, the State Department for international diplomacy, the Treasury for the collection of revenue and disbursement of funds, and the Attorney General for legal advice and action.

For something like a hundred and thirty-five years the Post Office has been rendering a constant *service* to the people. For many of these years postmasters were the only visible representatives of the United States Government with whom law-abiding citizens came in frequent contact. Before the rural mail-carrier penetrated mountain fastness and served lonely farms, however, the federal government had established new contacts with the people through its homesteads, its vast reclamation projects, its forest reserves, and its public pleasure parks.

The States Relations Service

The States Relations Service of the Department of Agriculture has more recently established new machinery of coöperation between federal and local governments. There have been technical divisions in the depart-

ment for years. There have been State experiment stations. But the State and county agents created by the Smith-Lever bill have carried the message of service to the forsaken districts. To-day there is scarcely a farmer in the country who does not know about the help he can secure from the Department of Agriculture. And that service has not been given at the expense of the States. It has been dispensed through State machinery and has helped to popularize and make effective work already begun by the State agricultural colleges.

It is an educational service. It has no power to command. In order to profit by the federal agents the States must raise their share of the necessary funds. The headquarters are the land-grant colleges, or other colleges directed by State legislatures. In order to secure county agents the counties must pay their share. And when all the money is secured, it will only buy—*service*. The service must make good if it would continue in existence. This particular service has already been worth millions of dollars to the farmers of America. The States Relations Service of the Department of Agriculture has proved that results may be secured by service that would be difficult, if not impossible, to attain by control.

The modern business executive is inclined to believe that he can transfer corporation methods to affairs of state. As applied to federal governmental functions in a republic, arbitrary centralized power may defeat the very end for which it is aimed. If control is wise the initiative and aspiration of the rank and file become atrophied. If control is unjust, or even misunderstood, the oppression breeds resentment and is apt to break forth in rebellion. But service stimulates the giver and educates the receiver.

A Department of Civic Economy

We need a cabinet department of service under which may be grouped bureaus—old and new—that make available the results

of their research through local government units. The Bureau of Education, for instance, does not in general furnish instruction to the individual. It offers advice to State, county, and city school officials.

A *Department of Civic Economy*, rightly conceived and vigorously carried out, would give our people the benefits of central coördination without the sacrifice of local initiative. The States would contribute to, as well as profit by, the service. It could be made to meet the test of the republic in the preservation of democratic participation in government with the fullest use of technical ability.

Such a department should conduct research studies and make experiments on a scale possible only for the federal government. It should make information available through a net-work of coöperative machinery similar to that established by the Council of National Defence, which might well be called a *Bureau of States*. This bureau would serve the sleepy cross-roads corner in the remote county. It would serve the noisy traffic-ridden city. Through a *local relations service* it would place State, county and city advisers in every local unit where federal money would be matched with local money, and where certain local services would be established. By all the modern methods of reaching the public these advisers would advertise the wares of the new federal department. The public school system would furnish the headquarters in each of the local units. State universities, or universities designated by State legislatures, would form the nucleus of State activities. Those interested in the community use of the schools would find here a powerful stimulus to their movement.

How States, Counties, and Cities Could Be Helped with Advice

The *Bureau of States* should have three informational divisions:

(a) *The division of State government* would deal with interstate and intrastate laws and institutions.

(b) *The division of county government* would take up the problems of the county. There are some three thousand counties in the United States. There are nearly as many different combinations of restrictions placed on property and utilities, and quite as many of neglecting public service.

County citizenry, made up of scattered inhabitants and suburban groups whose interests center in municipalities,

have made small progress in developing responsible county administration. The county tax assessor, the county constable, the county poorhouse commissioner—what standard of efficiency do these officers call to most of our minds? And yet they are generally honest citizens and good neighbors, who follow unthinkingly the traditions of their localities. County communities would demand better service if they knew how, and county officials, on their part, would be proud to render that service if it seemed to be appreciated by their constituents.

(c) *The division of municipal government* would deal with town and city administration. Cities need trained public servants, but they also need a trained public. There is no reason why each hamlet and city should find it necessary to make its own mistakes, regardless of the experience of other towns similarly situated. There are an indefinite number of municipal problems which could be met intelligently, with the best solutions this generation has to offer, if the public could secure reliable information concerning the advantages and disadvantages likely to result from the adoption of proposed policies.

Consider the ultimate result of such a *Bureau of States*. Half a hundred State advisers, three thousand county advisers, several hundred city advisers, supported jointly by federal and local funds, studying local problems and making available from Washington and State institutions technical advice in matters vital to the well-being of every man, woman and child in the United States. Consider the larger opportunities to secure training for public service if the official universities were required to offer courses in the subjects included in the new federal department. Higher standards of citizenship in general and for public office holders in particular would be inevitable.

The Technical Service

It is eminently desirable that flexibility of organization be assured to the proposed bureaus and divisions in order that new needs may be met as they are recognized. A logical analysis of the subject is not attempted. The aim is rather to suggest an administrative machine capable of practical operation.

Three of the suggested bureaus are planned to render human service: public health, education, and social service. The fourth is designed to deal with physical environment.

A More Effective Health Service

The *Public Health Service* at present is admirably administered; but as an integral part of the Department of Civic Economy, profiting by the *local relations service* and co-operating with the other divisions of the department, it could be made measurably more effective than in its isolated position in the Treasury. With the exception of those living in the larger cities, our people are generally dependent upon State boards of health. Yet, who does not know the futility of expecting protection from a State board of health, with a paltry few thousand dollars at its command and thousands of square miles to cover? The heads of the best State health departments in the United States would be the first to acknowledge their handicaps. A federal health service would as now place the results of its research departments at the command of local officials, it would organize demonstration agencies, and it would educate the public to support adequate local health administrations.

Municipal health authorities have as a rule been better supported by public funds than State health boards, but inspections of persons, products, and animals are usually limited to the jurisdictions involved; and a tuberculous cow or infected milk may be excluded from one government unit into another!

Based on the present activities of the *Public Health Service*, the following divisions might be operated: (a) scientific research, (b) foreign and insular quarantine, (c) sanitary reports and statistics, (d) marine hospital and relief, (e) domestic quarantine, (f) public health nursing, (g) public health administration, (h) food inspection, and (i) recreation.

Public Education Service

A *Bureau of Education* we have had since 1869, but it has been impossible to maintain extensive research divisions or to carry on wide public education with the meager funds which have been voted for this purpose. This bureau, as the head of our public school system, should become one of the most important federal agencies for the inculcation of democratic ideals and training for American citizenship. The pitifully small groups of devoted workers for school attendance and child labor laws in our States did not need the draft in the great war to demonstrate that our national manpower was exerted at

low pressure because of insufficient and inadequate schools. A *Public Education Service* might develop divisions of (a) surveys and statistics, (b) higher education, (c) primary and secondary education, (d) school management, (e) community coöperation, (f) citizenship, (g) physical education, (h) vocational education, and (i) adult training.

Care of Dependents, Delinquents, and Defectives

A federal *Bureau of Social Service* is much needed. None exists. The care of the dependents, delinquents, and defectives varies widely in the different States. There is no service that needs more the wisdom that comes from research, the sympathy that comes from explanation, and the business methods which come from training. Without a dollar's expenditure in anything but service, a federal department could put States, counties and cities in the way of securing wise, humane, and efficient treatment of those not able to meet the normal responsibilities of civil life. In some of our States excellent examples have been set. In others we are still in the dark ages.

Community Planning and Housing

Turning to the physical environment, we very much need a federal *Community Planning and Housing Service*, which might have divisions of city planning, public utilities, and housing.

Long ago we established our capital city on the basis of a city plan. Though the plan was forgotten and neglected for many years, it is the plan of Major L'Enfant that saves Washington from being a commonplace city of the second class. Many of its houses are hideous in all reason, but they will pass. Its streets, its parks, its trees, its public buildings, the features due to the city plan, will make it possible for Washington to become the city of distinction which its importance in world affairs renders desirable.

In America we have before us the re-making of several hundred cities, we have the laying-out of new subdivisions, we have the small-town problem, and we might well organize a service for county seats, since we have three thousand of them. We have the planning of rural communities. Some cities and counties have thought it wise to organize shade tree commissions. Certainly a public park, tree, and garden service might be helpful to thousands of communities.

A *Division of Public Utilities* could render valuable service. It would be eminently undesirable to try to standardize systems of light, power, water, or drainage. It would be equally unwise to centralize their control. But certain minimum standards could be formulated from time to time below which communities would be ashamed to be found. Backward communities would be shown how to secure proper utilities. Progressive communities would be saved costly mistakes. There are the problems of light and power, water supply, drainage and sewage, refuse disposal, fire protection, treatment of public highways, telephones, local transportation, and, subject fruitful of controversies, contractual relations with local government units.

A permanent *Division of Housing* is much to be desired. There is at present a war emergency bureau of industrial housing. The housing problem, however, is not limited to war emergency nor bounded by industrial needs. It is a constant community problem.

Unsanitary housing is not confined to city slums. It is often a rural ailment. Housing is essentially a public concern and ought to be treated as such. This does not mean that individual rights and preferences should be suppressed. It does mean that the public good should be paramount. And one of the best ways to discover the public good is by means of a service which shall make consecutive studies and experiments in housing.

There is the whole field of planning economical and attractive homes, there is the field of planning public buildings, including schools, hospitals, libraries, police and fire stations, city and county administration buildings.

A division of building materials would prove most helpful. The testing and rating of different products for definite uses would save the public many disappointments. War construction has profited by such a service.

The management of subdivisions, groups of houses for sale or rent, and the organization of coöperative ownerships are subjects on which most of us need education. On the financial side, it has been fairly well established that a rental or instalment on sale should not exceed a certain proportion of the family income. On the other hand, rental should not exceed a certain proportion of the cost of the house. A nice adjustment of these two factors is necessary if the occupant is to make a safe investment.

With living standards is the home-
n. The Department of Agri-

culture has done much for the rural housekeeper. Entirely apart from the question of food, a Bureau of Housing might do much for the town and city housekeeper. As a matter of fact, it might render some service to rural home-makers in an entirely new field.

Over all the United States, in the larger communities, there is much divergence in building codes. In the small towns, building codes are usually conspicuous by their absence. A service on housing laws and building codes would save many unnecessary mistakes in local communities.

The Cost of Such a Department

The Department of Agriculture has an annual budget of some \$25,000,000. It labors to preserve the health of live-stock, to fight pests which prey on plants and animals, and in general to increase the prosperity of our rural population.

Shall we not be willing to spend as much on a department which would establish working relations between federal and local governments, which would contribute to the physical upbuilding of our cities and towns, and which would minister to human health, stimulate education to increase the efficiency of our citizens, and care for those unable to help themselves?

In the beginning so much would not be necessary. The technical divisions proposed could make a valuable contribution on an annual appropriation of some \$10,000,000, about a third of which is now expended in the Public Health Service and the Bureau of Education.

The local relations service could not be organized on a better plan than that established by the Smith-Lever bill which provided an initial expenditure of \$480,000, with annual additions of \$500,000 for a period of seven years, reaching a maximum of \$4,580,000—contingent on the payment of an equal sum by the State legislatures, or other State, county, college, local authorities or individual contributions within the State.

An initial appropriation of \$15,000,000 or thereabouts, with progressive increases for a period of years, would establish the service proposed for the Department of Civic Economy. On any conceivable basis the cost would be small in proportion to the returns bound to accrue in increased man and woman power during the trying years of readjustment to new international and industrial tasks set for us by world conditions.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

READERS of this REVIEW have been acquainted from month to month with the discussion of the League of Nations idea that has been steadily gaining intensity on both sides of the Atlantic. They are also familiar, through following the daily newspapers, with the ideals thus far enunciated by President Wilson and by the leaders of public opinion in Great Britain, France, and other European countries. The articles from which we shall make brief quotations on this and the following pages have to do less with the broad principles of international relationship than with the practical applications that are coming more and more under discussion, as the Peace Conference is assembling.

The views held by a large and growing section of American public opinion were clearly stated in an interview with President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, which first appeared in the *London Observer* of December 8th, last, and was reprinted in the December number of the *World Court* (New York).

Dr. Butler rejects at the outset that conception of the League of Nations which looks to the destruction of all the essential elements and characteristics of nationality, in order to bring about what he calls a "jelly-like internationalism without real nations." This, of course, is the Bolshevik conception. Over against this idea Dr. Butler sets the "crystal league," or true internationalism, in which each nation remains "self-conscious, self-determined, and ambitious in its own right and takes its place in a new international structure as an independent element—like a single crystal in an ordered group of crystals."

If this notion of a League of Nations were to be put into effect the League would become stronger, according as the nations composing it became severally stronger and more powerful. True internationalism, then, according to Dr. Butler, must be built on the union of strong and self-respecting nations,

while false internationalism would weaken or wholly destroy those nations that accept it.

Dr. Butler is not prepared, however, to go so far as those who urge that the example of the Constitution of the United States should be followed in organizing this league, that precise and definitive articles of government should be adopted, that an international legislature, executive, and judiciary, should be elected, and that the part of the nations in the new organization should be similar to that of the States in the United States.

He does not believe, in the first place, that the world's public opinion is ready to support so ambitious a program. And furthermore, if such a League of Nations should take the United States as its model, it would be lacking in unity of language, of tradition, and of legal system—three great advantages possessed by the United States, in spite of which our national history has not been free from serious difficulties. He decides that the true analogy between the United States and the League of Nations is found in the principle of federation, with legal and economic coöperation. American opinion, he says, is ready for this combination if it be guided by a policy of lofty patriotism, broad international service, and sincere democratic feeling.

What the American people are asking to-day is this: Given conditions as they now exist in the world, how shall we proceed to form an effective League of Nations? This question the head of the American government has not attempted to answer. The most practical procedure appears to be the following: the Allied Powers which have won the war have been for the purposes of war, and at the present moment are, a League of Nations. They have unified their international policies. They have put their armies and their navies under single commands; they have pooled all their resources in shipping, food, munitions, and credit. Let these nations, assembled by their representatives at Versailles, declare themselves to be a League of Nations organized for the precise purposes for which the war was fought, and with which their several people are entirely familiar, namely the definition and protection of standards of international

GETTING BOTH SIDES OF IT
(From the *Journal*, Sioux City)

obligations, and the right of the smaller and less numerous peoples to be free from attack or domination by their larger and more powerful neighbors.

As a beginning nothing more is needed. There is no necessity for an international constitution, no necessity for an elaborate international government machine, in order that the great enterprise may be launched. So far as these may be needed, they very well may come later.

The second step should be to invite those nations that have been neutral in the war to join the League on condition that they formally give adhesion to the three ends or purposes for which the League is organized.

The third step should be to invite the recently submerged and oppressed nationalities to present before the League their several cases for hearing and determination. When these have fully shown the basis of their geographical and political claims, and when the League of Nations has been satisfied as to the justice of these claims, then the petitioners should be invited to form their own government; and when they have done so, they should be admitted to the League of Nations as independent units.

British Support

Developing the idea of the utilization of what is already in existence as the nucleus of a League of Nations, the *London Times* of January 5th said in the course of a long and earnest editorial:

The foundations of a practical league of nations already exist, without speaking at the present writing of a league of nations in its political and military aspects. It is enough to say that relatively specialist bodies like the former Wheat Executive, now merged into inter-Allied Food Council, and like the inter-Allied Maritime Transport Board, should be preserved and extended to meet each pressing need as it arises or can clearly be foreseen.

Their functions cannot be entrusted to any single nation or individual. The mere task of rationing justly the food and raw materials of the

world during the next four or five years will be stupendous.

If it be not undertaken—nay, if it be not successfully accomplished—each allied nation will be compelled to look out for itself and scramble for its portion, probably an insufficient supply; but if matters like these are regulated in the same spirit of good-will and give and take as that which enabled the Allies so to coördinate their supplies and efforts as to win a mighty victory, then the habit of working together will grow and institution after institution will be evolved until the whole fabric of a working league of nations rises gradually into sight.

If any man imagines the British people are not deeply in earnest about this matter he gravely errs.

Colonel Roosevelt's Last Utterance on the Subject

Only three days before his death, ex-President Theodore Roosevelt dictated an article for the *Kansas City Star* in which he expressed with great clearness his views as to the practicability and limitations of a League of Nations. He said:

Mr. Taft has recently defined the purposes of the league and the limitations under which it would act, in a way that enables most of us to say we very heartily agree in principle with his theory, and can, without doubt, come to an agreement on specific details.

Would it not be well to begin with the league which we actually have in existence—the league of the Allies who have fought through this great war? Let us at the peace table see that real justice is done as among these Allies, and that while the sternest reparation is demanded from our foe for such horrors as those committed in Belgium, Northern France, Armenia, and the sinking of the *Lusitania*, nothing should be done in the spirit of mere vengeance.

Then let us agree to extend the privileges of the league as rapidly as their conduct warrants it to other nations, doubtless discriminating between those who would have a guiding part in the league and the weak nations who should be entitled to the privileges of membership, but who would not be entitled to a guiding voice in the councils. Let each nation reserve to itself and for its own decision, and let it clearly set forth, questions which are nonjusticiable. Let nothing be done that will interfere with our preparing for our own defense by introducing a system of universal obligatory military training, modeled on the Swiss plan.

Finally, make it perfectly clear that we do not intend to take a position of an international Meddlesome Matty. The American people do not wish to go into an overseas war unless for a very great cause and where the issue is absolutely plain. Therefore, we do not wish to undertake the responsibility of sending our gallant young men to die in obscure fights in the Balkans or in Central Europe, or in a war we do not approve of.

Moreover, the American people do not intend to give up the Monroe Doctrine. Let civilized Europe and Asia introduce some kind of police

system in the weak and disorderly countries at their thresholds. But let the United States treat Mexico as our Balkan Peninsula and refuse to allow European or Asiatic powers to interfere on this continent in any way that implies permanent or semi-permanent possession. Every one of our Allies will with delight grant this request if President Wilson chooses to make it, and it will be a great misfortune if it is not made.

I believe that such an effort, made moderately and sanely but sincerely and with utter scorn for words that are not made good by deeds, will be productive of real and lasting international good.

The Viewpoint of H. G. Wells

Among British utterances on the subject one of the most frank and unreserved is that of Mr. H. G. Wells in the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia) for November 23, last. He declares that what most sensible people desire is either a strong League of Nations or no League of Nations at all.

If the beast of modern war is to be chained it must have a chain to hold it and not a pack-thread. The whole drift of recent discussion of the League of Nations lies in the direction of estimating what weight of chain is absolutely necessary, and what we must do to get that chain.

For most of those who have recently come into the movement, it is not a question of whether we will have a world league or not, but what price in change, effort and independence we shall have to pay for it. A restoration of the crazy political world order of 1914, of a patchwork of absolutely independent sovereign empires, competitive, disingenuous and suspicious—and so compelled to be armed to the teeth, uncontrolled by any general understanding—is, in view of the steady development of the means of destruction, the one prospect we cannot endure.

Mr. Wells reasons that if the League of Nations is to be a reality, it must have sufficient power to inquire into, restrain, and suppress armaments on land and sea. Such a world control of armaments implies some sort of pooling of the naval, military, and air forces of the world under some sort of world council in which the states of the world will be represented according to their strength and will. This, Mr. Wells admits, is going beyond a league. It is an approach to world federation. A world control of militarism will lead to a world control of shipping and of the distribution of staples, if not to a general control of international trade. To confirm this proposition, Mr. Wells refers to the experience of the Allies in the war. Mr. Wells closes his article on an optimistic note:

From being a proposed addendum to human life, in the form of a court of jurists, the League of Nations has now become the outline of a broad and hopeful scheme for the reconstruction

LAYING THE KEYSTONE OF THE ARCH (From the Central Press Association, Cleveland)

of international relationships upon a sound and enduring basis. It is a new world policy. It is a scheme that may inaugurate a new and happier phase in the troubled history of mankind. But at every step it demands sacrifices of prepossessions.

There is no good in clinging to ideals of a world of unrestricted free trade and *laissez faire* if the world controls of the league of nations are to come into existence; it is equally unreasonable to dream of schemes of a self-contained British Empire, taxing the foreigner and economically hostile to all foreigners, including those of France, Italy and the United States.

We must cease to think imperially as we have had to cease thinking parochially; and we must think now in terms of the peace of the world. The League of Nations points straight to a pooling of empires, and it is no good blinking the fact. And, since it cannot operate in an atmosphere tainted by suspicion, the League of Nations demands for its effective operation a change in our diplomatic methods.

The world has become too multitudinous for secret understandings. In this swarming world of half-taught crowds, with its imminent danger from class hostility and distrust, governments must say plainly what they mean and stand by their declarations unambiguously.

It may at times be difficult and tedious to inform a whole population upon the values of some international situation, but the danger of misconception and spasmodic crowd action outweighs the desire of the expert for uncriticized freedom. There must be an end to secret diplomacy. Nations must understand their responsibilities.

The welfare of the world requires that the very children in the schools should be taught the broad outlines of the treaties that bind their nations into the mosaic of the world's peace. They have to grow up understanding and consenting, if

only on account of the grim alternative the precedent of Russia suggests.

Questions by an Expert

In his article on "The Entente of Free Nations," contributed to the *North American Review* for January, Dr. David Jayne Hill, our former Ambassador to Germany and a diplomat of long and varied experience, purposely refrains from the discussion of any special plan, but directs attention to the course of procedure most likely to secure the ends which are in the minds of all who hold convictions upon the subject. Dr. Hill puts the question to Americans, What legal forms are to be accepted by us in the great process of creating an international government which in important matters will supersede our own? For that is what is implied in the League of Nations? He says:

I shall not attempt to enter here upon any analysis of the various ingenious drafts of an international constitution, as the fundamental law regulating the legislative, judicial, and executive powers of such an international government—a government which, within its sphere, will control the governments of the nations that subscribe to it. One thing, however, is plain, that to possess any efficiency these powers must detract in important ways and in large degree from the powers of the national governments and involve a considerable sacrifice of their sovereignty. It is true, on the one hand, that sovereignty in what are called the "democracies" has been gradually transferred from a personal absolute monarch to the people, or to some portion of them; and it is also true, on the other hand, that the conception of sovereignty in constitutional States has been to some degree modified by the recognized limitation of the irresponsible use of force and the addition of ethical elements in its exercise. In brief, no people can rightly claim to possess rights in proportion to their power, and sovereignty cannot, in a juristic sense, be longer regarded as strictly absolute. In every state founded upon the rights of persons, which is the basis claimed by democracy, the rights of the whole people cannot exceed what is necessary to the maintenance of the right of each.

Japan's Attitude

The League of Nations is discussed from a Japanese viewpoint by Dr. T. Iyenaga in the *Outlook* (New York) for January 15. This writer is convinced that the principles of the proposed covenant among the nations would be fully acceptable to Japan, because they would guarantee the most essential of her national aspirations—territorial integrity and sphere of influence, a fair opportunity for economic growth, and an enduring peace.

Dr. Iyenaga has no fear that the proposed League of Nations would militate in any

way against Japan's leadership in the Far East, but he does see in the institution of such a league a great stimulus to America's interest in her relations with Japan which would result in the disappearance of any lurking spirit of race discrimination.

Senator Lodge Sees Obstacles

In a speech delivered in the United States Senate on December 21, last, the Hon. Henry Cabot Lodge outlined some of the difficulties that will have to be met in providing the framework of such an organization. These are a few of the questions that he put to the advocates of a League of Nations:

What nations are to be members of the league? Is Germany to be one of the members? If so, when? How are these nations thus joined in a league to vote in determining the operations of the league? Theoretically, in international law every independent sovereign nation is the equal of any other nation. Are the small nations to have an equal vote with the great nations in the league, a vote equal to that of the United States or England or France? I saw that there occurred in New York a few days ago a meeting of representatives, so called, of some small nations who demanded this equality of voting power. If this were agreed to, the small nations could determine the action of the league, and if the league had an international force behind it they could order that force where they pleased and put it under any command they pleased, which might give rise to complications.

If nations are to vote in the league on a democratic basis, then their voting power must be determined by population. Here, too, some curious possibilities arise, not without a certain intricacy. The population of China is, roughly, four times that of the United States, and this system would give China four times the vote of the United States in the league. If England is to have the right to cast the vote of her possessions, India alone would give her from three to four times as many votes as the United States and ten times the vote of France.

All the plans which have been put forward tentatively for a League of Nations, so far as I know, involve the creation of a court. We must remember that we have carried voluntary arbitration as far as it can practically go. Assuming that there is a distinction between justiciable and non-justiciable questions, who is to decide whether a question is justiciable or not? Is it to be done by the league, voting in some manner hitherto undefined, or is each nation to decide for itself whether a question affecting its own interest is or is not justiciable?

Let me give an example to make my meaning clearer. We have recently purchased the Virgin Islands. Suppose that that purchase had not been effected, and that Denmark undertook to sell those islands to Germany or some other great power. Is that a justiciable question? If it is and it went before a court there can be no doubt that any court would be obliged to hold that

Denmark had the right to sell those islands to whom she pleased. In the past the United States would never have permitted those islands to pass out of Denmark's hands into any other hands, because we consider their possession of vital importance to our safety and to the protection of the Panama routes.

The same will be true in regard to Magdalena Bay—a case in which the Senate passed a resolution, with unanimity, I think, stating that on the plain doctrine of self-preservation we could not allow Magdalena Bay, or any other similar position of advantage, to be turned into a naval base or military post by another power. Would that be justiciable? And if not justiciable, then is the League of Nations to compel, nevertheless, its submission?

Let us be honest with ourselves. It is easy to talk about a League of Nations, and the beauty and the necessity of peace, but the hard, practical demand is: Are you ready to put your soldiers and your sailors at the disposition of other nations? If you are not, there will be no power of enforcing the decrees of the international court or the international legislature or the international executive, or whatever may be established.

Honest British Doubts

The spirit of British dissent from a League of Nations program finds expression in an article contributed to the *Fortnightly Review* for September last by J. B. Firth, a member of the editorial staff of the London *Daily Telegraph*. This writer asks:

What is the real, permanent, instinctive feeling of insular Britons towards Alliances and Leagues? When the danger from which we have escaped is but an evil memory, when the peril ahead seems faint and distant, when the enemy is fawning and protesting and "Kamerading," and insidiously getting back to his foothold, what will be the instinct of the average Briton? If someone astutely revives the once popular cry of "Splendid Isolation," will not his heart leap up at the sound? If there is any prospect of war and British interests are not directly and vitally concerned, and if the League of Nations desires the British Government not merely to use the British Fleet—that very likely would not be unpopular—but to dispatch a military expedition on a large scale involving conscription, what then? Who would be the first to protest if not the Socialists and Radicals who are now so hot and strong for the League? These surely are fair questions. Great Britain, naturally, has always been the most insularly minded Power in Europe. She has from time to time been the backbone of Continental alliances, but always when the direct danger to her has blown over she has relapsed to her ancient insular mood. This has often been made a ground of reproach to her; it has been said that she is a bad European. The Liberal tradition especially has almost always been a non-European tradition. Is the country now ripe for a permanent change? He is bold, indeed, who would say so. We shall be told, of course, that the new internationalism will make all the difference and that a new era is to begin after the war which will continue

even when the miseries of the present time begin to be forgotten. They are happy who believe it; they will be foolish who trust in it.

A French Statement of Requirements

The League of Nations is philosophically and interestingly discussed in a recent issue of the *Revue de Paris*, by Bernard Lavergne. He points out the requirements that are essential to constitute a nation, the most elementary being its capacity for self-government—that is, to perform the four essential functions: maintenance of public order, legislation, government exploitation of the natural resources of the country, creation of public works.

It is very desirable, therefore, that the states that may be formed to-morrow should possess a living strength greater than that of the smallest European states, such as Portugal, Greece, Norway, Denmark. The future is not for small political units. It is contradictory, indeed absurd, to claim, as an abstract principle, national autonomy for all peoples, even those incapable of self-government. The nations are not alike, nor even comparable to one another.

After a lengthy analysis of conditions essential to a League of Nations the writer proceeds:

Under penalty of complete failure, the League of Nations cannot embrace all the existing states of the earth. But if we ask ourselves which states ought to be excluded difficulties arise, which, without some such study as the above, remain insoluble. With such an analysis, on the contrary, the whole problem is made clear. It becomes evident that those states alone that have reached the highest degree of autonomy may claim to form a part of the League of Nations. But it is not sufficient to exclude the states with a precarious or low degree of independence—states colonizable or colonized.

The component nations must not only uphold the principle of nationalities but must have applied it precedently on their own soil. The laborer is known by his work. How can a nation claim the right to enter the league while its territory contains alien populations demanding their liberation? . . . The knotty points of the principle of nationalities ought to be settled before, and not after, the formation of the league. No question, evidently, is as grave as the determination of the boundaries between competing nations. If, unfortunately, the problem should be left antecedently unsolved, it would, by the nature of the case, provoke acutest differences, nay, even internal war, among the members of the league.

Finally, another requisite must be stated. The states effectively autonomous, such as we have defined them, belong to two distinct types, according as the governing body is composed of the élite or of the body of the people: aristocratic states on the one hand, democratic on the other.

THE FREEDOM OF THE SEAS

BY way of suggesting to England a compromise arrangement representing a considerable concession to the principle of the freedom of the seas, Professor Edward S. Corwin, of Princeton, writing in the *North American Review*, proposes the following as a possible plan of action:

First, a great limitation of building programs. Secondly, a general curtailment of existing armaments on a scale sufficient to leave the British Empire secure—a matter of which Great Britain herself would have to be the judge. Thirdly, a radical remodeling of the rules of practice with reference to contraband, involving the outright abolition of the right of destruction and the substitution (worked out by Great Britain in the present war) of preemption for confiscation. Fourthly, the abolition of the belligerent right of blockade. Fifthly, the retention of the belligerent right of capture of enemy's commerce as defined by the Declaration of Paris.

The advantages of such an arrangement are fairly apparent. Great Britain would lose her right of blockade, it is true, but as has been already indicated she could probably never again hope to distend this right as she has done in the present war. On the other hand, because she is an island, she must always remain most vulnerable to the exercise of blockade by an enemy. Again, the appeal which the suggested compromise would make to neutral interests would guarantee its observance in any ordinary war, in which a limited number of belligerents would be bidding for neutral favor. For while the su-

perior naval Power could speedily expel its enemy's shipping from the sea, the gap would be soon filled by neutral shipping; and by the same sign the control which superior naval strength exerts to-day even in peace time over a rival's commerce would be appreciably diminished. There is one point at which the arrangement just outlined might be improved from the point of view both of the British and the neutral interest, and that would be by adopting the British suggestion at the Second Hague Conference to throw overboard the whole doctrine of contraband. This, however, is a suggestion to which our own Government would be most likely to file a *non possumus*. Not to give the thing too fine a point, we have always to remember that to the southward we have a dangerous and treacherous neighbor. Should we become involved in war with Mexico, we should hardly relish the prospect of having to stand by and see other countries stock our enemy with munitions.

Professor Corwin directs attention to the obvious difference between President Wilson's picture of a League of Nations and the British view. The one looks forward to "a community of power" which should begin to function as soon as peace is made. The other assumes that for some years to come, at least, international affairs will be subject to the Allied nations. Professor Corwin himself believes that it will be many years "before the suggestion of a real internationalization of the seas can seem other than chimerical. Meantime, however, there can be a measure of disarmament at sea—provided, of course, there is also an equivalent disarmament on land; and further a recasting of the rules of naval warfare, and these three points sum up what is to-day demanded in the name of freedom of the seas."

America's Merchant Marine

Mr. Bernard M. Baker writes in the *Atlantic* for January on "Freedom of the Seas and our Merchant Marine." At the outset Mr. Baker gives his own definition of freedom of the seas, which is quite independent of those put forth by the international law experts. Freedom of the seas, according to Mr. Baker, means "the control of a merchant marine by the Allied nations of the world, in such wise as not to cripple the operation of the merchant marine of any single nation."

In the formation of a maritime League of Nations Mr. Baker believes that the United States should take the lead. The initial step, he thinks, should be taken by the President, who should issue an invitation to all

NO MUZZLE FOR HIM

(The guardian of his life, property and the freedom of the seas for the world)

From the *Daily Star* (Montreal)

the maritime powers of the world to send their representatives to an international conference for the purpose of "concerted action to insure the literal freedom of the seas—by force if necessary—and of establishing such a court of arbitration of foreign transportation interests as would be just and fair between all countries."

One of the most important obligations falling upon such a court would be the division of tonnage upon a fair and equitable basis, each nation to share according to its need and condition.

To accomplish this, the United States might have to give up some of its cherished ideals. We could not expect to secure and hold all the business of the maritime world. We should be called upon to remember, as other nations would be called upon to remember, that the life of all is bound up irrevocably in the life of each; and, strange as the suggestion sounds with the roar

of battle still echoing in our ears, we and the other participating countries would be reminded that the Golden Rule may still be applied as a sound business principle.

It must be remembered that reciprocity is still the life of trade. There must be no "dead bottoms." If England has need of the products of Argentina and the United States has not, and if England has as good facilities for exporting to Argentina the things that Argentina requires, then England must be allotted her share, or more, of the Argentine trade, that her bottoms may be filled both ways. Otherwise the United States sends her exports to Argentina, and her ships return empty, because she has no need for the Argentine exports; and Argentina is soon "milked dry."

It should be the duty of the Maritime League of Nations to discuss such complications as arise, to equalize exports, imports, and transports; to direct the placing of ships where they may accomplish the greatest results; to standardize operation, speed, and general conditions existing in the different countries forming the League.

TRIBUTES TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT

ELSEWHERE in this number of the REVIEW the reader will find specially contributed articles on Colonel Roosevelt from the pens of Major George Haven Putnam, Mr. V. Stefansson, and the editor of this magazine, together with reprints of a most interesting letter, addressed to this REVIEW by President Roosevelt on the one hundredth anniversary of Lincoln's birth and a pen-picture of Roosevelt as a Presidential candidate, written and published during the campaign of 1904.

Immediately after Colonel Roosevelt's death at Oyster Bay on January 6, countless tributes to his character and career appeared in the daily and weekly press of two continents. From these we have selected for reproduction a few that seemed, for one or another reason, especially significant. The *London Daily Telegraph*, a representative journal, said on January 7:

In Theodore Roosevelt the world loses one of its elemental figures, one of those men who not more than twice or thrice in a generation strike the imagination of mankind as personifying in a supreme degree some human force or quality that is at work in the history of time. Just as William II made himself the embodiment in all contemporary minds of the aggressive ambition, the restlessness, the troubled egotism, the boastful militarism, the blind self-admiration of Modern Germany, Roosevelt represented to them the volcanic energy, the democratic spirit, the unclouded self-confidence, the fresh enthusiasm of the great people which came to its full stature during the years of his political ascendancy.

British appreciation of Roosevelt's stature as a world figure was further emphasized in the following editorial paragraphs appearing in the *Morning Post* (London):

Roosevelt's tribute to the results of British governance abroad was as generous as it was welcome; nor are we in this country likely to forget that he, first among the leaders of public opinion in America, recognized the justice of the allied cause in this war and sought to enlist in that cause for which he gave a son—the active support of the American Republic. Assuredly it may be said of him that he has left his mark upon his time, and that, as a representative of a great movement or tendency, his influence is destined to survive him.

In large measure, he did for the United States what Joseph Chamberlain did for the British Empire. In his personality he embodied a development of the national consciousness, a development which, whatever happens, can never be extinguished. It is not every voice that carries across the Atlantic, but Roosevelt's undoubtedly did. It was listened to almost as attentively in Europe as in America, and its familiar downright accents will be missed. The world can ill spare any of its truly big men just now, and even the strongest opponents of Roosevelt's policies will readily admit that Theodore Roosevelt was a big man.

On the part of the American press, partisan distinctions were for the time being forgotten in the general expressions of grief during the days following Colonel Roosevelt's death. In the *Outlook* (New York) the venerable Dr. Lyman Abbott, who had been intimately associated with Colonel Roosevelt for several years, declared that no man in

the history of America, not even Abraham Lincoln, did so much as Theodore Roosevelt to expedite the era of self-government:

The appeal of Mr. Roosevelt to the American people for justice, equal rights, and a fair opportunity for all gives symmetry and cohesion to his varied administrations as Civil Service Commissioner, Police Commissioner, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Army, Governor of New York, and President of the United States. It made him as bitter enemies in influential quarters as any public man in American politics has ever known; but it also made him the most widely admired and best-loved American of his time.

And it did more. It went far toward converting American politics from a trade to a profession; it inspired his colleagues and his party associates; it summoned into political activity followers in both parties and in all sections of the country. Men had thought of politics as a traffic which no man could enter without dishonor. His life proved to them that the highest success is possible to honor, courage, and purity if mated to ability. It raised the ideals and the standards of public life for the entire American people. Its influence in creating the genuine and self-sacrificing patriotism which called the Nation into this world war with a voice which love of ease and dread of war could not resist cannot be estimated. And it has done more than any other one influence, if not more than all other influences combined, to inspire the citizens of this country with a real faith in the intelligence and virtue of their fellow-men, and so in the practicability of that self-government which is the foundation of a true democracy because of a true brotherhood of man.

Probably most Americans would assent to the general fairness of the estimate given by the *New Republic* (New York):

Theodore Roosevelt's death removes the one powerful personal influence in American politics, except, of course, that of President Wilson. His distinguishing quality among the Americans of his own generation was an abounding energy which required for its satisfaction both great variety and exuberant vigor of expression. He was almost alone among his contemporaries in the extraordinary diversity of his interests. He was at once a man of letters, an insatiable reader, a brilliant talker, a naturalist, a sportsman and a political leader. He found time to pursue all these activities with so much success that they effectively contributed to the vivid impression made by his personality. But exceptional as was the variety of his activities, the sheer vigor which he imparted to them was still more exceptional.

Whatever he did, and no matter whether he was the head of the Government or the head of the opposition, he always set the pace. It was his joy and his pride to work harder, to play harder, to fight harder than any associate or any competitor. In fact, his energy was so strenuous that it seemed to him wasted unless it expended itself in overcoming a stiff resistance. Only in combat did he reach the summit of his personal expression. When asked before an election to express

some opinion as to its probable results, he always answered: "I am a warrior and not a prophet." He was a warrior on behalf of what he believed to be and usually were morally decisive causes. The most poignant tragedy of his life was that he was unable to fight sword in hand in the war which raised one of the clearest and greatest moral issues in history.

It was as a warrior on behalf of moral causes that he made his most substantial contribution to American history. Associated from the beginning with the reforming activities of his own contemporaries, he was the first of our political leaders who dared to remain a reformer after he reached the White House. In fact, he nationalized the American reform movement and by nationalizing transfigured it. He divined that American national fulfillment had come to depend not on the preservation of institutions but on the cure of abuses, not on conservatism but on progress.

The *Bellman* (Minneapolis) spoke for the people of the Middle West, where Colonel Roosevelt's figure was almost as familiar as on the streets of New York:

His leadership, although not always followed by the majority of his countrymen, was universally regarded as a healthful and invigorating influence in the national existence, and there is absolutely no one remaining in public life who can take the place he occupied in the hearts of the people.

No matter what Colonel Roosevelt said or did in his impetuous, outspoken, belligerent way, and however his expressed opinions might fail of general acceptance, there was that quality in his character which made him strong in the affections of his fellow-citizens, and to the end he held a unique and wholly exceptional position in this respect. His distinguished and remarkable career, his manliness, his force and courage, the great versatility of his accomplishments, his quick, eager, restless temperament, his lust of achievement and the ability which he displayed in all that he undertook, these and the manifold other traits which were exhibited in his complex nature, all served to make him a popular hero, of whom the American people were both fond and proud, however they might differ from him in certain of his expressed convictions.

Tributes from Individuals

Former President Taft telegraphed to Mrs. Roosevelt:

The country can ill afford in this critical period of history to lose one who has done and could in the next decade have done, so much for it and humanity. We have lost a great patriotic American, a great world figure, the most commanding personality in our public life since Lincoln. I mourn his going as a personal loss.

One of the most interesting of the personal tributes was that paid by President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University:

My own association with Mr. Roosevelt goes back to the earliest days of his public activity

© Paul Thompson

THE BURIAL OF COLONEL ROOSEVELT AT OYSTER BAY

(The funeral of the former President was of the simplest character. After brief services at the home and at the village church, the body was borne to the burial place which Colonel Roosevelt had himself selected. The little cemetery is situated on a hill commanding a fine view of Long Island Sound and of Sagamore Hill, the Roosevelt residence. In the picture Capt. Archibald Roosevelt and other members of the family are in the left foreground)

here in New York, and it was my lot at many times during his public career, particularly while he was Governor and President, to be intimately associated with his work and policies. When the full story of his public activity comes to be written it will read like a romance, for, long as Mr. Roosevelt had been before the public, there were many of his striking characteristics of which the public knew little or nothing. There has rarely been in modern life a more many-sided personality or more omnivorous reader both of books and of men. What I think of most to-day, however, is the fact that this busy, active, many-sided life is ended at the early age of sixty years and just at a time when the uncompromising and fearless Americanism for which Mr. Roosevelt stood is most needed in dealing with the national and international problems that multiply in front of us. There is an American solution of our national problems, and an un-American solution of them; there is an American treatment of our international responsibilities and opportunities, and an un-American treatment of them. No one can doubt where the great influence of Mr. Roosevelt would have been exerted as to either could he have lived through the three or four critical years upon which we have just now entered.

The testimony of Dr. Henry Fairfield Osborn, the paleontologist, confirmed in a striking way the judgment expressed in this number of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* by Mr. Stefansson, the Arctic explorer. Dr. Osborn said in a newspaper statement:

Colonel Roosevelt was one of my dearest friends. I had known him since he was a boy. In addition to that, his death is a great professional loss, much more than the world may realize at once, because his political career so overshadowed all other phases of his activity. Nat-

ural history was really his great gift. It was his first love as a boy, and he turned to it again in his late years. It was as well his favorite diversion. The story is told of how he and Sir Edward Grey stood once in a forest in England when they were supposed to be discussing world politics. Instead they were exchanging stories about the songs of birds. While he was in the White House he always welcomed such men as John Burroughs and other naturalists, big game hunters, and others who loved the out of doors. A feature that made his work in Africa and South America so successful was his marvelous memory, which was absolutely encyclopedic. During his last few months in the White House, and in the few he spent in Oyster Bay, in preparation for the African journey, I sent him the Natural History Museum's whole library on Africa—a very complete collection—and he absorbed the whole thing, reading many books a week. As a result, when he got there he knew the whole natural history of the country, and his work was a most important contribution to science.

Said R. J. Cunninghame, the famous African hunter, who was in charge of Colonel Roosevelt's expedition to East Africa, to a *New York Times* correspondent:

You can't be for a year in the wilds of Africa with a man without getting to understand him thoroughly. I have taken many well-known people on hunting trips, but I have never found any other so easy to get along with, and I have never known any other man who, by his character, made every man in his service as anxious to do the best possible for him.

He obeyed my orders implicitly. He might question them afterward but never at the time. Sometimes he did not understand them, but he was always prompt in observing them.

PROGRESS IN BUILDING CONCRETE SHIPS

THE début of the ocean-going concrete ship was reported in the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* for January, 1918, pp. 83-84. Since that time the exigencies of the war have stimulated the production of these novel craft, and in this country their development has been in the hands of a special Concrete Ship Section of the Emergency Fleet Corporation. "When the armistice was signed," says the *Engineering News-Record* (New York), in an editorial review of this subject, "the Government itself had over a hundred ships and barges under contract, one American vessel had finished a 12,000-mile voyage ending at New York, and millions of dollars had been put into yards where vessels from 7500-ton ocean-going tankers down to 500-ton canal barges were being built."

The same article gives an instructive account of the progress that has been made in designing and building concrete ships and discusses the still unsettled question of ability of such vessels to compete commercially with wooden and steel vessels of common construction.

Ship lines in the early ships, particularly in the *Faith*, were very crude. The opposite extreme was reached in the first Government ship, the *Atlantis*, launched last month at Brunswick, Ga., which takes on the appearance of a yacht and which was difficult to build. Between the two extremes lie the latest Government ships which have sufficient curving of the lines to present a good appearance, but which are not particularly complicated in form.

It is in construction of the concrete ship that most has been learned. It can be definitely said, for instance, that the claim of the violent advocates of a year ago, that no skilled workmen would be required on a concrete ship and therefore it could readily be built anywhere with little difficulty, is not true. No one who has gone through the first few months of building one of the large concrete ships will deny that the work requires the highest type of skill, and that even the training gained on reinforced-concrete buildings is inadequate—because, primarily, of the greater accuracy required in placing the steel and forms and of the greater congestion of the steel in the forms. A concrete ship does not require as many kinds of skilled labor as does the

steel ship, but the labor that it does require must be of the highest type.

Several technical problems have been solved during the year. A notable innovation is the process of mechanical hammering, for placing the concrete in the forms. This is done by means of the air or electric hammer, introduced by the Concrete Ship Section, which, it is said, "performs almost in-

THE CONCRETE SHIP "FAITH"

credible feats in leading the concrete into the corners of the forms." A new mixture has also been introduced, so light that the concrete thus produced gives a ratio of carrying-capacity to dead-weight only slightly below that of the steel ship—so close, in fact, as to bring the two types into competition.

So far as performance of the concrete ship is concerned, our whole dependence is on the freighter *Faith*, which was dry-docked in New York in November after a voyage down the Pacific to South America, up to New Orleans, thence to Havana, and up to New York. Barring the rather serious cracks in the deck where a winch was seated in a place not intended for it, the ship, to all outward appearances, is intact. All rumors to the contrary notwithstanding, her hull is free from anything but minor hair cracks, and the outside surface, which has been subjected to sea-water action for nine months, is in as smooth and unpitted a condition as any concrete in the dry air of the interior of a building.

Concrete shipbuilders are learning their trade in the hardest of schools. They cannot produce

as efficiently or as cheaply now as they will after their first few units are turned out. It is going to take the backing of the Government or of courageous spirits such as those who financed the *Faith* to continue the big concrete ship as a commercial proposition, but the future is bright

for any such venture. For the small barge, carfloat or lighter, on the other hand, the field seems more immediately open. A number of contractors have learned to build such boats, and their experience should be worth much in reducing costs to a competitive basis.

THE RECENT RISE IN SILVER

AN economic question of growing importance, namely, the recent great rise in silver, is the subject of an article by the eminent French sociologist, M. Raphael-Georges Lévy, in a late issue of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*.

Silver, fifteen and a half parts of which, by our French law of 1803, had a value corresponding to that of one part of gold, and the quotation of which had in 1902 fallen so low that it took 42 grams of silver to purchase one gram of gold—this pariah white metal has risen again! When the war began, a gram of white metal was worth only about 8 centimes; it rose in 1915 to 10, in 1916 to 15 centimes, and in October, 1918, was worth about 17 centimes. That is, it is approaching the price of 20 centimes assigned to it by the law of 1803, which authorized the free coinage of gold and silver.

Silver has remounted to a market price it has not known since 1875. It has looked for a while as if it might regain the price it had just previous to 1870, that is to say, parity with gold in the celebrated ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1. There suddenly rises before us the memory of the hot monetary controversies which filled the last quarter of the nineteenth century, agitated Europe and America, and formed the principal issue in two Presidential campaigns in the United States; which controversies we thought engulfed forever in a past which very few of us expected to see revived! The most fervid partisans of the white metal (or rather of bimetallism) never in their most ambitious dreams imagined so triumphant a return to fortune for their favorite. . . . Certain prophets maintained that it is not impossible that the parity between gold and silver—that is, the ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1—may be left far behind and that in the near future the price of a kilogram of silver may rise to levels at which not $15\frac{1}{2}$, but 15, 14, or even 12 grams of silver will constitute the price of one gram of gold.

The rise in silver was not really accelerated until 1916. . . . During the last months of 1914, and in 1915, the price did not exceed 27 pence; but in the middle of 1917 a rapid rise became evident, which for a short while carried the ounce to 55 pence. At present. . . it stands at about 49, a new level about two-thirds of that before the war.

This rise entailed a phenomenon evident in many quarters. . . . The governments have wanted to intervene and assure themselves as far as possible a monopoly in silver. There is now talk of *purpuraries* between Washington and Great Britain for the purpose of procuring for the lat-

ter country the white metal she needs in Europe but more especially in India. All the American production of this metal may be requisitioned at about a dollar an ounce.

Normally there is of course a relative saturation of most countries by silver money. But the war has changed this.

Among most of the belligerents the nominal value of silver moneys existed *de facto* or *de jure*; gold was retained in the banks of issue, which have multiplied their paper currency; free commerce in gold has been suspended, and its exportation forbidden. Silver coins and those of baser metal remain the only metallic money in circulation. The public has seized on these, less to use them as instruments of payment than to lay them by. This hoarding applied not only to the moneys that have kept their full legal-tender value; but also to the small change with which according to law the debtor cannot discharge any but small debts. Two-franc and one-franc and 50-centime pieces disappear from our circulation as soon as they are turned into it. However, the government persists in coining considerable quantities of them. . . .

The Bank of France has congratulated itself every time a diminution has been observed in its silver store. We recoined our silver pieces into small change and expedited it into our African possessions.

Especially in Europe, newly coined silver money was rapidly withdrawn from circulation by the public, which during the war has also hoarded paper money on a large scale. But the French Treasury can only lose by the continued coinage of silver, the expense of which increases with the rise in the price of the metal.

Furthermore, if the Treasury wished some day to demonetize a part of its stock of silver, it would have no guarantee that the metal would return at the purchase price—which might inflict considerable loss upon the Treasury.

. . . We see no benefit accruing from such operations, but on the contrary a very probable loss. Now the war is over, our circulation will be saturated by pieces of silver money which will burst forth in great floods from their hiding places and arouse disquietude similar to that of a quarter-century ago, when there was an excessive quantity of silver in the vaults of the Treasury and in public circulation.

The partisans of the continued coinage of silver

allege that it is good not to remain under a paper-money régime, but to keep in the public's hands an appreciable quantity of metallic money. We reply that this quantity does exist, but that the larger part of it is in hiding; it is consequently useless to try to fill voids that as often empty themselves. . . .

If there is need of increasing the quantity of metal in circulation, that metal should be gold and not silver. On the threshold of peace the great nations of the world will not depart from the long-accustomed monometallic standard.

But the matter is complicated by the intervention of the governments, which from the very outbreak of the war put embargoes on the yellow metal, forbade the disposal by banks of their gold reserves, put a stop to commerce in gold, and every way sought to hold and increase their own stores of gold. This they did to insure the necessary issue of large quantities of paper money.

The present destinies of the precious metals, which the war has influenced in opposite ways,

are strange to consider. Silver being free practically nowhere, is subject to the same laws as ordinary merchandise, and to the shiftings of supply and demand. The need for small change having augmented since 1914, we have witnessed a rise in silver doubling its former price. Certain governments have tried to tax it as they taxed other products; but by this time the rise had fairly established itself. As for gold—the money metal *par excellence*, the legal center of all the gamut of values attributable to human possessions—it continues to serve as the standard in the world's principal monetary unions: although the intervention of governments has obstructed the gold market. The producers are no longer able to make the sale price equal to production cost, and humanity is likely to suffer indefinitely an inability to exploit a metal which it needs, just because it will not pay beyond a self-imposed price for it.

The situation appears bizarre but is in reality profoundly logical, and a great lesson may be learned from it, which is, that the governments of the world ought by all possible means to put a stop to the present paper inflation to which, under the pressure of necessity, they have been applying themselves.

WASHINGTON'S SWEDISH ANCESTRY

ON December 11, 1782, the Societas Scandinaviensis gave a farewell dinner in Philadelphia to the Swede, Count von Fersen, who later on conducted the unfortunate flight of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, ending in their arrest at Varennes, and to the Swedo-Finn, Count von Sprengtporten. Both these men had performed valuable military services in the Revolution and had already received from Washington himself the order of the Cincinnati for their valor. At this dinner Washington acknowledged his pleasure at being present among people of the blood of his forefathers.

According to *Sweden-America*, the organ of the Swedish Chamber of Commerce here, genealogists claim descent for Washington from a family which left Scania, Sweden, at the time of the Norse migrations to Britain. They were the Wassings, founders of a community in Durham County, England, whose name passed through the variations of Wassington, Wessyngton, Wissington, Weissington, Wuestington, Whessington, Wasengtone, and Wassington, to become finally the cognomen Washington.

That Swedes should lay claim to Washington may surprise most Americans; however, the Scanians, in this country at least, celebrate the birthday of Washington as that

of a blood-brother—a prerogative to which they no doubt are well entitled in the light of the proverbially truthful Washington's own asseveration of his Swedish origin.

Swedish admiration for America and American statesmen has been second only to the French.

Swedish literature contains many poems on American themes, not a few on the heroic figures of Washington and Lincoln. The best known Swedish verses on Washington were written by Archbishop J. O. Wallin (1779-1839). In these he bids the Swede drink a cup of kindness to the memory of the then recently deceased Father of his Country, and continues:

Where high in honor's Pantheon
Thine own Gustavus Vasa dwelleth,
There sets he his great Washington;
With equal pride each bosom swelleth.

Commenting at length on the venerable Washington's rôle in America's successful war for freedom, he concludes:

Our thoughts go pilgrims to his tomb,
The hero's grave wherein he lieth;
No fragrance there from fragile bloom
Distils, nor weeping willow sigheth;
There hovers zeal for law and state,
And liberal humanity,
And heritage of lasting hate
For violence and vanity!

EDMOND ROSTAND

THE recent death of the famous French dramatist lends a vivid interest to studies of his achievements. A most discriminating, analytical article, by Alfred Poizat, which appeared in a late issue of *Le Correspondant* (Paris), can hardly fail to hold one's interested attention. The writer lauds warmly and generously, but is equally outspoken in characterizing the shortcomings of Rostand's productions. We give below some of the salient points of his critique.

Rostand had—says the writer—the opportunity and the genius to sound in days of national discouragement the clear song of the Gallic race—not of France, which, indeed, represents something more than was voiced by "Cyrano," the noble, upright, controlled genius characterizing men such as Foch, Pétain, Descartes, Pascal, Molière.

The prodigious success of "Cyrano de Bergerac" (published in 1898) was the explosion of a literary Boulangism. It represented in the domain of poetry one of the many crises incited by a patriotism which refused to accept defeat. A latent disquiet concerning its politics and literature agitated the France of that time. Naturalism oppressed it; the Decadents and Symbolists brought no welcome message. However it be, the triumph of "Cyrano" was a desperate reaction of literary nationalism a revenge of all the poets robbed of their renown by the advent of the Symbolists. Romanticism, which was thought to be dead, revived with an unparalleled vigor—at least so it was claimed.

Success imposes obligations. Thenceforth he was shackled. He knew that people were on the alert for his slightest weakening. He had, at all costs, to achieve material success. There was at the time a strong Napoleonic movement, maintained by the works of Frédéric Masson. He chose, therefore, "l'Aiglon," a poor subject for verse: the requirements of brisk, rapid dialogue obliged him often to use a language really neither prose nor verse. Then, after a long, meditative pause, which he employed in seeking a subject fitted to sustain his prodigious reputation, he decided upon "Chantecler" (which appeared in 1910). He was condemned to seek the effect of surprise as well as that of strength; he aimed to create an impression of teeming life, doing which he drowned himself in detail. Nevertheless "Chantecler" remains a great, though abortive, effort, interspersed with splendid passages. The play yielded him a million francs.

Dating from that time, a reaction set in. His shortcomings began to grow evident. Even in

EDMOND ROSTAND, THE FRENCH POET AND
DRAMATIST

the remote provinces whoever claimed literary taste thought it "the thing" to regard Rostand as the Georges Ohnet of poetry.

It became incumbent upon the really cultured, those who had attacked him in his days of triumph, to rally to his defense and reinstate him in his rightful place.

His death will restore his prestige. It is the author of "Cyrano," above all, that the Paris of Victory has honored with an imposing funeral. That character was the incarnation of the people's heart in an epoch of their history.

Faults of style somewhat dim the beauty of "La Samaritaine," but it may be said that it will remain the wonder of connoisseurs; that it required genius to draw three acts from such a simple, brief story of the gospel.

As for "Cyrano," the writer reiterates that though an astounding masterpiece of its kind, it stands only at the head of a secondary order. He regrets the play for a special reason: it ruined Rostand, by turning him from the lofty path which he had so superbly commenced to tread. As a proof of this, after "Cyrano" his decline was rapid. He wrote scarcely anything besides "l'Aiglon," which is not to be rated high.

We must, however, do Rostand justice. Until the end he cherished a love for the beautiful and the noble ambition of producing a future masterpiece. Nothing proves that better than the small number of works he has left us.

AFTER-THE-WAR FLYING ON BOTH SIDES OF THE ATLANTIC

WHAT is the world going to do with the vast aeronautical material and personnel that it has accumulated during the war? What peacetime uses are available for the greatly improved aircraft and the highly skilled aviators that military exigencies have called into being? These questions are exciting keen interest on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Fortunately they had begun to receive attention long before the war ended, so that opinions are already maturing.

Great Britain has unquestionably taken the lead in preparing for aviation on a large scale in the period of peace and reconstruction. One evidence of this fact is afforded by the voluminous report presented to the British Air Council by the Civil Aerial Transport Committee, several abstracts of

which have recently appeared in the aeronautical journals and the newspapers. Copies of the original report, a document of some eighty pages, will probably be accessible to American readers before these lines appear in print, and will be perused with profound interest. The committee, which was large and authoritative, appears to have devoted a searching examination to the many pressing problems that have arisen with regard to the future use of aircraft for civil and commercial purposes, including the legal and political questions involved. Questions of law and policy were considered by a special committee, headed by Lord Sydenham. According to *Aeronautics* (London):

These questions raised at once the initial difficulty of the sovereignty of the air; that is to say, whether the old doctrine that the owner of a piece of land possessed rights

contrary, having in view, perhaps, what afterward occurred, took the contrary view, and held that there must be sovereign rights in any state to control the passage and use of its own air. The committee came to the conclusion that in any legislation there must be an assertion of the "sovereignty and rightful jurisdiction of the Crown over the air superincumbent on all parts of His Majesty's Dominions and the territorial waters adjacent thereto." They added that, in their opinion, the ordinary three-mile limit of territorial waters would not be sufficient for what may be called "territorial air," and they redrafted the original international convention for submission to the Foreign Office, and, it is hoped, for the consideration of another conference to be called shortly.

It is regarded as of the highest importance that this conference should be called immediately. At present there are no regulations governing flying on the Continent or foreign flying here. Methods of identification, of inspection, of passports, of Customs, the provision of landing stages, and the thousand and one matters which require consideration and settlement in regard to the new method of transport are still unsettled, and, whether or not Germany takes part in the conference, it is essential, in order that the change from military to civil aviation should not be delayed and complicated, that the conference should get to work at once.

Other special committees, constituted by the main committee, considered the various types of aeroplane, probable improvements therein, the provision of aerodromes and landing grounds, air routes, problems of production, and numerous scientific questions. Finally, says *Aeronautics*:

One question was discussed in several of the committees and in the main committee, which will have to be settled by Parliament—namely, whether commercial flying is to be undertaken as a big experiment in state socialism, or whether it is to be entrusted to individual enterprise, supplemented, so far as landing stages are concerned, by the assistance of the existing military organization or the exercise by the state of compulsory power of purchase. Some members of the committee were obviously inclined to favor a state experiment, but the special committee presided over by Lord Sydenham reported in favor of state encouragement of private enterprise and against what may be called a state socialistic experiment.

Other significant features of this interesting document are presented in the *New York Times*, where we read that

All the special committees appointed to consider different branches of the future of aeronautics agreed that the British Empire should attempt to lead the world in the air, and that all the dominions should be encouraged to build up huge air fleets for aerial mail and passenger transportation, as well as for protection against enemy attacks. None of the sixty members of the committee expressed any doubt

that within a few years passenger lines would be running to all parts of the world.

The members of the committee expressed the opinion that as soon as regular passenger routes had been established it would become a habit for business men to use airplanes on errands, and that soon it would become common for a man to fly 400 or 500 miles to see a customer and then return to his home in the same day. In addition to mails, it is suggested that planes be used to carry light and perishable goods and fruits, as well as precious metals and jewels.

Elsewhere the *Times* publishes an article on "Putting the Airplane to Peacetime Uses," which, besides emphasizing the military importance of developing a great fleet of aircraft in this country, available for many civilian uses when not needed for national defense, reveals the various activities which the Government has already undertaken in this direction, and which, with the exception of the aerial postal service, have not before been brought to the notice of the country at large.

Army planes manned by army pilots and observers and photographers are flying in squadrons of from three to eight machines from as many as twenty-five fields in the South and Southwest, in all directions, mapping and charting routes for the future, finding landing fields, and arousing public interest in the building of others.

Comparatively few localities, even with the great amount of cross-country flying that has been done, have had favorable opportunities for viewing flying machines closely. Planes have passed over the heads of most persons and gone from sight. The air mappers are under orders, therefore, to give exhibitions at each stopping place, describe the flying machines and engines to the inhabitants, take the mystery out of flying and make it simple and plain to all. Low-powered training planes only are used for this purpose, no machines formerly used for long-distance bombing being included in these early operations.

By next spring the work of mapping these air routes and the locating of landing fields will have been extended to the northwest. At least, if it is not interfered with, this is what the army air service plans to do. The flying force will also take the work into the northeast and the Northern Middle West. In short, the whole country will eventually be air mapped; an Air Blue Book created. The air service of the army will thus develop and carry on the work of the United States cavalry, which not so many years ago was riding the country locating the best roads and highways, fords, and bridges. For, as these things are necessary to horses, so are landing fields, gas, and oil supply necessary to the airmen if they are going to be allowed to develop the air lanes of the U. S. A.

In the *Saturday Evening Post* (Philadelphia) for January 11, Mr. Evan J. David writes instructively on the business possibilities of the airplane.

MR. McADOO ON FEDERAL CONTROL OF THE RAILROADS

THE recommendation of Director General McAdoo that Congress extend the period of Federal control of the railroads for five years has concentrated the country's attention on the railroad problem and given rise to a vast amount of speculation as to the future ownership of the roads. Just before his retirement from office, as Secretary of the Treasury and Director General of Railroads, Mr. McAdoo permitted his views on the subject to be embodied in a special article which later appeared in the *New York Times Magazine* (January 5).

The present law, it will be recalled, provides for a continuation of Federal control for twenty-one months after the proclamation of peace. Mr. McAdoo holds that it is impracticable and unwise to continue to operate the railroads without an extension of this period. In the first place, he looks for a serious impairment of railroad morale. No other commercial or industrial activity requires an organization so greatly resembling that of an army. In the railroad business the same promptness, the same recognition of the value of discipline in all respects is required for efficiency as in an army. As the time draws near for resumption of control by the private owners of the roads, the allegiance of officers and subordinates is likely to be divided between the expiring Government control and the approaching private control.

Mr. McAdoo finds a further difficulty in the financial situation. Annual permanent improvements are, in his opinion, imperative for the maintenance of a national transportation system commensurate with the country's growing needs. Up to the signing of the armistice about \$600,000,000 had been spent in improvements during the year 1918. The authority for these expenditures was "the necessity of war," as recognized in the law. When hostilities ended this necessity could no longer be urged. A comprehensive plan for the improvement of the railroad system as a whole must be developed and adopted, but twenty-one months would be too short a time in which to make and apply such a plan, even with the full co-operation of the corporations owning the roads.

If the railroad corporations, thinking that the end of Federal control is in sight, prefer

"HE CAN'T LET GO!"

From the *World* (New York)

to wait, and make their own capital investments, Mr. McAdoo feels that the organizations will be more or less demoralized, assuming that the properties are kept by the Government for the twenty-one months only. His own plan of extension of Federal control contemplates a yearly expenditure for necessary improvements of not less than \$500,000,000, or \$2,500,000,000 for the five-year period.

Already the Government has accumulated much instructive experience concerning the management of railroads, and this experience should not be thrown away. Sooner or later the American people will have to decide between Government and private ownership. Since this problem is economic rather than political in its character, Mr. McAdoo maintains that the decision should be based upon the acceptance of an adequate test, and we are now provided with an opportunity for making such a test. He says:

If the period of Federal control is extended for a reasonable time, we shall be able to ascertain what can or can not be done with the railroads under unified management, and we will at the same time avoid the false conclusion into which political passion and prejudice may lead us. By extending the period of Federal control beyond the Presidential campaign of 1920, we shall defer final action upon this important question until the decision shall not affect the fortunes of a political candidate or a political party.

Up to this time the test has not been sufficient to show what is the right solution of the problem. We have had unified control under abnormal conditions—those of war. The great purpose was to win the war, and the railroads were operated primarily to that end. No one questions that they served this purpose with complete success. The roads were taken over when transportation was paralyzed. The congestion was relieved, troops and war materials were moved to the ports of embarkation without delay. The traveling and shipping public were slightly inconvenienced, but their inconvenience was chargeable to the abnormal conditions of war, not to the unified operation of the railroads. Our nor-

mal condition is that of peace, and a test that will lead us to the right conclusion must, therefore, be made during a period of peace. We now have an opportunity to make this test. It will be a great mistake if it is cast aside.

There is no general desire to return to old conditions in railroad management, and Mr. McAdoo believes that five years of Federal control would probably lead to a decision in favor of some form of centralized regulation under private ownership, rather than to outright Government ownership.

LOCALIZATION OF INDUSTRY

THE concentration of industry in a single region or city has doubtless puzzled many observers, and while in some instances local reasons are obvious enough, in others the cause does not lie on the surface, and is not easily divined. An interesting attempt to explain this phenomena in our industrial life, to show how it starts and why it grows and persists, has taken the form of an article in the *Scientific Monthly*, for January, by Professor Malcolm Keir, of the University of Pennsylvania.

The kind of facts with which this article deals is illustrated by the statements that more than three-fourths of the collars and cuffs made in the United States come from Troy, New York; that silver plate in like proportion is manufactured at Meriden, Conn.; that tanning is centered at Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and that Paterson, New Jersey, is the home of silk manufacture. These are only a few instances, but it seems, on the whole, to be true, in this country at least, that "industry thrives best where it throngs most."

In the course of his article Dr. Keir shows that some localized industries have started because of accessibility to resources, either in raw materials and power, or unskilled labor, while others originated in particular places because they were nearer to their market, and a few by virtue of a monopoly control were permitted the choice of a desirable strategic location.

The presence of raw materials as a factor in giving rise to localization has many familiar examples. Thus, Chesapeake Bay is the greatest oyster bed to be found in America, and it is natural enough that Baltimore, as the metropolis of the bay, does more than two-thirds of the oyster-canning

business in the United States. Following the rule that the preserving industries grow up near the source of their materials, we have the salmon canneries of the Columbia River, the grape-juice factories of Pennsylvania and New York, the sweet-corn canneries of Maine, and the tomato canneries of New Jersey.

In some cases, industries that were called to particular places by resources and materials, have remained where they were started long after the local supply of crude stock has disappeared. This is true of the rubber-using factories of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Years ago large quantities of rubber came to the New England ports from the Amazon. Factories for using this material sprang up around Boston, Providence, and New Haven. Most of the rubber overshoes, boots, or arctics, made in the United States, are produced in the vicinity of those cities, because this was the original region of import, although crude rubber is seldom seen to-day on the docks of these cities. Most of it comes into the United States by way of New York.

Likewise the plated-jewelry industry centered in the Attleboroughs of Massachusetts, just outside of Providence, Rhode Island, is there in response to the fact that gold and silver from Spain, Portugal and the West Indies once were borne into Providence by home-bound commerce carriers. Since the European war opened, attention has been called to the predominance in firearms manufacture of three Connecticut cities; namely, Bridgeport, New Haven and Hartford. These cities are now famous for rifles and revolvers because at one time western Connecticut produced a grade of iron from local ores that was better fitted than that found anywhere else for making weapons or edge tools. In all of these cases, rubber mills, the jewelry factories or the firearms plants, the present-day greatness of the industries entirely overshadows the fact

that they came to the regions originally because raw materials were easily secured at those points.

Water power has, of course, assembled many industries in compact units around desirable power sites.

Accordingly, we find that one-third of the knit underwear made in the United States is furnished by a string of towns in the Mohawk Valley from Cohoes to Utica. This is due to the circumstance that the first knitting machine run by power was set up at Cohoes to take advantage of the large amount of power available at that place. American writing-paper manufacture centers at Holyoke, Massachusetts, because the reduction of rags to pulp requires a large amount of power, and the Connecticut River at Holyoke furnishes the greatest water power in New England. The falls and canal systems at Holyoke fixed the attention of engineers upon water-propelled mechanisms, and out of their studies improved turbines arose. As a consequence, Holyoke entered the field of machinery manufacture, so that later when Niagara was bridled, the great turbines that turn Niagara's energy into usable power were made at Holyoke.

This writer is compelled to admit, however, that none of the causes assigned for the localization of industry has been as effective as blind chance. Thus, Westfield, Massachusetts, now manufactures more than two-thirds of our whips because one irate

farmer, incensed by his neighbor's pillage of his willow hedge to belabor his horses, cut the willows himself, bound them with twine, and sold them to the erstwhile plunderers. That started an industry which has since made the town conspicuous among New England communities.

This is Dr. Keir's conclusion as to the comparative advantages and disadvantages of localization:

The disadvantages of a localized industry, namely, the distance from markets for raw materials and finished goods, the strength of labor unions, the multiplication of plants, the suffering in hard times and the creation of a labor class, are outweighed by the advantages. The ability to secure the right labor, the ease of selling and advantages in buying recommend to an employer the place already established in an industry. On the part of the employees, security of jobs and opportunity for organization among the workers are strong lures toward a center recognized for a particular class of work. Therefore an industry started by a local resource or by accident continues to grow in one spot through the branching of new plants from old ones, through new concerns organized by sons or superintendents, through the advancement that comes by subdivision of product and through the accumulation of small factories that make use of waste products. Localization is therefore a persistent feature of industry.

THE LAST REPUBLIC OF THE HINDUS

CERTAIN hitherto obscure facts regarding republican government among the Hindus are disclosed in an article contributed to the *Modern Review* (Calcutta) for November last, by Kunwar Shiv Nath Singh Sengar, Bikaner. It is regarded as an historical fact, now well established, that there were many republics in India about the beginning of the Buddhistic period. This article, however, shows that the little republic of Lakhnesar, founded in the thirteenth century of the Christian era, lasted for about five hundred years. The republic was founded by the clan of Sengars, whose code of government required priests, village workmen and menials to render service in lieu of lands that they held. The Sengars, in their turn, took upon themselves all responsibility for the government and defense of the country. Justice was said to be "cheap, instantaneous and easy to obtain."

Ordinarily all the routine work of government was attended to by elderly Sengars but in time of war each and every male member of the

brotherhood capable of bearing arms deemed it his duty to render military service in the defense of the country. There was no age limit. None but Sengars were liable to a call to arms. They always kept themselves militarily prepared and every third year in the month of Baisakh (Vaisakha) all able-bodied Sengars, duly armed and accoutred, met in thousands for a general inspection by the elders of the clan of the combined armed strength of the brotherhood.

Although on more than one occasion the Republic had to pay tribute to Mohammedan kings, it enjoyed complete internal independence throughout the period of Muslim domination.

The Sengars maintained the internal independence of Lakhnesar almost unimpaired down to the early years of British rule, beginning in 1781. Government memoirs of the period state:

Before the establishment of the British authority the Sengars of Lakhnesar had managed to establish for themselves an unrivalled reputation for their courage, independence and insubordination. This reputation they preserved unimpaired during the first years of our administration.

A HEBREW UNIVERSITY IN JERUSALEM

THE laying of the cornerstone of a Hebrew university on the Mount of Olives, in July last, attracted less attention throughout the world than might have been the case in time of peace. Nevertheless, official telegrams of congratulation were received from the governments of England and France and from representatives of different universities all over the world, even from Spain and Portugal. In his New Year message about Zionism President Wilson said: "I think that all Americans will be deeply moved by the report that even in this time of stress the Weizmann Commission has been able to lay the foundation of the Hebrew university, with the promise that that bears of spiritual rebirth."

Writing from the Zionist viewpoint, Dr. Ben Zion Mossinsohn, in the *Menorah Journal* (New York) for December, outlines the vision that has come to the founders of this enterprise, shows why they believe that a Hebrew university must be planted on the soil of Palestine, why the Hebrew language should be revived, why the university should be started at once, and what is likely to be the effect on the world status of the Jew.

Those who have opposed the project, even in Zionist circles, have questioned whether the Hebrew language is sufficiently developed to meet the needs of the university. They have also asked, "Where will the teachers come from, and the students; what will be the practical basis for such a university; what will the students do after they leave its walls; where will the necessary money be obtained for such an enterprise?" A partial answer to these questions is given by Dr. Mossinsohn in relating the history of a similar undertaking on a small scale. In 1906 a group of young teachers and students, living in Palestine, decided to open a high school or academy in Palestine. The institution began work with seventeen pupils and four teachers. In 1914, before the outbreak of the Great War, it had over nine hundred pupils and thirty teachers. Dr. Mossinsohn says:

The curriculum was given in Hebrew exclusively and the diplomas of the gymnasium were recognized by all the universities in Europe and most of the universities in America. The high standard of knowledge of the pupils was recognized all over the world. With a need came the teachers. Young Jews began to study Hebrew

and to prepare themselves to become teachers for different subjects. And even money was found. The gymnasium in Jaffa has now one of the most beautiful buildings in the Orient, and in the last few years before the war it was almost sustained by the income derived from tuition. It will be far easier to solve all these problems for the university. The gymnasium stood on the shoulders of the little village schools where the poor teachers lived who laid the foundation for Hebrew as the language of teaching. The university will rest upon the walls created by the gymnasium, the teachers' seminary in Jerusalem, and the other higher schools which exist in Palestine.

This Jewish writer is optimistic regarding the prospects of higher Hebrew education in Palestine. He believes that teachers and pupils will flock to the institution from all over the world.

They will learn Hebrew; in the surroundings of Palestinian life it will be easy for them. And there will be enough students in Palestine. They will come from all over the world—some of them driven by the pressure of their environment, but the larger number by a controlling desire to go because of a proud ambition to create as Jews, in their own name and in their own way. The practical future of the Jewish student is perhaps far more assured there than anywhere in the world. Palestine will undergo a great revival. To be attached to the civilization of the world, it will need a vast number of schooled forces in all branches of life. It will require trained medical men, lawyers and judges, engineers, teachers and men of other professions. Not only Palestine, but all the Orient is going to be revived and will need thousands of intelligent workers. Students of a university in Jerusalem educated in the Orient for the Orient, with an understanding of its needs and with a love for its future, will play their part. They will be a valuable means in bringing this revival into life.

Dr. Mossinsohn believes that these young students, returning to their home countries after a period of study in Palestine, will bring a new spirit into the Jewish communities throughout the world. As to the money needs, he suggests that American Jews, who know how American universities and other institutions of learning have been founded by private donations, will be the first to understand their opportunity and duty towards a Hebrew university in Palestine. Some Jews, in his opinion, will be more willing to give for a cultural enterprise in Palestine than for political colonization work there. This cultural work will really be a part of the revival of Jewish national life.

THE ITALIAN MERCHANT MARINE

ITALY'S crying need for a greater merchant marine was already recognized by all competent judges, even before the beginning of the war, and her experiences in the throes of the terrible conflict only intensified a condition from which she had long suffered.

It is true that Italian commerce received less injury from the attacks of submarines than did that of England or France, because of the southern route taken by the steamers going to and from the Italian ports; but as in time of peace only one-quarter of the imports from foreign lands was carried by Italy's own ships, the continually decreasing number of vessels that the Allies could place at her disposal rendered it a matter of the very greatest difficulty to secure the absolutely necessary supplies for her subsistence and for the needs of her army.

That Italy must now take energetic steps to remedy this state of affairs is insisted upon by the Italian Admiral and Senator, C. Corsi, in an article in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome). This writer says that if to have a companion in misery would be any alleviation of Italy's troubles, she might find this in recognizing that even the United States Government was forced to depend upon foreign aid to as great an extent. However, the conditions were radically different, as the immense and varied territory of the United States rendered it possible, in case of need, to produce all absolutely necessary supplies at home. None the less, the crisis through which the world has just passed has already caused the United States to initiate a policy that will result in the creation of a gigantic merchant marine, sailing under the national flag.

The vital question for Italy is whether she is ready to profit by the hard lessons taught her by the war. Who can say how much misery and how many difficulties might have been spared if, with her own ships, she had been able to maintain her maritime commerce?

Italy has improvised many things during the war, but one thing it was impossible for her to improvise—an adequate merchant marine. When, having escaped from the stress of war, both government and governed are able to think over the mortifications they have been forced to endure in imploring friendly nations not to deny at

least a part of the tonnage on which Italy had supinely counted in time of peace, it is to be hoped that this will arouse a healthy reaction from the previous apathy, and will reawaken the maritime spirit of the people, without which any faith in its political, commercial, or industrial future will be vain.

The question of Italy's merchant marine is in Admiral Corsi's view a fundamental one for the development of her economic prosperity, and as such it is one requiring the vigilant and fostering care of the government; but it is not through this alone that the new organism can arise. It is essentially by the initiative of the citizens, by the combined energy of the whole people acting together for the rebirth of Italy's former maritime greatness, that Italian hopes can be realized.

It is necessary that all, both of the higher and of the humbler classes, shall familiarize themselves with the idea of the sea, even though they may never have viewed it, that they shall learn to appreciate the advantages conferred on the country by the extent of its coasts, that they shall recognize how the sea gives Italy the power to maintain communications with all parts of the world, and thus to satisfy many of her principal needs.

The idea of the sea must penetrate our very pores, rule over our thoughts, associate itself with all our conceptions of national and international politics, of social and individual economics, with our industrial, artistic and literary activities, and naturally with our colonial enterprises.

Long ago, when Italy held third, if not second, rank among the maritime nations, her ships not only served for her own traffic, but also for that of other lands, constituting in this way a notable source of wealth for the home country. Hence it is that not only her growing commercial requirements should stimulate her marine activities, but also the prospect of sharing in the ever-increasing tide of world traffic.

Every day brings new evidence of the readiness of Italian capital to embark in industrial enterprises, and there should be even greater inducement to invest it in the building of merchant vessels that will bring to Italy the raw materials she needs and export her productions to foreign lands. Thus she will be freed from the heavy tribute she has been forced to pay in time of peace for foreign tonnage.

OUR COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICA

ONE important economic consequence of the war was the partial suspension of the intimate commercial relations that heretofore existed between a great part of Latin America and Europe. The extent to which these relations are likely to be resumed under post-bellum conditions is discussed in an article on "Inter-American Commerce—Before and After the War" in the *Bulletin* (Washington). Here we find it stated that

In the years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war the inter-American commerce of the Latin-American Republics represented something more than one-half of their total foreign commerce; that is to say, the interchange of products between the Latin-American countries themselves plus their trade with the United States and with Canada and other British, French, and Dutch possessions in America was equal in value to the total trade of the twenty Republics with England, France, Germany, and all the remainder of the world combined. This fact is often lost sight of. The trade of the Latin-American Republics with the United States alone was between 25 and 30 per cent. of their total trade and a nearly equal amount represented the trade with the other American countries and among themselves. In 1913 the figures were: Total trade, \$2,874,629,054; with the United States, \$810,079,843; other inter-American trade, approximately \$760,000,000. This last figure can never be stated exactly because of the character of a considerable portion of the trade between the Republics being frontier, very intimate, and for the most part free of duties, it receives no statistical or an imperfect statistical recognition. Since the beginning of the war the proportion of inter-American trade to the total of Latin-American trade has increased until now it represents more than three-fourths of that total.

Of course the lack of shipping and other circumstances connected with the war would furnish ample reasons for a temporary reduction in the European trade of Latin America, but the writer believes that there are other and deep-seated reasons why this trade was bound to decline. America, it is said, is coming to realize her own resources and there is a conscious trend toward independence of Europe, in economic as well as other directions.

It is a step in the material progress of industrially new countries that at the beginning they must depend upon the outside world as a market for raw products and surplus food, the only products that they can produce wherefrom to create wealth. It is a necessary, but in a sense incongruous development, to be discontinued just as soon as a better use for the raw products can

be found in national manufacturing industries and an increase in population sufficient to utilize the surplus food.

America as a whole is approaching this condition. It is ceasing to depend upon Europe. Its raw products in greater volume are being utilized within itself and the resulting increase in manufacture is supplying its own needs for factory goods. This was true before the war.

In the United States the American continent possesses the greatest manufacturing country in the world, with a manufacturing equipment more than equal to that of England and Germany combined. Before the war the United States imported more raw material for manufactures from Latin America than did the countries of Europe, but failed to import food products other than sugar, coffee, cacao, and fruits. Its failure to import wheat, corn, and meat from Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay reduced its trade with those countries below that of Great Britain and Germany. Neither did it import much nitrate from Chile, nor much of Bolivia's leading product, tin, from that country.

The growth of manufacturing industries in America, not only in the United States but in Canada and in Latin America, will in a very short period absorb the total product of industrial raw material produced on the continent. In other words, the condition which now exists during the war would inevitably have been arrived at in a few years had there been no war. The war does not materially change the progress of events in this particular.

With peace, Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay will continue to supply Europe with meat and grain, but a larger proportion of their industrial raw products will be utilized by manufacture within the countries themselves or go to the United States and other American countries. Chilean nitrate will again go to Europe, but a much larger share than before the war will remain to the United States. Whether Bolivian tin will continue to go to England or go to the United States, which consumes about half the tin of the world, will depend upon the future attainments of inventive genius. If new processes of smelting produce a nonferruginous product as suitable as British or Straits tin for plating sheet iron then Bolivian tin, like Bolivian wolfram and copper, will also find its chief market on this side of the ocean.

With the awakening in all America of a knowledge and an appreciation of its own industrial raw products has occurred an even greater awakening in knowledge of its manufactured products. For this, in some aspects, the war is almost entirely responsible. In particular is this true in some

parts of Latin America. Just as in the United States, where for fifty years and more people were accustomed to use Java and Mocha coffee under the impression that what they were drinking was produced in the Dutch East Indies and Arabia, when in reality nearly all of the Java and Mocha came from Brazil or other American countries, so in Argentina and Chile, United States manufactures have been consumed in large quantities under the impression that they were European. The condition was not exactly parallel to the coffee case in that there was no intention

to deceive. Misapprehension arose from the fact that United States goods were brought in in English or German ships and sold in English, German, French, and Italian shops. Neither the United States flag on the ship nor the United States name over the shop door existed to correct the natural inference on the part of the buyer that United States goods were not procurable. A few knew better, just as in the United States a few knew that "Mocha" coffee was in reality Rio "pea berry."

The war has brought a fuller knowledge.

A POET-PAINTER OF LEBANON

SYRIA, at last, is to have self-determination together with the other subject countries of the world. Conquered and oppressed by one nation after another throughout the centuries, and last by the impossible Turk, Syria, because of the rebellious spirit of the Arabs in the nomadic provinces, has always been imperfectly subjugated. The Arabs never lost the traditions of their ancient culture and held stubbornly to the hope of ultimate liberation. Now that Damascus, Beirut, and Lebanon are in the hands of the British, all the blended races of Greek, Roman, and European Crusader grafted upon Semitic stock from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf have hope of nationality. From the basis of nationality the old culture will arise poured in new molds.

From Lebanon, near the Lebanon mountains, "the one green spot in Turkey," comes the Syrian poet-painter, Kahlil Gibran. He is a scion of an ancient Lebanon family living only three-fourths of a mile from the famous groves of cedars whence came the trees that were builded into King Solomon's Temple and floated in rafts to Egypt to build temples to the Gods of Egypt in the Nile cities. Mr. Gibran is the author of eight books in Arabic—poetry, poetic prose, parables, and plays that circulate among the 200,000,000 peoples of the Arabic-speaking world.

"The Madman,"¹ a collection of parables and poems with four drawings, published last month, is his first volume in English. It contains thirty parables and a few poems,

which are like most of the ancient Arabic literature—condensed, satirical, with their gold beaten thin, so that no superfluous word mars their rhythms or obstructs their sense. The poetry depends largely upon assonance for its lyrical beauty.

"The Madman" is a solitary personage called "madman" because he unmask himself in the market place of human knowledge, strives to behold the depth of man's soul through the thin veils of man's wisdom and man's moral ethics. He loves life, and he hates life's shams. He would shake the giant tree not only to eliminate its dead branches but also to send its roots deeper into earth.

An early book by Mr. Gibran, "A Rebellious Spirit," exerted great influence in the younger Arabic circles. This work demanded the rescue of the spirit of religion from dogma, the reality of life from its shams, the being from the seeming of existence. A forthcoming volume in English is called: "The Prophet." This book will contain twenty-one prophecies facing twenty-one full-page drawings. As an artist, Mr. Gibran is a follower of Blake and Rodin. With Rodin he joins his definite patterns in art to the infinite by direct symbolism; with Blake, he is a lover of the free bounding line. The human form is to him the one eternal perfect symbol.

Mr. Gibran has great hopes for the future of Syrian and Arabic culture. He thinks that the Near East has a very great deal to give now that for the first time it is open to the Occidental world. With self-government and reconstruction, education will flourish, and literature and art be reborn in Syria.

KAHLIL GIBRAN

¹ The Madman. By Kahlil Gibran. Knopf. 71 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

THE NEW BOOKS

BIOGRAPHY

Abraham Lincoln, the Practical Mystic. By Francis Grierson. John Lane Company. 93 pp. \$1.

Because the author is a man of vision and of unusual analytical power this picture of Lincoln as the "practical mystic" is a real contribution to the voluminous Lincoln literature of our day. It embodies not merely Mr. Grierson's own view of Lincoln's personality, but the pith of several important contemporary estimates. A book by the same author, entitled "The Valley of Shadows," which appeared several years ago, contains a picturesque account of Lincoln's life in Illinois before the Civil War and particularly of the famous Lincoln-Douglas Debates.

Uncle Joe's Lincoln. By Edward A. Steiner. Fleming H. Revell Company. 171 pp. Ill. \$1.

A fascinating tale of how the message of Abraham Lincoln was brought to Hungary by a returned veteran of the Civil War, and how the figure of the Martyr President was visualized for a group of youthful Hungarians, almost all of whom later became enthusiastic and worthy citizens of the United States. To our readers who are already familiar with Professor Steiner's vivid style we need not say that the interest of the narrative is sustained from beginning to end. It is a capital book to put in the hands of young Americans of European descent.

Woodrow Wilson: An Interpretation. By A. Maurice Low. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. 291 pp. Ill. \$2.

The time is yet far distant when a definitive life of President Wilson can be written; but a book like Mr. Low's will be a great help to the biographer when he comes to his task. It makes use of the President's writings and official acts in so far as they reveal the motives and mainsprings of his career. The author's analysis of these is impartial, clear, and convincing. Twenty years' observation of American politics has qualified Mr. Low to write wisely and judiciously concerning the remarkable place in national leadership now held by Woodrow Wilson. As an Englishman he writes with a certain detachment impossible for an American.

A. MAURICE LOW

HISTORY AND REFERENCE

The Development of the United States. By Max Farrand. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 355 pp. \$1.50.

Professor Farrand, who holds a professorship of history at Yale, gives in this volume an interpretation of American history which, while it presupposes a general knowledge of the subject on the part of the reader, is yet sufficiently simple and elementary in its methods of treatment to meet popular needs. A single introductory chapter is devoted to the period of colonization. The rest of the book is concerned with the growth and welding of the nation from a loose federation of States to the compact, well-organized world power that it is to-day. The author's indebtedness to the modern historical school for its explanation of the rapid western expansion of our American democracy is generally acknowledged and in reality forms the keynote of the book.

The People of Action. By Gustave Rodrigues. Charles Scribner's Sons. 250 pp. \$1.50.
A study and interpretation of American ideal-

ism by a French scholar. According to this interpretation, the American is before all else a man of action, of efficiency. He is an individualist and his idealism is chiefly unconscious. American culture, from the French viewpoint, requires about as much comment in an estimate of this kind as the famous chapter on the snakes of Ireland. The whole book, however, is conceived in admirable spirit and is evidently a genuine effort to promote intimacy in Franco-American relations.

A Short History of France. By Mary Duclaux (A. Mary F. Robinson). G. P. Putnam's Sons. 345 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

A convenient résumé of French history from Caesar's time to the Battle of Waterloo.

The Tragedy of Armenia. By Bertha S. Papazian. Boston: The Pilgrim Press. 164 pp. \$1.

All that most of us know about Armenia has to do with her recent troubles. We can understand why the title of this book—"The Tragedy of Armenia"—is applicable to the facts of mod-

ern history, but we should miss the full significance of this title if we lost sight of the fact that the whole record of Armenia from the beginning has been in every sense a tragedy. Although the nation is known to us chiefly through its sufferings, there are other sides of the story, and the author of this little book has done a real service in setting forth something of the character of the Armenians and the part they have played in the world's history.

History of the Jews in Russia and Poland. By S. M. Dubnow. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. Vol. II. 429 pp. \$1.50.

The second volume of this scholarly work, translated from the Russian, treats of the history of Russian Jewry from the death of Alexander I (1825) until the death of Alexander III (1894). The reign of Alexander III, briefest of the three reigns described in this volume, is treated at greater length than the others because in the author's view the events that occurred during the fourteen years of that reign "laid their indelible impress upon Russian Jewry, and have had a determining influence upon the growth and development of American Israel."

British-American Discords and Concords. By The History Circle. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 70 pp. Ill. 75 cents.

The membership of the History Circle is made up of professional historians, business men, editors, engineers, writers, and others. A committee of these members has given labor for over a year to the preparation of this monograph. Pro-

fessors in the leading universities have also given the service of their own research and of criticism. The monograph sums up the relations between England and America during the three centuries that have elapsed since Englishmen first settled on this continent. Although the main purpose of the narrative is to present facts, the text is by no means lacking in the quality of human interest and philosophy.

The United States Catalog Supplement: Books Published, 1912-1917. The H. W. Wilson Company, 2298 pp. \$48.

Magazine and newspaper offices that have much to do with books, and especially with current publications, would not know how to get on without the "United States Catalog" in which are listed the books and pamphlets in the English language published in the United States, together with the chief importations. The H. W. Wilson Company, who are the publishers of this indispensable work, have just issued a supplement covering the years from 1912 to 1917, inclusive. This volume is arranged on the same plan as the original catalog, by author, title and subject. It gives such data concerning each publication as we are accustomed to give from month to month in connection with the book notices appearing in this department of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*. A special feature of this supplement, which will be appreciated by all users of recent books, is the group of references to the literature of the Great War. This includes every important publication on the subject in the English language up to January 1, 1918.

BOOKS RELATING TO THE WAR

"The Future Belongs to the People." By Karl Liebknecht. The Macmillan Company. 144 pp. \$1.25.

An English translation of the speeches made since the beginning of the war by the German Socialist leader, who was released from prison shortly before the armistice was signed, and until he was killed by soldiers was a conspicuous figure in the revolutionary movement.

The Peak of the Load. By Mildred Aldrich. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company. 277 pp. \$1.35.

The third of the series that began with "A Hill-Top on the Marne," in which an American woman told her unusual experiences in an old French country house which was situated almost at the very spot where the first battle of the Marne, in September, 1914, reached its high-water mark. A second volume, "On the Edge of the War Zone," told the story of her life in France from the Battle of the Marne to the entrance of the Stars and Stripes. In this new book she describes the months of waiting on the hill-top from the time of America's entrance in the war to the second victory on the Marne in the summer of 1918. It was an interesting coincidence that at the time of the last German ad-

vance on the Marne it was American troops that were assigned to defend that portion of the line nearest to the "house on the hill-top."

The Great Change. By Charles Wood. Boni & Liveright. 192 pp. \$1.50.

A series of interviews originally printed in the editorial section of the Sunday edition of the *New York World*. Together they form an outline of the work which has been accomplished under the leadership of the various boards in control of the industrial activities of the United States Government for the duration of the war. The men interviewed are: Bernard M. Baruch, Charles M. Schwab, Felix Frankfurter, Mary Van Kleeck, Professor John Dewey, Franklin K. Lane, Robert S. Woodworth, A. W. Shaw, Frank P. Walsh, H. L. Gantt, Henry Dwight Chapin, and Charles Steinmetz. Out of the changes actually brought about by the necessity of winning the war, Mr. Wood visions, not indeed a Utopia, but coöperation, where production will be carried on in the fullest sense for use, not for profit. He thinks that the "Great Change" has made it possible for us to look forward to the economic independence of every man, woman, and child, to a general access to the means of culture, and to the end of economic insecurity not only among the poor, but among the rich.

SOCIOLOGY, ECONOMICS, POLITICS

Fair Play for the Workers. By Percy Stickney Grant. Moffat, Yard and Company. 368 pp. \$1.60.

Now and then comes a book that cannot be discussed apart from the personality of its author. So it is with "Fair Play for the Workers." The words in this title may mean little or much, but a man with the personal force of Dr. Percy Stickney Grant can give such a combination of words a telling impact. A quarter of a century of service as rector of the Church of the Ascension in New York has made known in



DR. PERCY STICKNEY
GRANT

that city his tireless devotion to the true interests of all who toil. One who really desires "fair play" for any group of citizens will seek to know precisely what the group itself considers fair play. That is what Dr. Grant has done, in season and out of season, for many years. The "Public Forum" connected with his church gives the fullest possible opportunity for the statement and discussion of every modern problem in which the workers are interested. It is largely because of his ability to digest and utilize the material of these

discussions that Dr. Grant has succeeded in putting so clearly in this volume the vital issues that make up the complex frequently spoken of as "the labor question." "The Workingman and Patriotism," "The Americanizing of the Immigrant Worker," "Physical Betterment—the Function of the State," "Unjust Laws and How to Remedy Them," "The Waste of Ignorance and Competition," "The Economic Influence of Religion," and "What the Workingmen Want—Industrial Self-Government" are some of the chapter headings. These topics are all treated from the standpoint of direct contact with the facts. There is no "bookishness" in Dr. Grant's presentation, any more than in his methods of research. Everything that he says is based on his actual knowledge of an existing situation.

The Human Machine and Industrial Efficiency. By Frederic S. Lee. Longmans, Green & Company. 119 pp. \$1.10.

Briefly, the author's contention in this book is that "any activity in which the human body plays so large a part as it does in industry must be organized on a physiological basis before the highest degree of efficiency can be secured." The facts that he presents in this book largely relate to war industries, but they illustrate principles that will remain applicable to general industry long after the war has ended.

Industry and Humanity. By W. L. Mackenzie King. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 567 pp. Ill. \$3.

A study in the principle underlying industrial reconstruction by the former Canadian Minister of Labor, who has acted as conciliator in many important strikes, and has investigated industrial relations for the Rockefeller Foundation. No one needs to be told that the problem of more efficient relations between employer and employee is fundamental in any attempt at industrial reconstruction. Mr. Mackenzie King's work in this field has a basis both in economic literature and in his own personal experience. It is a helpful contribution at this time.

Municipal House-Cleaning. By William Parr Capes and Jeanne R. Carpenter. E. P. Dutton & Company. 232 pp. \$6.

A useful compilation on the methods and experiences of American cities in collecting and disposing of ashes, rubbish, garbage, sewage and street refuse. The authors have not over-estimated the importance of cleanliness as a municipal ideal. Keeping the city clean is one of the most urgent duties of its officials. It cannot be neglected if the citizens are to enjoy health, happiness, or comfort.

The Results of Municipal Electric Lighting in Massachusetts. By Edmond Earle Lincoln. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 484 pp. \$3.

The Hart Schaffner and Marx Prize Essay for 1918 is an exhaustive study of municipal electric lighting in the State of Massachusetts. This State was selected because it is the only one which has kept adequate records over a period of years. The use that the author makes of the data afforded by these records should in itself suggest to other states and communities the need of collecting and properly recording such information. The writer, however, did not confine himself to examining and analyzing printed data, but made a personal survey of the lighting plants under both forms of management.

American Cities. By Arthur Benson Gilbert. The Macmillan Company. 240 pp. \$1.50.

A discussion of municipal business methods, from the standpoint of city promotion. The author believes that in the near future the American city will become a powerful force making for the business success of its citizens. He acknowledges indebtedness to the teachings and influences of the late Mayor Johnson, of Cleveland, who in his opinion was the first man in the United States to grasp clearly the principles by which cities must be promoted.

The Little Democracy. By Ida Clyde Clarke. D. Appleton and Company. 253 pp. \$1.50.

A marked impetus was given to the Community Center movement by the war. The use in all parts of the country of the schoolhouse as a center of war work has familiarized the people with the idea of community coöperation

for common causes. In the textbook called "The Little Democracy," Ida Clyde Clarke summarizes what has been done by the United States Department of Agriculture in the way of directing co-operative work in the rural districts, and describes concrete illustrations of community work in school, market, bank, garden and kitchen, and tells what has been accomplished by the boys, and girls, and mothers, and daughters, clubs, organized in accordance with the department's plan. There are also chapters on community music and community drama. Commissioner Claxton, of the Bureau of Education supplies an introduction to the volume.

The A B C of Exhibit-Planning. By Evart G. Routzahn and Mary Swain Routzahn. The Russell Sage Foundation. 234 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

The Russell Sage Foundation, which has been responsible for most of the surveys and exhibits for promoting social welfare that have become so popular in this country during the past ten years, is also taking the initiative in providing a series of practical manuals which may be used by social workers everywhere in preparing exhibits of this kind. The first volume of the series gives attention mainly to the initial stages of exhibit production, the period when decisions are being made as to scope, purpose and methods. The authors of this book have themselves planned many exhibits, and most of the suggestions that they offer in this book have been thoroughly tested in practise.

Our Cities Awake. By Morris Llewellyn Cooke. Doubleday, Page & Company. 351 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

Notes of recent progress in municipal government, illustrated by many interesting facts in the

administration of several of the larger American cities. The author, who was formerly Director of Public Works in the city of Philadelphia, writes from the standpoint of the practical administrator, in close contact with vital present-day problems of city government. Secretary Baker, who was himself for several years Mayor of Cleveland, contributes a foreword.

The Young Woman Citizen. By Mary Austin. Woman's Press. 169 pp. \$1.35.

Mrs. Austin addresses the young woman citizen in order to awaken her to a sense of her moral obligations in planning the establishment of a world-democracy. She asks women to see that they have failed in serious undertakings because they were not willing to be a unit of the common life. The book is built upon the hope that a new day in world politics has come, a day that will see righteousness triumphant through the "combined efforts of men and women who have faith in each other and are willing to pay the costs of social awareness."

Preparing Women for Citizenship. By Helen Ring Robinson. Macmillan. 130 pp. \$1.

Admirable counsel from an experienced woman legislator as to the attainment of the steady mood of good citizenship. No other book gives more competent answers to the puzzled questionings of the newly made women citizens of the States that have granted women suffrage. Carrie Chapman Catt says: "No one can write more forcefully and literally, hitting the nail right on the head with an awful clip, than Helen Ring Robinson." Her question, "Where do we go from here?" is the one which every thinking woman throughout the wide, wide world is asking herself to-day.

EDUCATION, PSYCHOLOGY, AND STUDIES OF THE CREATIVE MIND

Originality. By T. Sharper Knowlson, Philadelphia: Lippincott. 303 pp. \$3.50.

The changes in educative methods in England and the ferment and discussion of educative method in this country arise from two main sources. One is a truth long realized by thinking men and women, that modern education fails to develop originality and provide ground-soil for the creative mind; the second is the fact that the stimulus attendant upon the prosecution of the war actually achieved what education had so long been aiming at. Mr. Knowlson tells us how the war developed originality and why, and shows us beyond doubt that not youth alone, but maturity, may freely tap the wells of ideas and creative thinking. He points the way to the highest physical, mental, and spiritual efficiency, by means of suggestions and formulas for the cultivation of originality and inspiration, and by explanation of the laws governing them. The illustrations are drawn from actual circumstances in the lives of noted individuals. According to his categories, there are six basic

laws of inspiration and seven major hindrances to originality. Special chapters discuss the origin of ideas, the pathology of thinking, the natural history of genius, etc. It is not possible to give an accurate idea of this work, or a proper appreciation of its great value in a few sentences. It is a gospel of the new education, based upon the fundamental idea that originality is the perception of new unities, that urges attention in educative processes to individual tendencies. It is written in a popular, readable style that will appeal to all classes of readers.

The Organization of Thought. By A. N. Whitehead, Sc. D., F. R. S., Philadelphia: Lippincott, 228 pp. \$2.

This book contains a series of thought-compelling and stimulating lectures, brought together in a single volume because of a certain line of reflection common to them all. The first paper, "The Aims of Education—A Plea For Reform," is the most suggestive discourse on the new processes of education, largely brought about by the

events of the war, that is at present available to parents and educators. It is a terse, clear-visioned view of the present needs of the world educationally speaking. Professor Whitehead writes: "Culture is activity of thought and receptiveness to beauty, and human feeling. Scraps of information have nothing to do with it." He asks educators to beware of "inert ideas," ideas thrown into the mind of the child, which cannot be utilized in fresh combinations. Education, he holds to be "the acquisition of the art of the utilization of knowledge." The four succeeding discourses deal with education. They are "Technical Education And Its Relation To Science and Literature," "A Polytechnic In Wartime," "The Mathematical Curriculum," and "The Principles of Mathematics in Relation to Elementary Teaching." The three remaining papers discuss points arising in the philosophy of science. They are: "The Organization of Thought," "The Anatomy of Some Scientific Ideas," and "Space, Time, And Reality."

The Psychology of the Future. By Émile Boirac. Stokes, 322 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

A previous translation, "Our Hidden Forces," from the French of M. Boirac's *La Psychologie Inconnue*, achieved instant popular success when published in this country. The present translation from *L'Avenir des Sciences Psychiques*, will undoubtedly, because of its fascination of style and scientific trustworthiness, win the same approval. Professor Boirac approaches the claims of thought-transference, "X-Ray vision," automatic writing, psychic and mental healing, and the question of survival after death, purely from the scientific point of view. He has carried the claims of the half-informed, and the realm of hocus-pocus, into the laboratory and emerged triumphant with the basis of a new science. One of his proven results is the confirmation of the fact that the human body can radiate a powerful energy which is capable of producing effects at hand, or at a distance. The description of his various experiments will interest all readers and prove of particular value to teachers, to parents, and those who have charge of the sick, the insane, and of criminals. His conclusions lead to the development of creative energy in the individual to the end of efficiency in every department of life.

The Will to Freedom. By Rev. John Neville Figgis, D.D., Litt. D. Scribners. 320 pp. \$1.25.

Dr. Figgis's estimate of Friedrich Nietzsche was originally delivered in the form of lectures in May, 1915, on the Bross Foundation, at the Lake Forest College, Illinois. The discourses show us how the teachings of the poet-prophet whose name has re-echoed with a sinister sound through the minds of men during the war, stand with Christianity as "a house of life for men." The Nietzschean doctrines have been treated with rare breadth and understanding. Dr. Figgis finds them to be—in his estimation—an excellent bitter tonic, but a poor food. He sees that beyond the pitfalls of a superficial study of Nietzsche, lies a certain ground where the sterner doctrines of the mad philosopher harmonize with much that is best in Christianity. In Nietzsche's recog-

nition of evil, in his sense of the tragic and tremendous greatness of life, he brought back to Christianity, one quality necessary to a real religion—the awe of God. It is one of the few books—out of the many written on and around Nietzsche—that presents his teachings as a whole, and gives a really definite idea of the man.

Architecture and Democracy. By Claude Bragdon. Knopf, Ill. 213 pp. \$2.

Although this book is in a sense a technical discussion of architecture, symbols, ornament, etc., it more properly belongs with the studies of the creative mind, since the essays are written to uphold a philosophical point of view rather than for their technical values. They include subjects as diverse as skyscrapers and the state of the soul. In the first paper, Mr. Bragdon writes enthusiastically of our sky-towering architecture. He feels these buildings as feats of subtle engineering that, gripping light and space firmly in knitted ribs of steel, project the workers of the world into a region of equal light. They are, he writes, the concrete of "Live openly," the answer to the cry—"Let us have light." Among his illustrations of this art of democracy, are the Woolworth Building, the Prudential Building, of Buffalo, by Louis Sullivan, and the graceful Rodin Studios of Cass Gilbert's designing in West 57th Street, New York.

Psychical Phenomena and the War. By Hereward Carrington. Dodd, Mead. 363 pp. \$2.

A serious attempt to study the psychological forces moving behind the phenomena of the world war. The material is divided into two portions. Part first examines the psychology of the German methods of warfare, of frightfulness, etc., that of the soldier of any army during preparation for combat, during the attack and throughout post battle states, shell shock, fatigue, illness, etc. Part second studies the probable condition of the slain soldiers after death. The observations are mostly drawn from the experiences of soldiers on the Franco-British front and include the now well-circulated reports of the appearance on the battlefields in moments of anticipated defeat of Jeanne d'Arc, St. George, St. Michael, and the Bowmen of Agincourt. The apparitions appearing to soldiers, their dreams, and clairvoyant descriptions of the moment of death all afford interesting material for Mr. Carrington's pen. The volume is offered as an argument that man is essentially spirit, as opposed to the German philosophy that expounds the doctrine that man is essentially body. The value of psychological data of the war has been approved by the French Government, which commends the publication in the *Bulletin des Armées* of an appeal by Professor Charles Richet for psychical experiences and "cases" similar to these collected in this volume. Since Christianity itself is based largely upon a psychical fact, the Resurrection, and since, to quote a soldier's sentence, "human separation means little; that which is really ourselves is the ardor of our soul," any evidence that leads to knowledge of the individualized survival of this ardor after death demands our interest and gratitude.

UNUSUAL POETRY

Jo-Su, and Ouan-Tchan-Lin. Of these Li-Tai-Pe and Thou-Fou are acclaimed as the greatest. They are said, in the beautiful Chinese simile, to have flown nearest Paradise. Lo-Tai-Pe, according to the legend, was translated, even as Enoch, to immortality while still in the flesh. He was carried down into the image of the Moon in the clear waters on the back of a dolphin, accompanied by two young Immortals, messengers of the Lord of the Skies. Thou-Fou held the post of Imperial Censor to the Emperor. His censorship proved too severe for his imperial master and the poet was exiled from court. In his poem "Mid-Autumn," he gives vent to his grief.

One woman, Ly-y-Hane, seems to have held first rank among the poets of the Song Dynasty in the twelfth century of our era. Like Sappho, she sang of unrequited love. "One might say she was a flower become enamoured of a bird; with neither voice nor wings, she can only suffuse her passion-scented soul as she prepares to die."

The principal rules of Chinese versification are similar to our own—the line division, the caesura, the rhyme, the rules for the quatrain, etc. The ideographic nature of Chinese characters gives charm to their poetry; one visions the thought of the poem from the appearance of the writing. To-day in China, as of old, the words and music are always united; the poems are not recited but sung, and in most cases the singing is accompanied by the Chinese lyre, the "Kine." One of the loveliest lyrics of these translations is called "A Young Poet Dreams of His Beloved Who Lives Across the River."

ILLUSTRATION FROM "JAPANESE PRINTS"

A BOOK of delicate lyrics that will delight the connoisseur of verse is a translation, by James Whitall, from the French of Judith Gautier, of "Chinese Lyrics" from the Book of Jade. The poems are prefaced by the beautiful "prelude" that explains the growth of the fame of a poet in China, where such fame is less ephemeral than in the Occident. Madame Gautier wrote: "Twelve centuries before Orpheus and fifteen before Homer, the Chinese poets were singing their verses to the music of the lyre, and they are unique in that they are singing still, almost in the same language and to the same melodies." In China, no poet may presume to judge his own verses. At gatherings of scholars each poet sings his own verses in turn and if the poems be exceptional the scholars beg the privilege of copying them. These copies are kept in note-books and copied afresh or read from time to time at similar gatherings. "Thus in a select circle, the name of a poet diffuses itself like an agreeable perfume." An independent or an unknown author may write his verses on the wall of a quarter-entrance, where people can stop and read them and make comment, or copy the text, but a century or more usually elapses before a book is formed like a bouquet of rare flowers.

Among the names of Chinese poets that posterity has gathered throughout the ages for the bouquet of immortality, the most notable are the poets, Li-Tai-Pe, Thou-Fou, Ouan-Ouey, Tchan-

"The moon floats to the bosom of the sky
and rests there like a lover;
the evening wind passes over the lake,
touches and passes
kissing the happy shivering waters.

"How serene the joy,
when things that are made for each other
meet and are joined;
but, ah,—
how rarely they meet and are joined,
the things that are made for each other."

Sao-Nan.

"Japanese Prints," a series of poems in Japanese forms, by John Gould Fletcher, are written after certain designs of the Uki-oye, or Passing World School of Japanese prints. They have a delicate chiseled beauty which will be appreciated by the connoisseur of poetry. Amy Lowell says of Mr. Fletcher in "Tendencies in Modern American Poetry," that "no living poet has more distinction of vision or style."

Akin to Japanese and Chinese poems are the imagistic lyrics of David O'Neil.² They are mountain flowers growing on cool peaks far above the jungle of the poetry of the immediate time. Like most Chinese lyrics, and like those inimitable Cinquains of the late Adelaide Crapsey, their formless magic opens a door upon a stream of subtle images, quite beyond even the suggestion

¹ Chinese Lyrics. By Judith Gautier. Translated by James Whitall. Huebner. 53 pp. \$1

² Japanese Prints. By John Gould Fletcher. Four Seas Co. 93 pp. Ill. \$1.75.

³ A Cabinet of Jade. By David O'Neil. Boston: Four Seas Co. 106 pp. \$1.25.

of the poem. The collection is, however, of unequal merit. It should have been pruned more severely. Some of the verse falls like the sound of a shallow gong, that beats in vain against the door of dream and magic, but the best of it has definite style, and real beauty which promises much for Mr. O'Neill's future work. The lyric, "A Vase of Chinese Ivory," shows one of the sudden flashes of deep insight that bind within his verse a more than transient loveliness.

"In the museum
It had no name:
It was only the life-work
Of one almond-eyed heathen—
Look closer
And you will see
A soul
Unique and beautiful."

Another book of lyrics for the lover of the rare and the little-known poetry is, "Corn From Olde Fieldes," an anthology of English poems from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, collected and edited by Eleanor M. Brougham. Masterpieces of this period have been excluded to give place to poems of merit and beauty that through neglect have threatened to disappear altogether. There are four divisions: Religion, Love, Death, and Miscellany, which together contain approximately two hundred poems only slightly known to the general public. A scholarly and interesting note accompanies each poem, thus rendering the book of great use to students as well as a delight to lovers of tuneful poetry. Many of the poems have never been reprinted from the original editions, or have appeared only in books not obtainable by the public. A beautiful poem, "Peace," by Henry Vaughn, who professed himself the "least of the many pious converts of George Herbert," is particularly appropriate to the present time. The poem is taken from "Silex Scintillans, or Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations, London, Printed by T. W., for H. Blunden at ye Castle in Cornhill, 1650."

Peace

"My soul, there is a country
Far beyond the stars,
Where stands a winged sentry
All skilful in the wars:
There above noise and danger,
Sweet Peace sits, crowned with smiles,
And One born in a manger
Commands the beauteous files.
He is thy gracious Friend,
And—Oh, my soul, awake!—

"Did in pure love descend
To die here for thy sake.
If thou can get but thither,
There grows the flower of Peace,
The Rose that cannot wither,
Thy fortress, and thy ease.
Leave then thy foolish ranges;
For none can thee secure
But one who never changes—
Thy God, thy life, thy cure."

Henry Vaughn.

Sixty poems of modern France² selected from the works of thirty French poets have been translated, with notes and an introduction offering a new theory of translation, by Ludwig Lewisohn. The first part of the work gives a critical account of the poetry of modern France and an analysis of the spiritual needs that have created it, its qualities and triumphs, and service to national ideals. The poets represented are: Stéphane Mallarmé, Paul Verlaine, Arthur Rimbaud, Georges Rodenbach, Emile Verhaeren, Jean Moréas, Jules Laforgue, Henri de Régnier, Francis Vielé-Griffin, Gustave Kahn, Stuart Merrill, Maurice Maeterlinck, Remy de Gourmont, Albert Samain, Edmond Rostand, Francis Jammes, Charles Guérin, Henri Bataille, Paul Fort, Pierre Louys, Camille Mauclair, Henri Barbusse, Fernand Gregh, Paul Souchon, Henri Spies, Maurice Magre, Léo Languier, Charles Vildrac, Georges Duhamel, Emile Despay.

Two volumes of Rabindranath Tagore's latest poems are bound together under one cover—"Lover's Gift" and "Crossing." The lyrics are in the familiar rhythms used by Tagore, the free verse of his "Gitangli," and a form more nearly approximating rhythmic prose. Many of them are psalms of fervent praise over the joy in the universe that is manifest and the inner garden of delight perceived by the eye of the soul.

"Gitanjali" and "Fruit Gathering" are also bound together in uniform edition. The illustrations are by Abindranath Tagore and other well-known East Indian artists.

Margaret Widdemer's recent verse is collected under the title of one of her most popular magazine poems, "The Old Road to Paradise." One of the finest lyrics in the collection is the second poem, "The Old Kings," with its prophetic ending:

"Cry the long swords sheathed again,
Cry the pennons furled,
Lest under Ragnarok,
Lie the shattered world."

The sociological studies of a previous volume, "The Factories and Other Poems," are missing from this gathering. The lyrics are largely subjective, love songs, emotional reactions, bits of heartache and weariness, and poems that open upon cool spaces of elemental delight. "The Dark Cavalier," "The Swan Child," and "The Grey Magician," please with their beautiful melodic rhythms and carefully-wrought tone-color.

"The Garden of Remembrance,"³ by James Terry White, contains many singing lyrics that have been set to music, and others of such quality as will tempt musical composers. The poems are delicate and fanciful, with a flavor of Herrick, and a breath of antique beauty, which is evidenced in their admirable restraint. Serene elegance of form holds, like a precious vase, the many-colored flowers of the poet's thoughts.

² Poets of Modern France. Translated by Ludwig Lewisohn. Huebsch. 199 pp. \$1.

³ Lover's Gift and Crossing. By Rabindranath Tagore. Macmillan. 158 pp. \$1.50.

⁴ Gitanjali and Fruit Gathering. By Rabindranath Tagore. 251 pp. \$2.50.

⁵ The Old Road to Paradise. By Margaret Widdemer. Holt. 124 pp. \$1.25.

⁶ The Garden of Remembrance. By James Terry White. James T. White Co. 132 pp. \$1.25.

¹ Corn From Olde Fieldes. By Eleanor Brougham. John Lane, 298 pp. \$1.50.

ENTERTAINING AND INSTRUCTIVE¹ BOOKS FOR BOYS

THE books briefly noted here are from experienced writers who desire to be of service to the nation by giving their best to the great army of growing boys. Never before in the history of our country have there been at one time so many excellent and instructive books written especially for young American manhood.

One of the most remarkable and stirring books for boys written since the beginning of the war is "Joining the Colors," by Captain Charles A. Botsford of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. Before the United States went into the war, many bright American boys went over to Canada and threw in their lot with the Allies. Captain Botsford tells the story of some of these boys from the inside point of view of an officer of the Canadian army. It is a book that tells the truth. Necessary as the author deems the great sacrifice of our youth, he does not gloss over the actual events of war. The illustrations are by R. L. Boyer and Ralph Coleman.

In "The Book of Woodcraft,"² Ernest Thompson Seton has enlarged and developed the woodcraft principles set forth in his earlier manual, "The Birch-Bark Roll." It is a real book of knowledge of out-of-doors written especially for Boy Scouts, but useful to persons of either sex and of any age.

Dan Beard, National Scout Commissioner of the Boy Scouts of America, has prepared "The American Boys' Book of Signs, Signals and Symbols."³ For years, Mr. Beard has been working on these ideographs, picturegraphs, tramps', yeggmen's, scouts', trappers', gypsies', and Indian signs. Those symbols have been selected which will be of use to Boy Scouts in the service of their country, and to the automobilist, hunter, and explorer who wishes a complete understanding of the language of signs.

Mr. A. Russell Bond, assistant editor of the *Scientific American* has written "The American Boys' Engineering Book."⁴ With the assistance of this volume a bright boy can construct his own workshop and make necessary engineering improvements about his home at very little cost. Two hundred and fifty diagrams show just how to do all the interesting and useful things, Mr. Bond writes about.

"The Gun Book,"⁵ by Thomas Heron McKee, is a book about all kinds of guns for boys of all ages. The story begins with the guns of olden days made by local blacksmiths and leads

on down to the story of the rifles, the machine guns, monster cannon, and mortars used in the war. It is the only popular comprehensive book on this particular subject.

The life stories of fifteen famous Indian chiefs are told in "Indian Heroes and Great Chieftains,"⁶ by the man who knew them best, Charles A. Eastman. Since the author is himself, a full-blooded Sioux, he is able to interpret Indian character, its admirable qualities of calmness, strength, vigor, and fearlessness, better than any one else.

"Lone Bull's Mistake,"⁷ a splendid Indian story, by James Willard Schultz, was pronounced by the readers of the *Youth's Companion*, where it first appeared, the best of all Mr. Schultz's Indian stories. It tells of the adventures of a rebellious Blackfoot Indian and his family after his punishment for a breach of the tribe's hunting laws. The author is one of our most famous old-time frontiersmen and Indian fighters, and an Indian by adoption into the Blackfoot tribe.

Arthur A. Carey has varied the stories of the adventures of Boy Scouts on land, by writing "Boy Scouts at Sea."⁸ These boys went on an actual cruise, had boat races, swimming matches, and were storm tossed on the open seas. Boys who love the ocean, or who have aspirations to join the navy will enjoy this thrilling story.

"Captain Kituk"⁹ is a tale of an Eskimo lad and his adventures and ambitions, written by Roy J. Snell, who knows the Eskimos and their land from years of experience among them. It is delightfully told and has all the color and atmosphere of the regions of the far north.

An inspiring, patriotic book that will interest every live boy, is "The Call to the Colors,"¹⁰ by Charles Tenney Jackson. It tells the story of an American boy, Jimmie May, who is sent first with General Pershing's Expedition to Mexico, and later goes over seas "somewhere in France" with the American Expeditionary Force.

"Captain Ted"¹¹ will find a warm place in the heart of every Boy Scout. Ted is a real American boy, too young to join the army, but old enough to be instrumental in rounding up a camp of slackers in the great Okefinoke Swamp in Georgia. The author, Louis Pendleton, understands how to write just the kind of story an ambitious patriotic boy likes to read.

¹Indian Heroes and Great Chieftains. By Charles A. Eastman. Little, Brown. 241 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

²Lone Bull's Mistake. By James Willard Schultz. Houghton, Mifflin. 208 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

³Boy Scouts at Sea. By Arthur A. Carey. Little, Brown. 292 pp. Ill. \$1.35.

⁴Captain Kituk. By Roy J. Snell. Little, Brown. 225 pp. Ill. \$1.35.

⁵The Call to the Colors. By Charles Tenney Jackson. Appleton. 214 pp. Ill. \$1.35.

⁶Captain Ted. By Louis Pendleton. Appleton. 316 pp. Ill. \$1.35.

¹Joining The Colors. By Captain Charles A. Botsford, C. E. F. Philadelphia: Penn Co. 347 pp. Ill. \$1.35.

²The Book of Woodcraft. By Ernest Thompson Seton. Doubleday, Page. 567 pp. Ill. \$1.75.

³American Boys' Book of Signs, Signals, and Symbols. By Dan Beard. Philadelphia: Lippincott. 250 pp. Ill. \$2.

⁴The American Boys' Engineering Book. By A. Russell Bond. Philadelphia: Lippincott. 309 pp. \$2.

⁵The Gun Book. By Thomas Heron McKee. Holt. 357 pp. Ill. \$1.60.

TWO HISTORICAL NOVELS: THE EPIC ROMANCE OF FLANDERS

AS a setting for his historical novel, "Java Head," Joseph Hergesheimer has taken the town of Old Salem at the beginning of the great clippership era of the American merchant marine. The narrative draws us into that romantic period of mercantile development, when cargoes from the East Indies, China, and Japan were piled on the docks of our Eastern seaboard ports. In New England homesteads, one may still see the treasure trove of these voyages—furniture of Chinese teak, ivories and jades mingling with the delicate English Chippendales. The novelist introduces the exotic and the Oriental into Salem, by letting us see the arrival at the port of Salem, of Gerrit Ammiden, a Salem shipmaster who has returned from China with Taou Yuen, a Manchu wife, he has married out of an impulse of chivalry to save her life. The story seems at times no more than a frame for this exquisite aristocratic creature with her painted slightly flattened oval face, her gleaming jades, and "enigmatic black eyes under delicately arched brows." Through the vehicle of her personality, the strange, inscrutable life of the East is pitted against the life of Salem with its equally inscrutable standards. In the end Salem triumphs. Taou Yuen escapes, gravely, as becomes a Manchu lady of high degree, and the shipmaster takes up his old life. Mr. Hergesheimer is a Pennsylvanian, but this novel is as truly of New England as the vignettes of Mary Wilkins Freeman, the novels of Alice Brown, and the poetry of Robert Frost. For penetrating psychology, beauty of color, vivid characterization, and careful workmanship, it is not only the best work Mr. Hergesheimer has done, but one deserving high praise in a select company of American fiction. It has the power to immerse the reader in strange, distant, and almost forgotten currents of life.

Donald McElroy,² a romantic novel by W. W. Caldwell, weaves into its structure incidents of the American Revolution and pictures the part played by the Scotch Irish settlers in this country, not only in the actual conflict, but in the upbuilding of the commonwealth. It is not a large canvas, but wisely so; the intensive working out of the characterization gives a power to the narrative that could not have obtained if a more pretentious novel had been attempted. The author writes with deep insight of the enmity that has existed from the early settlement of the colonies, between the Scotch Irish Protestants and the Irish Catholics. This religious difference gives intensity to the main romance of the book, the wooing of Ellen O'Neil, a devoted Catholic, by her cousin, Donald McElroy, a Scotch Irish Presbyterian. While the story is valuable for its perspective on our early national history, it succeeds as a simple and enthralling love story, one that for its unworldliness and spiritual sensitiveness will remind the reader

ONE OF DELSTANCHE'S DRAWINGS FOR
"ULENSPIEGEL" (TYL AND NELE)

of Lorna Doone. The characterization of the two lovers, Donald and Ellen, is a distinct achievement, the more quickening for its complete simplicity.

The first English translation of Charles de Coster's famous story of Flanders, "The Legend of Tyl Ulenspiegel,"³ has been rendered from the original French by Geoffrey Whitworth. Frankly Rabelaisian in its style, it is the epic romance of the Flemish race during the Sixteenth Century, when Belgium suffered under the yoke of Philip of Spain. Tyl is a hero of the people, the upspringing spirit of Democracy that can never die in the heart of man. Nele, the maiden beloved by Tyl, is "Mother Flanders." Caes and Soetkin, his father and mother, are the fatherhood and motherhood of Belgium. Lamme Goedzak is the great belly of the land, and the tragic Katheleene, an enigmatic figure, seems to typify the madness and suffering of Flanders under the oppression of the Spanish Inquisition. The author lived and died (1879) in obscurity. It was not until a decade after his death, that he was accorded recognition, a monument raised in his honor in Brussels, and an oration in his praise delivered by Camille Lemonnier. This edition is somewhat condensed owing to the necessities of war printing, but the continuity of incident has been maintained. The full-page illustrations are from wood cuts by Albert Delstanche.

¹ Java Head. By Joseph Hergesheimer. Knopf. 255 pp. \$1.50.

² Donald McElroy. By W. W. Caldwell. Philadelphia: Jacobs. 351 pp. Ill. \$1.35.

³ The Legend of Tyl Ulenspiegel. By Charles de Coster. McBride. 302 pp. \$2.50.

FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—CREDIT POSITION OF THE TRACTION COMPANIES

ACROSS the financial skies, as the new year dawned, there were some ominous clouds. Investors watched them develop with some forebodings. There was the cloud of desire for government ownership of railroads. This may break and the sunshine of reason and wisdom come through after some investigation of just what a twelve-months' period of federal operation has produced. The blackest cloud of all is that enveloping the public utilities. On New Year's Eve a receivership for the Brooklyn Rapid Transit system, the main artery of urban and suburban traffic in a large portion of Greater New York, was sought and obtained by creditors. A few days before dividends had been passed on the stock of the Chicago City Railways, a corporation with a twenty-five-year-old dividend record in which payments as high as 24 per cent., and for a long period from 10 to 8 per cent., had been made. Simultaneously the stock of the Twin City Rapid Transit Company, of St. Paul and Minneapolis, sold at \$32 a share, or just one-third of its price in 1917. This had long been regarded as one of the soundest traction properties in the country and had sold at a premium of from \$10 to \$15 over par for many years. When January first came a number of traction and light-and-power concerns in different portions of the United States found themselves without funds to meet the interest due on bonds.

The Public's Attitude

It has been estimated that the shrinkage of the principal of the bond and share capital and of the notes of the various traction companies in Greater New York, during 1918, was approximately \$250,000,000. This meant that the equities in many stocks had been almost entirely erased, that junior bonds had fallen to the price level of low-grade stocks, that first-mortgage bonds and notes had shrunk in market value to a basis normally represented by stocks paying moderate dividends.

From the standpoint of credit and of pub-

lic, or it might better be termed, political, sentiment, the public utilities, more specifically the "tractions," are to-day about where the steam carriers were in December, 1917. There is a state of mind toward them that reckons not with what they have to endure from the high costs of wages and of materials, but with what the public may have had to swallow in other days in the form of unjust franchises, stock "watering," the political dishonesty connected with "deals" in favor of the company and to the injury of the traveling public. It is significant that very little opposition has been made to the readjustment of rates for gas or electric light or power to the new expense accounts. But, where municipalities undertake to assist the street-car line by raising fares, there is apt to be the sequel of public indignation. In Denver recently it took the form of refusal to pay the new tariff and some damage to property.

Then there is the obvious intent of certain municipalities to depreciate traction values by refusing higher fares and so bring the companies to a credit condition where they will be willing to sell out to the city at a very low price. This is a factor in the situation that must be recognized and reckoned with. There are signs of it in New York. There are plain suggestions of it in Chicago and in St. Paul.

Managers' Failure to Get on with the Public

On the other hand traction managers, even of this generation, have not well enough understood their relationship to the public. It has been a notorious fact that service on the Brooklyn Rapid Transit lines was inadequate. This was before the stock of the company ceased to pay dividends. Equipment was poor and insufficient for a growing, crowding population. Patrons who feel that they have been treated unfairly, and then have been witness to an accident that cost scores of lives, sacrificed to incompetence, are not in a mood to lift their voices for higher fares, even though they know that what they

pay five cents for costs more than six cents to produce.

An understanding of the crowd psychology has not been one of the major accomplishments of the traction administrations of Greater New York. There is no service in the world that can compare with that of the Interborough Rapid Transit subway lines in Manhattan, but it has been lack of tact, rather than lack of cars and standing room that has brought public criticism of operations. The best way to resist both government ownership of railroads and public administration of city tractions is to go a considerable way along with the public thought on both questions and all the while provide service and meet public complaints with a certain amount of good nature.

The Demand for Higher Fares

Ex-President Taft recognized the animosity of the public toward the public utility, with its "high visibility," in an address made before the Investment Bankers' Association at Atlantic City in December. As chairman of the wage adjustment board he had observed the justice of higher fares in compensation for higher rates of pay. So have other representatives of the Government. As long ago as last spring Comptroller of the Currency Williams advocated a plan that would stabilize the credit of the public utilities of this country. Not all of this suggestion and recommendation has fallen on barren ground. Nearly 350 companies have been protected from financial trouble by higher fares. These have been allowed in a number of cities of the first class.

A striking example is that of Boston, whose surface, elevated and subway lines have recently been placed in the hands of a board of trustees. The law regulating the operation of these lines provides a guaranteed return on the capital invested. If the revenue from fares does not cover this guarantee the deficit must be raised by taxation. Formerly the fare was 5 cents, as in Greater New York. Now it is 8 cents. In a considerable portion of eastern Massachusetts the Public Service Commission has granted a cash fare of 10 cents. It was found that the recommended advance from 5 to 7 cents was not sufficient to absorb the higher war costs. On the same day that the Board of Estimate of New York refused to consider the proposition of an 8-cent fare for the subway lines of that city and annulment of the transfer on the surface roads there were a number of

grants of higher fare to suburban roads in territory not many hundreds of miles distant from New York. In New Jersey, after a long fight, the Public Service Corporation, succeeded in obtaining a 7-cent flat fare, with an additional 1 cent charge for a transfer, but this did not save the dividend on the stock of the company, which had to be reduced from 8 per cent to 4 per cent.

It is estimated that the par value of the electric railways of New York State, including New York City, is \$1,250,000,000. This is about one-fifth of the total of the entire country. The investment in the bonds and guaranteed stock of these railways is held by institutions, estates and many small investors. For years the guaranteed 7-per cent stock of the Manhattan Elevated has been considered as a prime, or "gilt-edged" issue. It sold at one time at \$175 a share or a yield basis of 4 per cent. Since the critical situation has developed in the New York traction situation it has declined under \$80 a share. A great credit structure is involved in the early decisions of the New York authorities as to compensation adequate for payment of fixed charges and fair dividends. Fortunately the rest of the country has been broader-minded on this question than either the municipal or State authorities and has acted independently of them in a great many instances.

Graduated Fares Based on Distance

One objection that has been raised to the grant of higher traction fares now is that these will give the operating companies an undue percentage of profit when normal conditions return in wages and in costs of materials. Before the war was declared by this country against Germany the advance in costs had begun to eat into the vitals of all but the strongest of the traction lines. The tendency to allow long hauls for the five-cent fare had worked a great strain on credit. There had not been much reason shown in developing a graduated fare in which compensation was based on the distance a passenger had to be carried. A man does not ride from New York to Springfield, Mass., say, on a steam road, for the same fare as he pays to ride from New York to Poughkeepsie. But, in New York City, he pays no less to ride from 23d to 34th street or half a mile than he does to ride from Brooklyn to Bronx Park, or nearly seventeen miles. There is duplication of this system all over the United States, but not on

such a scale as in New York, where the so-called "nickel fetish" has been carried to the extreme.

Operating Costs Will Continue High

Quick readjustment of wages and prices of materials is not expected by those who have given the subject closest attention. It is doubtful if in either item there is within this generation a return to the former units of measurement. Certainly wages are not likely to return to the old basis. There was no class of labor in the country which received such an inadequate wage in pre-war times as that employed on the traction lines throughout the country. This is officially recognized. Greater efficiency may be developed, though not great enough efficiency to offset the gross increase in pay. It is not just, therefore, to base rates on the presumption that former operating costs will be in effect within a few months.

The question of public-utility compensation must be settled very soon. In the March quarter of 1919 the maturing obligations of utilities are about \$85,000,000 and in the June quarter over \$60,000,000. For the entire year they reach \$262,000,000. Interstate Commerce Commissioner Wolley, in an argument before the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee in January, for a five-

year extension of government rail control, mentioned these maturities as likely to be affected by unfavorable railroad credit in the event that the carriers were thrown back on their own financial resources.

Legislative Action Sought

The subject of supervision of public utilities is probably receiving more attention among legislative bodies than ever before. The newly elected Governor of New York State gave it much consideration in his annual message and Governor Holcomb of Connecticut, at the beginning of his third term, asked for the appointment of a special commission to inquire into the electric situation in his State. He pointed out that railways are being operated at a loss, with conditions threatening that may lead to heavy investment depreciation and suspension of service. The most difficult fact to establish in the mind of the local law-maker who refuses to grant living rates is that while he may bring about receivership by his policy he will also create conditions of travel that will be unbearable to the public. Unfortunately for security holders, financial disasters seem to be necessary before realization of the unfair conditions in the background of many of these credit collapses is shown by regulating bodies.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

CANADIAN PACIFIC BONDS

Do you consider the 6 per cent. debenture bonds of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, due 1924, a safe investment.

We have always looked upon these bonds as a safe investment and have not hesitated to recommend them to people whose circumstances demand care and conservation in the employment of their surplus funds.

ADVICE ON SPECIAL VENTURES

I occasionally have money that I am willing to use in speculative ventures provided there is an honest chance of making the profit corresponding to the risk taken. I must confess, however, that various moderate sums I have employed under what I believed to be were the above conditions in the past two years have mostly been lost. In these cases, however, later developments have shown that there never was any honest chance. I consequently attribute my failures in the past to lack of sufficient information. I wonder if you could tell me of any ventures having an honest chance of turning out well and producing large profit.

We are entirely unable to be of service in the way you suggest. We have never felt that we could undertake to assume the heavy responsibility involved in selecting essentially speculative securities for our readers or in any way to give specific advice about the purchase or sale of such securities. We are always glad to analyze specu-

lative securities as well as investment securities and to report frankly whatever conclusions we are able to form, but further than that we cannot go.

ABOUT FILING OWNERSHIP CERTIFICATES WITH BOND COUPONS

Can you tell me where I can get a booklet giving information as to the proper certificate form to use in cashing bond coupons. I have had considerable trouble in this respect lately. Does a person paying the federal income tax annually use a different form of certificate than one who does not pay the tax.

We do not know of any booklet that you would find of service in connection with the difficulties you have been having in cashing coupons from your bonds. In order to determine the proper form of ownership certificate to file with coupons it is necessary to know whether the companies issuing the bonds do or do not covenant to pay the normal income tax. There are records giving the status of most bonds in this respect. These records your local banker ought to have. If he does not and you will send us a list of your bond holdings we shall be glad to give you proper instruction. Determination of the proper certificate to file does not in any way depend upon whether the bond holder is or is not liable to the payment of the income tax.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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AN ITALIAN TRIBUTE TO WOODROW WILSON--VAST THRONGS IN MILAN GATHER TO WELCOME THE DISTINGUISHED VISITOR

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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NEW YORK, MARCH, 1919

No. 3

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Beginnings
at Paris*

The cabled survey sent to our readers by Mr. Simonds from Paris, as the League of Nations had been drafted and as President Wilson was sailing for America, reflects something of the anxiety that had followed elation when the difficulties that were to be faced by the Peace Conference had begun to assume concrete shape. It is hard to form just estimates in the midst of current affairs of such bewil-

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*Our Wars,
and the
Aftermath*

We shall soon have completed four months since the armistice was signed on the 11th of November. The joy and enthusiasm of those November days were beyond any previous American experience with the possible exception of the rejoicing early in April, 1865, when the Civil War ended with the scene at Appomattox. There was a difficult and trying period of reconstruction that followed the surrender of Lee and the death of Lincoln; and some of the political and social problems born in that time of turmoil have not yet been fully solved after half a century. This country was deeply thankful, and also glad and buoyant, with the news of the ending of the war with Spain a little more than twenty years ago. But that epi-

sode had consequences quite unforeseen; so that the course of our national history in its larger aspects for about sixteen years—a period with which the career of Theodore Roosevelt was especially identified—grew directly out of the war with Spain.

*Result of the
War With
Spain*

As a result of this war we annexed Porto Rico and Hawaii; established the Republic of Cuba; assumed leadership in the Caribbean Sea; constructed the Panama Canal and created the Republic of Panama; acquired from Spain the control of the Philippine Islands; led in the so-called "open door" policy in China; became influential in the Pacific; attempted to bring about a reorganization of Central America; and passed from our comparative isolation of the Nineteenth Century to that larger place in world affairs that we were destined to occupy in the Twentieth. It was in the thick of that general situation of twenty years ago that we discovered the value of a good understanding with Great Britain; and it was then that we began to realize the possibility of future trouble with Germany. It is generally understood that we retained authority in the Philippines at the urgent request of the British Government, in order to protect all interests in those islands and to prevent the conflict that would have arisen if we had withdrawn and left Spain helpless as against what would have been the demands of the Berlin government.

*A Worthy
American
Record*

We can now look back so calmly upon the issues that arose twenty years ago that it is hard to recall the intensity and excitement of the political disputes of that period. The Presidential campaign of 1900 was fought on the issue of so-called "imperialism." Mr. Bryan, as Democratic candidate, led the attack in a campaign of prodigious energy and passionate

(Mr. Harrison has been Governor-General of the Philippines for the past six years, and is now in the United States. He declares that the Filipinos were devotedly loyal to the United States during the war, and were eager to serve in the army and navy and to support Liberty loans and the Red Cross. He makes a fine defense of what he calls American idealism in our Philippine policy and is optimistic of the future.)

warning; with President McKinley sturdily defending his own policies, and with Theodore Roosevelt (then Governor of New York and recently Colonel of the Rough Riders), as candidate for Vice-President, making his memorable stumping tour, and preaching the gospel of America's new responsibilities in a world that could not longer permit the isolation of a great power such as the United States had become. Not only have we avoided the dangers of becoming imperialistic ourselves, but it has been our lot to play a prominent part in helping to deliver the world from the menace of a selfish imperialism backed by military power.

*Our
Guardianship
of Maturing
Wards*

Our enhanced power in the Western Hemisphere has been used generously, and has helped to bring peace and prosperity into regions that otherwise would have been victims of continuous turmoil. Hardly any country has prospered in recent years more greatly than Cuba; and this has been due to the working out of our policies of twenty years ago. Porto Rico shows a transforming progress. Panama

and Central America have increasingly bright prospects. So much has been accomplished in the Philippines, in the working out of our beneficent policies, that there is little but praise from those who are competent to judge in a large way. There are always details that invite criticism in every governmental or political situation. Through this recent period of five years past the Filipinos, like the Cubans, have realized that it has been fortunate for them to be in close relations with the United States. The movement for Philippine independence in the early future has not died out; it is alive and awake, and influential Filipino leaders have for some time been in the United States urging their views and studying sentiment here.

*Philippine
Aspirations* In view of unrest in all lands just now, it will be well for the Filipino people if they are not

too eager to detach themselves from this country, which has so sincerely endeavored to aid them in creating a national life, and in preparing for the most complete exercise of self-government. There is no serious question of our own welfare that is involved in the future of the Philippine Islands; it is first of all a question of the welfare of the inhabitants themselves. Incidentally, there are people of many nationalities—including citizens of the United States—who have property interests and rights in the Philippines, which are entitled to the protection of a good government capable of maintaining order. Beyond that, however, it is now the opinion of Republicans as well as of Democrats that the Philippine Islands are not to be retained by the United States as part of an outlying empire, and that our national mission there has been one of guardianship and friendly help, which by virtue of its success is temporary rather than permanent. There may come a time when the League of Nations is so well established that it would be fitted to take over the protection of a young republic such as the Philippine Archipelago is rapidly becoming. But until the League is sufficiently established to assume such responsibilities, it would be unsafe for the Filipinos, and unwise from other standpoints, to have the special protection of the United States withdrawn from the islands and the adjacent waters. Even with Philippine independence, there should exist some such special arrangement as that which now gives Cuba the full benefit of Uncle Sam's protecting friendship.

*The New
Burdens of
Administration*

In the working out of the issues and problems following the Spanish War, the people of the United States—as we can now perceive—have had an experience which has done them more good than harm, although for several years we were vexed and anxious. We have now begun once more to experience some of the depression and anxiety that inevitably come, as the aftermath of every great war. Elation is felt in the moment when the carnage ends; and even the vanquished feel a great sense of relief and escape, even though they cannot make public demonstration of joy. Courage for the terrible exactions of war is found in the intensity of the effort that war-time demands. But the ending of war permits a certain relaxation; and the problems of readjustment present themselves at a time when nations grow conscious of their fatigues, and realize the extent of the changes and disturbances that war has produced. In the war struggle, we were ready to incur colossal liabilities, and could not haggle or hesitate. We made profound changes in the structure of economic society. We turned millions of men away from production, to the bearing of arms. But when the war is ended we are compelled to sit down and count the cost; and we have to face the simple, unavoidable fact that all of us—not merely those who are beyond middle life, but even those who have been born since the armistice date—will have to spend all of the rest of our lives bearing burdens of one kind or another imposed upon us in this war period, or arising from it.

*Practical
Aspects of
Relief*

Thoughts like these, in days of reaction and fatigue following the end of actual warfare, are not conducive to universal cheerfulness or harmony. The case can be stated in a very gloomy, pessimistic fashion. It can also, however, be dealt with in a sensible and cheerful way. The path of reality lies somewhere between enthusiasm for the millenium that has not arrived, and pessimism on the score of a calamitous future that can and will be avoided. The great, overshadowing loss is that of human life which has brought sorrow to countless millions of people and has deprived nearly all European countries of a large percentage of their best young citizens. France, for instance, has three million less population than five years ago. Next in order of evils comes the continuing and prospective human loss due to hunger,

SIR ARTHUR PEARSON, THE ENGLISH PUBLISHER
AND PHILANTHROPIST

(After a brilliant career in journalism and in the building-up of a group of newspapers and periodicals, Sir Arthur lost his vision several years ago. Many English soldiers have been blinded in the war period, and Sir Arthur—who is president of the National Institute for the Blind—has developed a great institution, St. Dunstan's Home, for training these disabled men in new and valuable ways to earn their own livings. He is a typical leader in a kind of work for soldiers that is going forward throughout England; and his presence in the United States is stimulating similar undertakings here.)

disease, and all the miseries that follow in the train of war. The deadly burdens of starvation and immediate poverty that many parts of Europe and Asia are now bearing must be met in a spirit of unwearied generosity by all who have it in their power to help. The worst phases of this situation can be dealt with in the next few months. There will be a desperate attempt everywhere in Europe to produce food during this approaching crop season. Immediate help with seed and implements, and with surplus food for a brief period, will probably suffice.

*Preparing
for the
Steady Pull*

The restoration of more complex forms of industrial life, and the establishment once more of the comfortable standards of living that had existed before the great war, will require a longer time in various parts of Europe. During the present year 1919 much attention must be given to emergencies; and the longer and steadier pull of "reconstruction," so-called, can hardly make a fair beginning until next year. Meanwhile there is no reason at all for ceasing to rejoice—as we rejoiced three months ago—that the war is over and that the movement of American armies is steadily homeward. The questions that have arisen, whether those of the emergency type or those of the long, slow pull, can all be answered successfully. Even if there were grounds for discouragement there would be nothing gained by an attitude of doubt and anxiety. The problems, whether public or private, that concern Americans, have to be met as a part of the day's work and dealt with as they present themselves.

*War's
Appalling
Expenses*

Taxes will be heavy, and the tax laws are far from perfect. For the national treasury alone we are now to raise six times as much money in a single year as we were raising only a few years ago. Yet it has been the intention of Congress to apportion the war taxes in such a way that the livelihood of no man would be unduly impaired. The bulk of the taxes must be paid out of the incomes of corporations and of wealthy individuals. The system in itself is not one that is designed to impoverish the people of the country. Nevertheless, as the system is applied, it gathers into the Treasury in a given year a great part of the nation's current wealth that would in ordinary times constitute the new capital wherewith to expand productive enterprises. The thing that may well cause anxiety is not the system of taxation but the continuing scale of public expenditure, which requires the raising of such huge sums by taxes and such great additional sums by the further sale of Government bonds.

*Financial
Relief
in 1921*

It must be remembered, however, that peace has not yet come in final terms. An armistice means the cessation of hostilities; but until a peace treaty is signed we are legally at war. We were preparing with all our might for a war that was to culminate in the expected campaign of 1919. The ending of actual

fighting in November, 1918, found us so committed to military expenditure—with some 4,000,000 men under arms—that it was impossible to make a sudden transition from war-time to peace-time expenditures. Other nations—especially Great Britain, France, and Italy—are in like condition. Victory, as one must understand, brings with it expensive responsibilities. The conquered country may be forced to disarm so completely as to be spared much of the expense of maintaining great armies and navies. One of the chief practical arguments for the League of Nations is the belief that it will permit radical reduction of armaments, and relief from the burdens of war taxation. But such relief can hardly be experienced sooner than the year 1921. It would be poor economy, and bad foresight, to throw away all of our military experience, and to smash forthwith the costly appliances of war that we may yet need in the business of helping the chaotic world to settle down under the sway of law and order.

*Costly
Retrenchment
in the Past*

There is always a tendency to wasteful expenditure of public money at Washington; but there is also a tendency to wasteful kinds of retrenchment. Our refusal to spend a reasonable amount of money for the Army and Navy in the period following the Civil War, when we were paying off the national debt and developing the country, meant that we were carrying nothing like a sufficient insurance policy. If our Navy had been larger, our diplomacy would have liberated Cuba, and the war with Spain would have been avoided. After that war, our international obligations were immensely increased. Our new position required a proper provision of means by which to use our latent strength—not for aggression, but for justice and safety, in a world that seemed to be approaching a crisis and a turning-point. There were many indications favorable to arbitration, disarmament, and the establishment of peace. There were, on the other hand, some very dangerous tendencies toward the growth of militarism and imperialistic rivalry—tendencies especially seen in the policies of Germany.

*The
Immediate
Lesson*

After our experience in the Spanish War, with our construction of the Panama Canal, and our new relationships to the world, it would have been wise and prudent to increase our Navy to a marked extent; to have provided

for a system of military training; and to have planned for a proper supply of rifles, machine guns, and artillery. If we had made such preparation, it is quite possible that a large part of the anarchy and misery of Mexico in the last seven or eight years would have been avoided. We should certainly have suffered far less loss of life and expenditure of resources in our war with Germany (while also saving still greater expenditures for our Allies), if we had been prepared in advance for self-defense, and had not left everything except our small though admirable Navy to be improvised after we had actually gone to war.

*The Army
and Navy Still
Needed*

We shall now, in the desire to lessen our financial burdens, be tempted once more to neglect a reasonable policy of preparedness. The League of Nations, and the ultimate escape from huge military expenditure, will come the more certainly if we prepare ourselves to support our principles with the argument of efficient power. Universal military training can now be easily established, through a very moderate use of the training and experience of those young men, in every neighborhood of the land, who will have returned from a period of intensive drill and instruction. Such a system need not be very expensive. The further naval preparation advocated by the Administration, and accepted by the House last month, ought to be supported in view of the uncertainties that lie in the immediate future. For some time to come, the security of the oceans and perhaps the maintenance of peace throughout the world is to depend much less upon armies than upon the joint navies of Great Britain and America. The other Allies will not now have the resources available for much naval increase. Our air service must also be developed.

*Our Navy
for
Security*

As events have shaped themselves, the navies of Great Britain and the United States are destined to work in close coöperation; and they are beyond all question going to be committed to the support of conditions, which, while securing the safety of the English-speaking world, must also be beneficial to all other peace-keeping nations. The idea that America, with her immense interests in the Atlantic and Pacific and her guardianship of the Western Hemisphere, would give offense to Great Britain by building up a strong navy has nothing substantial to rest upon. We owe it to ourselves and we also

HON. JULIUS KAHN, OF CALIFORNIA

(Mr. Kahn, as ranking Republican member of the Military Committee of the House, has been one of the foremost of Congressional leaders in the war period. He will be chairman of the committee in the new House, and will endeavor to secure a system of universal training with brief terms of military service intended at once to provide for the national defense and to build up the young men of the country in physical vigor and valuable citizenship)

owe it to the world at large to take a full share in the business of patrolling and protecting the great common domain of the seas, which belongs—for freedom of use—alike to all nations, and which must ultimately be governed in the full sense by a League of Nations. It is not likely that such a league can enter upon its functions of control over the oceans for thirty years, and perhaps not till fifty or sixty years have elapsed. True safety and economy require that, meanwhile, the United States should play its part on the seas. Failure to take our proper place in earlier periods has subjected us to unmeasured expense and loss. We should have learned our lesson by this time. And certainly we have given sufficiently convincing proofs to the British people and also to those of France that our naval expansion is to be for their welfare and in no sense to their detriment. We are not planning any future that repudiates the principles of the great cause in which we have been fighting side by side with the peoples of Western Europe and those of the British dominions.

*President
Wilson's
Mission*

When these comments are printed and in the hands of our readers, it is likely that President Wilson will have reached Washington in order to sign bills and to be in contact with Congress during the days which not only conclude the Session, but which (on March 4) end the period for which the Sixty-fifth Congress was elected. So much has been happening that it may be well to set down a few significant dates. Mr. Wilson and the other members of the Peace Commission sailed on the *George Washington*, leaving New York December 4 and arriving at Brest on December 13. The President immediately proceeded to Paris, where he spoke on the bonds of friendship between France and the United States. During the next few days he was made a citizen of Paris; visited Premier Clemenceau; exchanged visits with King Victor Emmanuel of Italy who had arrived in Paris; conferred with Premier Orlando and Foreign Minister Sonnino regarding Italy's territorial claims and aspirations. This first Parisian week culminated with exercises at the Sorbonne, where he received an honorary degree from the University of Paris on December 21.

*Reception
in
England*

On Christmas Day the President reviewed American troops near General Pershing's headquarters at Chaumont and made an address, after which he proceeded at once to England and was met at the Charing Cross Station by the King and Queen and taken to Buckingham Palace, along decorated streets and in the midst of great popular demonstrations. The following day, December 27, was spent in a long conference with the British Premier, Mr. Lloyd George; and in the evening a notable banquet was given by the King with an exchange of assurances regarding the oneness of purpose of the British and Americans and the associated Allies. On December 28 the city of London entertained Mr. Wilson, who spoke in advocacy of the League of Nations, while Mr. Lloyd George announced that his conferences with the President had resulted in agreement on fundamental principles. The visit to England was ended with a quick trip to the North in order to spend Sunday at Carlisle, the home of his mother's family, and to make addresses at Manchester on the following day.

*A Trip
to
Italy*

The next episode in the President's European visit is the trip to Rome, where he arrived on January 3; was welcomed by King Victor Emmanuel and Queen Helena; and made an address before the Senators and Deputies advocating the League of Nations as a substitute for the discredited "balance of power." The remainder of his Italian sojourn included a call at the Vatican; some glimpses of historic places; stops at the great northern cities of Genoa, Milan, and Turin, with speeches at all these and at other places, and with the result of a marvelous expression of Italian goodwill towards the United States. There followed another week or two of preliminary work at Paris with informal but serious discussions among the delegates of America, France, Great Britain, Italy and other countries—all of which was necessary as a prelude to the formal work of the Peace Conference. The Supreme War Council meanwhile had the armistice program to consider, and all the complicated questions having to do with military occupation and control not only during the period preceding the peace settlement, but during a subsequent period when Germany's obligations were to undergo fulfillment. Mr. Wilson's own especial attention was given to the committee that was drafting the League of Nations.

*The
Conference
in Session*

At length, on January 18, the Peace Conference began its regular sessions with Mr. Wilson attending as an American delegate. The President of France made the welcoming address, and Mr. Wilson proposed Premier Clemenceau as the permanent Chairman. The business of the Conference thereupon went forward efficiently, and the rules of procedure were made public. The delegates of the five principal Allied powers were to be active in all sessions, while the smaller Allied nations were to take part in the Conference whenever their own problems were concerned, and neutrals only when invited for particular reasons. In the apportionment of representatives, the Great British Dominions and India were allowed delegates of their own, apart from those of Great Britain. Some of the smaller nations at first were disappointed because they were allotted only one or two delegates; but they soon learned that this put them to no disadvantage. Each country has at Paris as many advisors as it chooses to have; and the Conference through its committee system gives every question the benefit of all the wisdom available. Small powers, both belligerent and neutral, have their ablest men assisting.

*The Main
Issues Under
Discussion*

On January 20 President Wilson attended a luncheon given by the French Senate and paid a tribute to the qualities of France as exhibited in times of stress and difficulty. The need of some kind of touch with Russia was so generally felt in the Conference that President Wilson on January 22 suggested a plan which was adopted. It was agreed that the Allies should send representatives to Princes' Islands in the Sea of Marmora, in order to consult with representatives of the different regions and factions from territories formerly Russian. The place chosen is near Constantinople, and we shall refer to this curious conclave more particularly next month. Behind the scenes, as well as in popular addresses there has been constant discussion of the League of Nations; but the proposal as a formal matter in the Peace Conference itself began on January 25 with a speech by President Wilson, who advocated the League as necessary for the settlement of existing problems as well as for maintaining peace in future times. The next day being Sunday, President Wilson visited the ruined cathedral at Rheims, and had a glimpse of battle scenes at and near Château Thierry.

PRESIDENT WILSON AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

*Good Progress
in
February*

The last week in January and the first two weeks of February were devoted by President Wilson to the business of the Conference chiefly as regards the more unsettled features of the scheme for a League of Nations. Fortunately, before he sailed on the 15th for the United States most of the sections of the Constitution of the proposed league were ready to present. Furthermore, it was fully admitted that the leaders of the Conference had made some progress toward the adjustment of a number of the crucial issues with which the Conference must deal. Considering the unprecedented range of the issues presented, affecting all the countries of the world, it is only reasonable to admit that much has been done in a very short space of time. All the great problems of the universe will be adjusted by the Peace Conference at Paris in less time than our Interstate Commerce Commission has usually taken to deliberate and decide in the matter of a shift in a disputed freight rate; and in less time than our Congress takes in dealing with some of the most obvious things that come before it.

*Publicity
and the Peace
Conference*

In our comment last month we endeavored to point out the significant fact that the work of the Peace Conference at Paris is being carried on with hundreds of millions of people reading about it from day to day, and with public opinion actively exerting itself through all sorts of agencies to help shape the results. Nothing of this kind has ever happened before in the history of the world. For example, great meetings have been held all over the United States under the auspices of the League to Enforce Peace with the object of crystallizing American opinion and bringing it to bear upon the decisions of the Peace Conference on the subject of the League of Nations. In the Houses at Washington, particularly in the Senate, there have been extensive debates, the object of which has been to influence opinion at home and also to affect the course of affairs in Europe. An immense volume of discussion, from the pens of the largest and ablest body of journalists ever before assembled, has come to America by ocean cables and by wireless as well as by the slower movement of the mails.

*World-wide
Discussion*

All of our newspapers of any character and standing have been full of interesting and useful dispatches and articles about the various questions following the Great War. These matters in like manner are being discussed by the important newspapers of Great Britain and of every European country. South America is following the course of affairs at Paris and in Europe with close and intelligent attention. This is obviously true of Canada and Australasia, and the same thing may be said of Japan, India, and China. Questions and issues which, only a few years ago, were not interesting to more than one American reader in a thousand, are now given sensational importance each day by great headlines. Millions of Americans have gained some real knowledge of geography and international matters, and of course the same thing may be said of masses of readers in other countries.

*Educating
a Thousand
Million People*

The simple fact that the whole world is now engaged in a simultaneous study of the problems of peace, and the questions that affect particular nations, may be very plausibly presented as an argument justifying prolongation of the work of the Conference. The world is thinking and studying as never before, and

there is in process of rapid development that great fabric of international public opinion, which more than anything else is to prevent future wars and to make influential and useful the proposed coöperative society known as the League of Nations. A thousand million people may be said to have entered this great school of world study. It is not merely that each nation which has claims—or which is resisting the opposing claims of some other nation—brings its case to the attention of a small body of diplomats and statesmen assembled at Paris. The opportunity is much more important than that. It is the opportunity to bring an issue into the limelight, and to secure for it the attention of the press and the thinking public of the whole world.

*Many Appeals
for a
Public Verdict*

Thus the Irish question is in a strict sense the business of the people of the two islands that form the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, the leaders of Irish discontent are managing to get their subject aired in the press of the world; and this may help to bring a settlement. There are issues pending between Japan and China in like manner, which are forced upon the attention of the world forum. Some of the statesmen of Colombia are proposing to bring their Panama grievance

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GETTING RID OF THE FAMILY SKELETONS

[The practice of open discussion is already bringing to light many sources of contention, and publicity is aiding prompt solutions.]

From the *Spokesman Review* (Spokane, Wash.)

against the United States before the Paris tribunal, not so much for a specific settlement as for a public verdict upon the rights and wrongs of the controversy. Many of the leaders in India have attempted to use the Conference to help secure some advance towards independence. Far more immediate, of course, are the questions affecting the boundaries of European countries. Of such questions there are a very large number, and every one of them is exciting the interest of bodies of people remote from the scene, who are trying to influence action at Paris. Societies have been

formed in the United States to support every European claim imaginable. This is not a bad thing, but on the contrary an exceedingly good sign. It shows that powerful statesmen and diplomats can no longer get together and determine (for their own reasons of policy) the futures of waiting and helpless nationalities. Every question will have to be exposed to view, and discussed upon its pure merits from every standpoint.

*How Wars
May be
Prevented*

It is easy to see how important a bearing all this discussion has upon future wars. However far the League of Nations may be permitted to go, as it is now being formed, it will certainly go far enough to secure a period of discussion for every dangerous dispute before there can be an appeal to arms. It may go so far as to require, besides the period of discussion and the opportunity for conciliators to do their work, the voting of war declarations by legislative bodies, and may demand a popular referendum, before a nation enters the arena of war.

*Wilson as a
Promoter of
Discussion*

In the center of all this useful discussion, in the newspapers of the world and from thousands of platforms and pulpits, has stood the President of the United States, Woodrow Wilson. Precisely how much any definite formulation of a Peace Treaty or the project for the League of Nations has been accomplished by Wilson's leadership, we do not know. But that his going to Europe and appearing before the peoples of three great countries,

THE BUILDING OF THE FRENCH FOREIGN OFFICE ON THE QUAI D'ORSAY, PARIS, IN WHICH THE SESSIONS OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE ARE HELD

while conferring constantly with their statesmen, has popularized the business of the Peace Conference and helped to make it the affair of democracies rather than that of Prime Ministers and ruling groups, there can be no doubt whatsoever.

*Good-Will
to Be
Maintained*

A few months ago there was overwhelming determination that wars must end, and that military autocracy and commercial imperialism must not lift their menacing heads again. There must be no abandonment now of the high resolves of last summer. Germany—perhaps alone of all the nations, when the tide began to turn at Château Thierry—was still possessed of the devil of arrogance and impelled by tribal conceit and ambition. Seemingly, Germany has not even yet been sufficiently chastened to become in the immediate future a desirable neighbor. But the German object lesson will not be lost upon other nations. Peace is worth a great price; and friendliness and generosity are pearls beyond price, between nations as between individuals. The fine impulses that the Allied nations have shown in many ways during the period of their sacrifice and trial are to be cherished and maintained. It must be the privilege of the United States to help support for the future the unselfish professions of the recent past. To the people of Europe President Wilson has seemed to represent this high-mindedness of the United States. Whatever influence helps to make this kind of an atmosphere for the peace negotiations is contributing greatly toward the best results.

lief in America's continued reasonableness and sanity. There has been commendable frankness, and remarkable harmony in view of all the facts. Mr. Simonds shows us that the Conference has hard work ahead; but differences will be reconciled.

*The French
Point of
View*

Meanwhile, it is a mistake to think that the settlement of one thing has waited upon another, or that Mr. Wilson's interest in the League of Nations has postponed the definitive Treaty of Peace. A hundred questions have been under consideration at Paris, while each of them has been growing more ripe for settlement as affairs have taken their course all the way from Finland to Mesopotamia. Reactions in France could not have been avoided. The appalling realities of the war are better understood to-day than while the conflict was in progress. France is to have much sympathy and some assistance; but the roseate future that it is easy for thoughtless strangers to predict must be attained through painful effort. It is not surprising that the French press should give emphasis to concrete facts. The French are interested in obtaining reparation for present losses, and in having guaranties against another war. They dread the recovery by Germany of her economic power. They are entitled to the kind of a peace treaty that will protect them from another German attack.

PREMIER CLEMENCEAU, SEVERELY WOUNDED BY AN
ANARCHIST'S BULLET ON FEBRUARY 19

*Differences
Not to Be
Smothered*

It would be rather suspicious than otherwise if the dispatches from Paris had brought nothing but strains of brotherly love and heavenly harmony. The problems to be adjusted are of such a nature that it would be quite impossible to settle them without many differences of opinion in the course of the proceedings. It is encouraging that whenever any differences appear they are megaphoned over seas and across continents. Surely no sensible American supposed that President Wilson could go to the Peace Conference and dictate to it on the one hand, or soothe it on the other hand into such eagerness to make everything unanimous that real differences could have no airing. Mr. Wilson's presence in Europe has brought out demonstrations of good feeling towards America that were sincere. His utterances in turn have helped to strengthen the European be-

*Revenge
Must Be
Forgotten*

The United States and Canada are good neighbors and will remain so, but along our Mexican border we are maintaining a very costly military patrol, and there is utter lack of neighborliness between Mexico and our country. Statesmanship must find a way to allay Mexican prejudice and to create friendship. In like manner the peace of Europe can only be kept in the long run by getting rid of differences, by accepting facts, and by exchanging enmities for relationships of mutual esteem. If Germany thinks "revenge" in her heart, there is no prospect of lasting peace. It is not likely that a final treaty can be made with Germany before May, and it may be later. Armistice renewals may require further occupation of German territory. It will be fortunate for Germany if she can accept her defeat in good faith. If she is to be kept from building up armaments in future to menace her neighbors, she must, of course, have reasonable assurance that she will be protected in turn from assaults by Russia,

Poland, or other neighbors. It would seem that the only way to give such assurance is to create the League of Nations, and in due time to admit her along with her neighbors as members of such an association. She must, of course, convince the world of her good faith, and pay her bills without flinching.

*The New
German
Government*

Sensible people in the Allied countries have not wished to see Germany torn to pieces by the criminal conduct of anarchists, and the fanaticism of Bolshevist groups. The orderliness of the assemblage at Weimar made a good impression. The delegates had been chosen seemingly in honest elections, and by a broad franchise. It was an unexpected mark of coherence that the constitution as previously drafted by the temporary government of Herr Ebert should have been unanimously adopted by a convention composed of so many different parties and elements. This instrument, adopted on February 10, is called a "provisional" constitution. Herr Frederick Ebert was elected President of Germany, receiving a total of 277 votes out of 379. It was announced that the new ministry would have fourteen members and that Philipp Scheidemann had been named as Chancellor. In this new cabinet the Socialists have seven seats, the Democrats three, and the Centrists have two besides their leader, Erzberger. Count von Brockdorff-Rentzau continues to be Foreign Minister.

*Germany's
Condition*

Some reports from Germany, credited to American and British officers, indicate a general paralysis of business activity and serious lack of food. The French military leaders have declared that Germany could put three million men in the field within a few weeks, and use such warnings as a basis for their demand that large Allied armies remain permanently in France. A British authority, in reply, declares that Germany could not possibly feed a large army for more than a week or two; that means of transport are now totally lacking in Germany; and that military material has been so largely surrendered that Germany could not, for a long time to come, contend with nations having ready at hand their supplies of artillery, aircraft, and the like. Evidently, however, the Germans have not looked the situation frankly in the face. Ebert and other leaders have been making unwarranted criticisms, in threatening tones. They cannot be permitted to evade the Armistice

terms. There are said to be 800,000 German prisoners still in France. No day should be allowed to pass without witnessing the work of restoration in Northern France and Belgium advancing at the rate of one good day's work for each of 800,000 men.

*The King
and the New
Parliament*

The new British Parliament elected in December began its opening session on February 11. King George made an address summarizing general conditions. He declared that the discussions at the Peace Conference had been "marked by the utmost cordiality and by no disagreement." He praised the agreement at Paris "to accept the principle of the League of Nations, for it is by progress along that road that I see the only hope of saving mankind from a recurrence of the scourge of war." He referred to the enthusiastic welcome accorded to the President of the United States by all sections of the British people. He expressed his especial satisfaction that the self-governing Dominions, and India, were directly represented in the Paris Conference. He spoke for the program of social reform in England, saying among other things: "We must stop at no sacrifice of interest or prejudice to stamp out unmerited poverty, to diminish unemployment and miti-

HERR PHILIP SCHEIDEMANN

(The new Chancellor of Germany in the government provided at Weimar last month by the constituent assembly)

*The Premier
Expounds
to the House*

Mr. Lloyd George's opening speech to the new Parliament expressed regret at the absence of Mr. Asquith, who had lost his seat after thirty years of continuous service in the House of Commons. He did not think it the right moment to discuss the work of the Peace Conference, but assured Parliament that everything would be laid before it in due time. He referred to the vast range of the problems which this Conference had to settle. He said that an able commission representing all the great powers was considering the responsibility of individuals for starting the war; and also that "a singularly able Commission" was dealing with the question of the indemnity to be exacted from enemy countries. He said that the League of Nations was an experiment "full of hope for the future and it will be tried with the full assent of the nations, great and small." The most important part of Lloyd George's speech had to do with labor unrest in Great Britain. He regarded the intense strain of four and a half years as sufficient to produce an unusual frame of mind. He pointed out various legitimate causes of social unrest. He proceeded with an elaborate discussion of the labor situation, advocating public improvements to give employment. On the other hand, he denounced the strike tendencies, and declared that England would not submit to mob-rule by striking bodies making unreasonable demands and claims.

*Labour and
Reform
in England*

In England more than in America it is the generally accepted doctrine that social reforms following the war are to be so sweeping as to constitute something like a revolution; but political and industrial leaders are determined to accomplish the transformation by lawful and peaceful methods and not by storm and strife. Most of the labor claims as set forth in the recent platform of the British Labor movement have to do with broad national policies. Military conscription is opposed; a League of Nations is favored; Home Rule for Ireland and for other parts of the Kingdom and the Empire is advocated; and there is a large program covering such subjects as tax reform, land nationalization, public ownership of mines and the means of transportation, the rehousing of the people, improved education, equal opportunity for women, and popular control of the liquor traffic. These are the outstanding demands. Much more immediate, however, are the claims for short

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PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE, WHO ADDRESSED LAST MONTH THE NEW BRITISH PARLIAMENT

gate its sufferings, to provide decent homes, to improve the Nation's health, and to raise the standard of well-being throughout the community." He referred to the decision to create a new ministry of Public Health and also a Ministry of Ways and Communications, and to various other measures such as the housing problem, agricultural improvement, and land settlement. Never has a king made a broader or a more democratic appeal.

hours, high wages, and the practical control of industry by the trades unions. First in importance last month was the demand of the Miners' Federation, which has 800,000 members, for shorter hours and larger pay. A six-hour day and a 30 per cent. increase over war wages constitute the claim of the coal miners. It is held, on the other hand, that cheap coal is so necessary to other industries that the full claim of the miners cannot be granted.

**Strikes
and Radical
Demands**

Historically, the miners have had a hard struggle for decent conditions. They are probably asking more just now than can be granted, but they are sure to make gains. The National Union of Railwaymen (400,000 members) ask a forty-eight hour week and a voice in the control of the railways; while the transport workers (250,000 men) ask a forty-four-hour week and a 20 per cent. wage advance. These claims are typical of the existing labor situation in England. Many unions are demanding a seven-hour day, with favorable conditions of various kinds. Such trades as those of shipbuilders and carpenters are involved, and even Government employes, like the postal workers. All over the United Kingdom in January and February there were labor disturbances indicative of the reaction that was to have been expected with the ending of the war, while also showing the clear determination of labor to establish something like a universal eight-hour day, and to make all the conditions of industrial life more favorable for the social advancement of the people as a whole. Some of the largest strikes were in face of agreements, and were opposed by labor leaders; but the movements were spontaneous and hard to restrain. The great shipbuilding towns of Belfast and Glasgow have been through experiences that were serious enough to divert the attention of the British Government for a time from Paris war adjustments to domestic turmoil.

**Shorter Hours
for Textile
Workers**

In the United States, from the social standpoint, the most significant strikes have been those among the New York garment workers and in the Eastern textile mills. Scores of thousands of people who make the clothes for American men, women, and children have gone back to work after winning their demand for a forty-four-hour week. This means eight hours for five days and four hours for Saturday. Only a few years ago

HON. OLE HANSON, MAYOR OF SEATTLE
(Who does not permit constituted authority to be usurped
by law-breakers)

the majority of these garment workers were taking their bundles from the manufacturers to the sweat-shops, and working sometimes sixteen hours a day. They now work with good light and ventilation, in fireproof buildings, and their gain of the forty-four-hour week is to be deemed a triumph for American civilization. It follows, however, that with more leisure these clothing workers throughout the country must be held to higher standards of citizenship. Most of them are recent comers to America, and those who are not already naturalized should be made to meet real tests as to their ability to speak, read, and write the English language, their knowledge of our institutions, and their personal fitness for citizenship. In the textile industries the demand in general has been for a forty-eight-hour week, with an obvious tendency to acceptance of this basic principle all along the line.

**Firm Action
in the
Northwest**

The great strike of some 25,000 workers in the shipyards at Seattle was followed by a local sympathetic strike on February 6 which for a brief period paralyzed the activities of the city. Mayor Hanson arose to the emergency and, with an enlarged police force aided by

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THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE AT WASHINGTON, ENGAGED WITH THE PROBLEMS OF RECONSTRUCTION

(From left to right, are: Grosvenor Clarkson, Director of the Council; David F. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture; Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy; Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War; Franklin K. Lane, Secretary of the Interior; William C. Redfield, Secretary of Commerce; and William B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor)

soldiers from Camp Lewis, he quickly demonstrated his ability to vindicate public authority. He announced his determination to maintain such public services as light and transit; and the sympathetic strike came to an end in a very short time. The I. W. W. element had become assertive, many of its members in Seattle being foreigners. Their attitude was that of lawless revolutionaries; but Mayor Ole Hanson armed his thousand extra policemen and defied the anarchists. He made a statement on February 8 from which we quote the following sentences:

The labor unions must now cleanse themselves of their anarchistic element or the labor unions must fall. They are on trial before the people of this country. I take the position that our duty as citizens stands ahead of the demand of any organization on the face of the earth. The union men, the business men, the churchmen, must first of all be citizens. Any man who owes a higher allegiance to any organization than he does to the Government should be sent to a Federal prison or deported.

The labor movement when properly conducted is entitled to due consideration. Every thoughtful citizen desires to see the economic and social condition of workers improved as rapidly as possible; but the people of the United States will not tolerate Bolshevik methods, and there is universal applause for the firmness and vigor of the mayor of Seattle. Resolute action in Seattle was followed by the collapse of a general strike that had also been called in the neighboring city of Tacoma. At the great mining center of Butte, Montana, the I. W. W. are a power-

ful influence, and they encouraged a strike which became extensive last month and which led to the employment of soldiers for the protection of the mines.

Unemployment, and Remedies At the beginning of February the Secretary of Labor, Mr. Wilson, reported 262,000 unemployed men in 123 industrial centers as compared with 235,000 the previous week. He urged before Congress committees the passage of legislation to furnish immediate employment as a "buffer" measure, and as a protection against the spread of what he called "the philosophy of force" in the United States. It is the general opinion of experienced men that useful public works ought to be entered upon promptly throughout the country. The Council of National Defense, which includes six members of the Cabinet with Secretary Baker as chairman, has taken on fresh vigor and is directing its energies towards the problems of reconstruction under the leadership of Mr. Grosvenor B. Clarkson, who was formerly its secretary, and now holds the position of director. It has been studying demobilization and unemployment.

Work of the Defense Council

The Council serves as a focus or a clearing house for many Government departments and agencies in their relation to such subjects. It is revivifying, for the new period, the local Councils of Defense which were organized for war work in States, counties, and towns, and which now comprise 184,000 units. Its methods include appeals to public opinion, as

well as endeavors to secure timely legislation. Thus on February 14 Mr. Clarkson issued a statement on behalf of the Council advising the country, for several good reasons, to buy commodities at once that are to be needed in the near future. Across the country the Council has spread the injunction, "Buy only what you need, but *buy it now!*" The buying power of consumers is ample, and the general resumption of purchasing activity would put quick life into many industries and help to tide over a period of restlessness and unemployment. The Council of National Defense has transmitted to the local councils a series of very valuable suggestions regarding the duty of every community towards returning soldiers. There has also been sent out what is called the "Program for an Organized Community"—a comprehensive scheme that is very stimulating in its proposals.

*The Lane
Policies in
Congress*

In terse and characteristic fashion, Secretary Lane states for our readers, in this number, his policies of land improvement and public work for home-coming soldiers. So well considered a program as that which is set forth in his statement and in the more extended article which follows by Dr. Elwood Mead, has seldom been brought forward in a moment of opportunity and need. It has been difficult to teach the country to understand the waste and loss due to lack of a sound system of rural economy. Congress has become awake to the need of encouraging the building of good roads; but land improvement is an even more fundamental thing, and the greater project would naturally involve the lesser. Congress seems practically to have decided upon a compromise measure in the matter of the leasing of public lands containing petroleum, coal, and phosphate, and as respects the development of hydro-electric power on the public domain and the navigable rivers under Federal control. For five or six years Secretary Lane has tried to get such bills passed; and the compromise measures are not precisely what he would have preferred. Yet they are perhaps better than nothing, although Mr. Pinchot and other conservationist leaders are disturbed by some of the clauses insisted upon by the Senate.

*Adjusting
the
Soldiers.*

As the soldiers return in increasing numbers from France, and as the great camps at home have been rapidly discharging their men, the practical business of fitting them to places

Mar.—2

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COL. HENRY D. LINDSLEY, DIRECTOR OF THE WAR RISK INSURANCE BUREAU

(Colonel Lindsley, before entering the army, was Mayor of Dallas, Texas, and a very successful man of affairs, who had also been head of an insurance company. He took the Plattsburg training at forty-six, was commissioned a Major, and was ordered abroad, where he became head of the war insurance work. He has recently returned from France to take charge of the immense war insurance office at Washington)

in civil life becomes more urgent each week. Experience now shows that the dismissal of the men in the Atlantic ports rather than in their home neighborhoods has many drawbacks. The plan of having men discharged in custody of the draft boards which enrolled them and selected them, is growing in favor. The best place to send returning soldiers who were enlisted or drafted from a given county in Maine or Ohio or Texas is to the very county from which they entered the Army. The problem of readjusting the great system of soldiers' insurance and allotments is a difficult one, and Col. Henry D. Lindsley, now at the head of that Bureau in Washington has no light task before him.

*Welcome
Visitors from
England*

Our task of caring for the maimed and the invalid soldiers is not extensive when compared with that of England or France because of their longer period of fighting. But it is to be feared that we are not as yet doing as much for the invalided soldiers as should be done. We have much to learn from the European experiences, particularly from the successful

bring home American soldiers; second, he was gaining information to aid in dealing with the subject of the operation of our new merchant marine. He is asking Chambers of Commerce and business bodies to help find answers to several of the questions that arise relating to ships and foreign trade. The British people are far more dependent than we in America upon exports and imports, and it is vital to British prosperity that a large volume of peacetime commerce should succeed the war business that monopolized ship-

MR. JOHN GALSWORTHY, BRITISH MAN OF LETTERS
AND WORKER FOR INVALID SOLDIERS

methods employed in England. Mr. John Galsworthy, who arrived in the United States last month as a literary celebrity, has been so absorbed at home in efforts to promote what is called the "re-education" of maimed soldiers, to fit them for new careers, that he has gained for himself a second place of honor and esteem almost equal to that which he had so worthily won as a man of letters. Such visitors as Mr. Galsworthy and Sir Arthur Pearson can do more than the statesmen to touch chords of sympathy between the two great peoples. The arrival of Mr. Philip Gibbs at the same time with Mr. Galsworthy brings to our side of the Atlantic a war correspondent whose descriptions of British fighting gave readers in America as well as in England a daily thrill of pleasure and surprise, in their mastery of an epic style that lifted cable letters above the ephemeral into a place as permanent literature.

*Ships and
Reviving
Trade*

Shipping and foreign trade are topics that are demanding the keenest attention in British and American business circles. Mr. Hurley, head of our Shipping Board, has returned from Europe, where he was occupied with several questions. First, he was arranging to secure a large amount of German tonnage to help

MR. PHILIP GIBBS, LONDON NEWSPAPER MAN AND
FAMOUS WAR CORRESPONDENT

ping. Some temporary British policies adopted in the re-establishment of foreign trade have been strongly criticized in our Congress at Washington; but the embargoes are to be considered as merely transitional, following the restrictions of war.

*Free Traders
to the
Front*

Meanwhile those Americans who have long advocated the merits of free trade are now presenting their formulated views to the statesmen at Paris. They believe that there must be great mitigation of economic rivalry, if the League of Nations is to attain full success. There is much to be said in support of the view that protectionist policies have now been largely outgrown, and that the movement toward

SIMEON D. FESS NICHOLAS LONGWORTH JAMES R. MANN FREDERICK H. GILLET
FOUR REPUBLICAN LEADERS WHO WILL BE PROMINENT IN THE NEW HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

greater freedom of business intercourse among nations ought henceforth to advance rapidly. Some of the chief arguments for protectionist policies belonged to times and conditions that lie in the past. It does not follow that there should be an unduly rapid or radical abandonment of existing tariff schedules. But surely the League of Nations, and the economic situation following the Great War, must call for free-trade or low tariffs, rather than for prohibitive customs rates.

*A
Republican
Congress* During the half of his second term that remains (dating from March 4), President Wilson will have to deal with a Congress that is Republican in both houses, although the majority in the Senate will be very slight. He has had the advantage of being supported hitherto by party majorities in three successive Congresses. While certain members of the minority have been active in legislative work, the chairmanships of committees have, of course, all been held by Democrats, whose names have been kept prominent. The life of the expiring Congress has coincided with the war period. Most of the great war measures have been supported by the Republican minority on patriotic grounds. The ending of the war restores the freedom of discussion that had been temporarily checked. It is now to be seen to what extent President Wilson and the members of his administration can obtain Congressional support for their measures in the reconstruction period, with Republicans in control of both branches.

*Ending of
Present
Session* As these comments were made, it was impossible to predict the date of the calling of the new Congress in special session. Under ordinary conditions, it would meet on the first Monday of next December, but in these times it will not be possible to carry on the Government without the aid of the legislative branch. There have been pending, in the appropriation bills, matters of the most extraordinary importance; and, as these words were written, there remained a little more than two legislative weeks. The House of Representatives will have sent to the Senate a completed program. The great tax bill, which we explain at length in subsequent pages, will have become a law. The Naval bill, however, carries a large program of new construction specially urged by President Wilson. It passed the House by an overwhelming majority, but the Senate may not be ready for a final vote before the fourth of March. It is probable that the legislation providing for sustaining the guaranteed price of wheat may be completed, and this carries an appropriation of a round billion dollars. But there are other measures of importance that the Senate may not be able to complete. In that case, it would seem necessary to call the new Congress in the near future. The President will, doubtless, have given to the present Congress an account of the progress made at Paris. But later in the season it will be necessary to lay before the Senate the completed agreement forming the League of Nations, and also the Treaty of Peace, which

must be ratified before the war can be considered as ended in a legal sense.

*Will the
Republicans
Harmonize?*

The Republicans, under the harmonizing influence of Chairman Hays of the National Committee, are endeavoring to forget past antagonisms and act as a unified party. It remains to be seen whether this can be done. Behind the scenes, even more than in the open, there remain differences of principle and conviction, as well as unhealed personal feuds. The Progressive elements demand the disregard of seniority traditions in the selection of chairmen for important committees. It is not yet determined who will be Speaker of the House. Mr. Mann of Illinois, Mr. Gillett of Massachusetts, and Messrs. Fess and Longworth of Ohio are the names most commonly mentioned. In the Senate, Mr. Lodge will by full party consent be chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee; but some of the Republicans who have more liberal tariff views are not willing to support Mr. Penrose as chairman of the Finance Committee. Senator Cummins will lead in dealing with the critical railroad question as chairman of the Commerce Committee.

*Presidential
Candidates*

The tendency to rally about the late Colonel Roosevelt as leader of the reunited Republican forces had been strong, and it had been generally conceded in political circles that he would be nominated for the Presidency in the convention that will be held in June of next year. His death has left the party with a sense of great loss and in a mood of doubt and uncertainty. It is possible that the Republican primaries may not be very influential in the finding of a candidate next year, and that the convention itself will select the ticket from a number of names to be presented as "favorite sons." Thus Ohio will probably name Senator Harding; Illinois is likely to rally around Governor Lowden; Pennsylvania may send a delegation for Senator Knox; New York may again favor Judge Hughes; there may be a large call for ex-President Taft on the part of his hosts of admiring friends; California may bring forward the name of Senator Hiram Johnson; Washington may wish to present Senator Poindexter; strength from other parts of the country besides his own mountain State may manifest itself for Senator Borah; the American passion for military heroes may bring General Pershing or General Leonard Wood into the

foreground as candidates; and so the list might be considerably extended, for there are other men, such as ex-Governor Whitman, and Senator Weeks of Massachusetts, whose friends still have them in mind. Issues between the two parties are not as yet very clearly defined. Business and labor questions are likely to be foremost. Railroads, shipping, control of the wire services—these words suggest some of the great topics that will figure in the next campaign. The transition from war to peace brings many problems.

*Congress
Passes the
Revenue Bill*

On February 13 the new revenue bill, as amended first by the Senate and then by the conferees, passed the Congress by an almost unanimous vote. The measure is designed to raise through taxation a greater sum of money than has ever been demanded before in any country. The exact estimate is \$6,070,000,000 for 1918 and \$4,000,000,000 for 1919. The long consideration of the bill by the Senate Finance Committee led to its improvement in many respects in the direction of clarity and equity. Most of these improvements were retained in the final bill as reported by the conference of Senate and House. The conferees from the Senate gave way to Mr. Kitchin and his associates in the matter of higher rates on corporation incomes for the so-called "excess profit" tax. The amendment inserted by the Senate, repealing the unpopular zone system of second class postage rates, was also relinquished before the insistent demands of the House conferees. The major portion of the great sum the bill is designed to raise comes from very heavy taxation of large incomes of individuals and corporations. It is true, however, that while the new law grasps eagerly for the millions of dollars, it does not neglect the pennies. A person able to pay ten cents for a glass of soda water must pay one cent additional under this measure. The bill makes a most voluminous document. It would require nearly the whole of this magazine to print it in full.

*New Individual
Income Tax
Rates*

While it is true that the bulk of the money to be raised under the new law comes from large incomes and profits, it is also true that the rate of increase in taxation for 1918 over previous years is much higher for the smallest taxable incomes than for the greater ones. This was inevitable because by 1917 the rates of taxation on the larger incomes had already

reached a height which prevented doubling or trebling them without asking for more than the whole. To show how the present bill has increased the tax burden of people with smaller incomes: A single man, who last year paid a tax of \$40 on an income of \$3000, will this year face a tax of \$120, being 6 per cent. of his net income in excess of \$1000, which is exempted. This great difference results from the radical increase of the normal tax over previous years. In 1917 the normal tax was 2 per cent. on an income over \$4000 and 2 per cent. additional on an income above \$20,000, the surtax beginning at \$5000. For 1918 the normal tax has been increased to 6 per cent. on incomes up to \$4000 and to 12 per cent. on incomes in excess of that figure.

The Income Surtaxes Under the new measure surtaxes begin on incomes above \$5000 and are graduated by zones of \$2000 each of income up to the final surtax of 65 per cent. on that part of an income in excess of one million dollars. Thus, for 1918 a man with a net income of \$50,000 must pay a normal tax of \$5520 and a surtax of \$5510, a total of \$11,030. In the first three years of the operation of the income tax law (1913, 1914 and 1915), such a married person with \$50,000 income paid only \$760, less than one-fifteenth of the sum he must contribute to the Government under the present bill. In 1916 his tax bill was \$1320 and in 1917 it was \$5180. Thus, the moderately rich family in the United States will be asked to give up from a fifth to a fourth of their year's income. With the very wealthy the proportion is much greater—an income of one million dollars must pay \$694,030 taxes, or nearly 70 per cent.

Corporation Taxes Corporations, too, must pay a normal tax of 12 per cent. for the year 1918 on the amount of net income in excess of the credits allowed. In addition they must pay excess profits and war profits if there are any. If a corporation has earned for 1918 only 10 per cent. on its invested capital, or less, it has only the normal tax to pay. If it has earned more than 10 per cent. but less than 20 per cent., it pays 30 per cent. tax on the amount over the exempted 10 per cent. If it has earned more than 20 per cent., it pays 65 per cent. tax on the excess income. Then if the net income for 1918 exceeds the average earnings

of the corporation for the "pre-war" years 1911, 1912 and 1913 by a sum larger than the total of excess profits taxes just described, an additional and final war profits tax of 80 per cent. is levied on the excess sum.

Lower Figures for 1919 The present bill provides for the federal taxes of 1919 as well as the previous year. For 1919 a sum of four billion dollars is aimed at as the total of taxes. The chief difference in the schedules of the two years effecting a reduction for 1919 comes in the rates on corporation incomes. For 1919 the 12 per cent. normal tax on corporation incomes will be reduced to 10 per cent. The 1918 excess profits taxes of 30 per cent. on net incomes between 10 and 20 per cent. of invested capital will be reduced to a tax of 20 per cent., and the 65 per cent. on income exceeding 20 per cent. of invested capital will be reduced to 40 per cent. The war profits lash of the whip will be confined, for 1919, to such portions of the corporation's income as have resulted from Government contracts.

The Coming Bond Issue On February 10, Secretary of the Treasury Glass asked Congress for sweeping powers in his management of the coming issue of "Victory" bonds. Secretary Glass requests virtually unlimited authority to fix the interest rate and other terms, and also an increase of the amount of the issue that he may at his discretion offer to the public, from the five billion dollars already authorized to ten billion. His letter to Chairman Kitchin of the House Ways and Means Committee also asks permission to issue Treasury notes maturing within five years up to an amount of ten billion dollars. This new legislation which the Secretary seeks would give him entire authority to determine the tax exemption features of the new loan, and also to enlarge the tax exemption privileges of existing Liberty bonds. Secretary Glass explained his request for such unusual powers by calling attention to the rapid current changes in the country's commercial and industrial readjustment which make it impossible for him to decide wisely and finally the proper terms of a loan to be floated nearly two months after Congress will have adjourned. The Secretary said bluntly and truly that the new loan cannot be issued successfully, now that the war is over, within the limitations imposed by existing laws.

*The Railway
Problem
Pressing*

The necessity of deciding promptly on some constructive plan for the future of our railroads has been emphasized by the results recently published of the first year of Government control and operation. In spite of Mr. McAdoo's increase of passenger rates by no less than 50 per cent. and his horizontal increase of freight rates by about 25 per cent., the Railroad Administration closed the year 1918 with a net deficit of two hundred million dollars, after allowing for the guaranteed "standard return" aggregating nine hundred and fifty million dollars paid, or to be paid, to the owners for the use of the properties. The increase in rates put into effect by Mr. McAdoo yielded about six hundred million dollars in earnings, although they were in effect only during the last half of the year. The most important factor in producing the deficit that resulted even after this large increase in rates, was the raising of wages, by the Railroad Wage Commission, of which Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane was chairman, and, later in the year, by two other boards composed of railway officers and employees. The first commission provided advances of wages aggregating three hundred million dollars a year. The later advances aggregated five hundred million dollars a year. But the end is not yet. Director-General Hines is now confronted with further demands from the men in train service for wage increases that are estimated to total at least one hundred million dollars a year. At the same time there are many calls from shippers for a reduction of the higher rates instituted by Mr. McAdoo. There has been a marked increase of unionism among railroad employees since the Government took charge of the roads. When they were taken over, the Director-General prevented any interference with efforts of employees towards further organization, and today there is a strong possibility of a single railway union representing the entire body of two million employees.

*New Plans
for
Railroads*

During the past month the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce has continued assiduously to obtain the views of those who have special knowledge of the railway problem or who are importantly interested in it. Prominent among the plans suggested in the hearings of the Committee during the month were those of Director-General Hines, those of the representatives of the railroad brother-

hoods and those of spokesmen for the holders of railroad securities. Mr. Hines' recommendations were given with clearness and force. He opposes Government ownership and made an able plea for Mr. McAdoo's plan for an extension of Government control until 1924—a plan which, in spite of his strong advocacy, does not seem to be gaining favor. Mr. Hines wants a radically reconstructed private ownership with such close Government supervision, including Government representation on the Boards of Directors, as would virtually give the public and labor the benefits of public ownership, while preserving the incentive of self-interest and avoiding political difficulties. The counsel for the railroad employees' brotherhoods favored the purchase of the railroads outright by the Government and turning them over to a single operating corporation, two-thirds of the directors to be elected by the employees and the other third appointed by the President of the United States, with earnings of the corporation divided from time to time among the employees. Mr. S. D. Warfield, head of an association of owners of railroad securities, recommended a plan of private ownership with the Government guaranteeing a fixed return of 6 per cent. on capital invested, and providing that one-third of all profits beyond that should be distributed among the employees, Another third would be used for improvements and the final third would be returned to the roads as a reward for efficiency.

*The Cost of
Guaranteeing
Wheat Prices*

The House Committee on Agriculture has prepared the measure which will enable the Government to make good its guarantee of a price of \$2.26 per bushel for the wheat crops of 1918 and 1919. It is a costly proceeding. A "revolving fund" of one billion dollars is to be appropriated for the President's use in filling the gap between the guaranteed price of wheat and the price which the grain will normally command under the conditions of supply and demand in the post-war period. Already the release of shipping made possible by the cessation of war has brought Australia's surplus into the world's markets. It is estimated that there are 200,000,000 bushels of Australian wheat for export, controlled by the British Government at a price of \$1.05 per bushel at the port of export. In a single week of January fifty-five vessels started for Australia to bring food stuffs, to England, India, and other countries.

© Committee on Public Information

SOME OF THE 5,000 MOTOR TRUCKS SURRENDERED BY GERMANY, UNDER THE TERMS OF THE ARMISTICE
(American guards, as well as the German drivers, may be seen in the picture)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From January 17 to February 14, 1919)

THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT PARIS

January 18.—The peace congress (without delegates from the defeated powers and Russia) meets at Paris in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; President Poincaré delivers an address of welcome; President Wilson proposes Premier Clemenceau as permanent chairman, and the delegates unanimously elect him.

January 19.—Regulations are adopted for governing the sessions of the conference; the five belligerent powers (United States, British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan) are to take part in all meetings and commissions; other belligerent and associated powers are to take part only in sittings at which questions concerning them are discussed; neutrals may be invited to appear when their interests are directly affected.

January 22.—The Supreme Council of the Peace Conference announces that a proposal of President Wilson has been approved, inviting every organized group in Russia to send representatives to Princes' Islands, Sea of Marmora, to confer with representatives of the associated powers with a view to establishing order; meanwhile aggressive military actions must cease.

January 23.—The Chinese agency at Washington states that the Peace Conference will be asked to revise the China-Japanese treaties of 1915, as inconsistent with the free development of China.

January 24.—A "solemn warning" is issued against the use of armed force in many parts of Europe and the East to gain possession of territory in support of claims before the Conference.

January 25.—A full session of the conference declares for the creation of a League of Nations, "to promote international obligations and provide safeguards against war"; there are to be periodical conferences and a permanent organization; membership should be open to "every civilized nation which can be relied upon to promote its objects"; a committee is appointed to work out the details.

January 26.—Premier Clemenceau, as chairman, appoints committees on Responsibility for the War; Reparation; International Labor Legislation; and Regulation of Ports, Waterways, and Railroads.

January 30.—A committee investigating the frontier controversy between Poles and Czechoslovaks, over the Teschen coal fields, obtains a cessation of hostilities, with the temporary occupation of the disputed zone by the Allies.

"Satisfactory provisional arrangements" are reached for dealing with the German colonies and the occupied territory in Asiatic Turkey—according to an official statement.

February 3.—The League of Nations Commission, with President Wilson presiding, holds its first meeting in Colonel House's apartments.

February 11.—The principal French member of the Commission on a Society of Nations, Leon Bourgeois, proposes the creation of an international military body to enforce decisions.

The Yugoslav delegates request President Wilson to act as arbitrator in the dispute with Italy regarding the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

The Japanese delegation is reported as insist-

ing upon Japan's retention of the Marshall and Caroline Islands, taken from Germany.

February 14.—The draft of a constitution for the League of Nations is read and explained to the Conference by President Wilson, as chairman of the commission which formulated it; the plan provides for an international secretariat and an executive council consisting of representatives of nine states; decisions rendered will be enforced, if necessary, by "the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse" between the covenant-breaking state and any other.

PRESIDENT WILSON IN EUROPE

January 18.—As one of five delegates from the United States, the President begins regular attendance at the sessions of the Peace Conference.

January 20.—At a luncheon tendered by the French Senate, the President pays a tribute to French character in the face of national danger.

January 25.—Discussion of a League of Nations, in the Peace Conference, is opened by President Wilson; he declares such a league necessary both to make present settlements and to maintain the future peace of the world.

January 26.—The President visits Rheims and the battle area around Chateau-Thierry.

February 3.—Addressing the members of the French Chamber of Deputies, the President dwells upon America's long standing "comradeship" with France; the old menace to the eastward will be eliminated by the proposed Society of Nations, rendering it unnecessary in the future to maintain burdensome armaments.

February 11.—President Wilson is formally requested by the Yugoslav delegates to act as arbitrator in the territorial dispute with Italy.

February 14.—President Wilson reads and explains to the Peace Conference the plan for a League of Nations, and later leaves Paris to attend the closing sessions of Congress at Washington.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

January 24.—The Senate, after several days of bitter debate, passes a bill appropriating \$100,-

000,000 for relief of famine conditions in Europe—excluding the Central Empires but including the non-Turkish peoples of Asia Minor.

January 28.—In the House, the Immigration Committee reports a bill prohibiting immigration to the United States (with specified minor exceptions) for a period of four years; the Committee on Post Offices votes in favor of returning the telegraph and telephone systems to their owners on December 31, 1919.

January 31.—In the Senate, Republican members denounce the possibility of American participation in control of former German colonies, as reported in unofficial press dispatches from Paris.

The House Committee on Naval Affairs reports the Naval appropriation bill, authorizing \$600,000,000 for new construction—providing, however, for cancellation in the event of international limitation of armaments.

February 6.—In the House, the War Revenue bill is submitted, as agreed upon by a conference committee of both branches; the measure is estimated to raise \$6,000,000,000 in taxes for the current fiscal year, and \$4,000,000,000 annually thereafter.

February 8.—The Senate adopts the Post Office appropriation bill carrying \$400,000,000 and authorizing \$200,000,000 additional for construction of roads during the next three years.

The House Committee on Agriculture introduces a bill providing \$1,000,000,000 to sustain the Government's guarantee to farmers of \$2.26 a bushel for wheat, in the face of a much lower price which will obtain in the world's markets. . . . The conference report on the Revenue bill is adopted, 310 votes to 11.

February 10.—In the Senate, a resolution providing for woman suffrage by federal Constitutional amendment fails for the second time by a single vote to obtain the necessary two-thirds; opposition is chiefly among Southern Democrats.

In the House, the Army appropriation bill is reported, carrying \$1,117,290,000.

February 11.—The House passes the Naval appropriation bill, accepting the Administration's building program by vote of 194 to 142.

February 13.—The Senate, without roll call, adopts the conference report on the Revenue bill.

February 14.—The Senate, with the Vice-President casting the deciding vote, refuses to consider a resolution of Mr. Johnson (Rep., Cal.), who demands withdrawal of American troops from Russia.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

January 17.—The legislatures of Minnesota and Wisconsin complete ratification of the prohibition amendment to the federal Constitution.

January 20.—The Interstate Commerce Commission de-

AN AMERICAN CONTRIBUTION TO THE SCIENCE OF WAR

(Mounted on the caterpillar-belt tractor made familiar by the "tank," this heavy field piece moves quickly and surely over obstacles. The scene is at the Aberdeen proving grounds, the gun not having seen actual service)

THE BRITISH COMMANDER OF THE ARCHANGEL EXPEDITION REVIEWS AN AMERICAN CONTINGENT

clares itself in authority to overrule rates established by the Director-General of Railroads.

New telephone rates go into effect throughout the United States, under direction of Postmaster-General Burleson; restraining orders are issued or sought in the courts by public service commissions in a number of States.

January 23.—The New York Assembly ratifies the federal prohibition amendment, 81 votes to 66.

January 24.—Walker D. Hines, the new Director-General of Railroads, asks the Secretary of the Treasury for \$750,000,000 with which to finance the railroads to the end of 1919, supplementing the original "revolving fund" of \$500,000,000.

The War Department adopts a policy which would enable individual enlisted men to stay in the service until they can secure civil employment.

January 25.—The Chief of Staff of the Army reports that when the war ended on November 11, 1918, the United States had the second largest army on the Western front, 1,950,000 men; France had 2,559,000 and the British (including Portuguese) 1,718,000.

January 27.—The War Department reports that on January 9 there were, in hospitals in France, 33,111 cases of wounds and injuries and 72,642 cases of disease.

January 28.—The Food Administration and the Department of Agriculture submit to Congress a measure appropriating \$1,250,000,000 for the purpose of carrying out the Government's guarantee of \$2.26 a bushel to wheat producers.

January 29.—The Secretary of State certifies that the prohibition amendment has been ratified by three-fourths of the States and has become a part of the Constitution of the United States, effective January, 1920.

February 3.—Director-General Hines explains

to the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce his proposal to reorganize the railroads into from six to twelve regional operating corporations.

February 4.—The Connecticut Senate rejects the federal prohibition amendment.

February 6.—American casualties in northern Russia to the end of January are officially reported as 409 killed, out of a force slightly in excess of 5000.

February 10.—The Secretary of the Treasury appeals to Congress for legislation modifying present restrictions on the amount and interest rate of forthcoming bond issues.

February 12.—In the three months since the signing of the armistice (according to an official statement issued at Washington), 287,000 American troops overseas embarked for home and 1,130,000 men in home camps were demobilized.

February 14.—The resignation of William G. Sharp, as Ambassador to France, is announced.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

January 16.—Dr. Karl Liebknecht, the Radical Socialist leader (the Spartacus or anti-Government faction), is shot dead while attempting to escape after arrest in Berlin; his companion, Rosa Luxemburg, is killed by a mob.

January 17.—Polish leaders reach an agreement whereby Ignace Jan Paderewski becomes Premier, with General Pilsudski as Foreign Minister; M. Demoski, former Polish leader in the Russian Duma, is to be President.

January 19.—Throughout Germany the people vote for members of a National Assembly, the party of Premier Ebert (Majority Socialists) electing 164 members out of 421, the remainder being divided among five other parties.

The Italian cabinet is reorganized, the King accepting resignations of four members in the absence of Premier Orlando at the Peace Conference.

January 20.—A monarchist revolution breaks out in Portugal, with the avowed object of restoring King Manuel to the throne.

January 21.—The German Government decides that the national convention shall meet at Weimar (on February 6), in order to be removed from the influence of the old Prussian spirit.

The Sinn Fein members elected to the British Parliament meet at Dublin, read a declaration of independence, and proclaim an Irish Republic.

French "effectives" at various periods in the war are officially stated to have been 3,872,000 on August 15, 1914, increasing to approximately five million by February, 1915, and remaining at nearly 5,200,000 from January, 1916, to the end of the war.

January 25.—The Portuguese Government reports numerous successes over insurgent forces in the north and around Lisbon.

February 2.—A monarchist government is constituted at Oporto, Portugal.

February 4.—The newly-elected British Parliament assembles.

February 5.—The British Government invokes the Defense of the Realm Act against electrical workers who threaten to deprive London of light—making such a move a punishable offense.

February 6.—The first German National Assembly is opened in the theater at Weimar; in his address, Chancellor Ebert protests against the "ruthless" armistice conditions enforced by the Allies.

February 8.—Dr. Eduard David is chosen president of the German National Assembly.

February 11.—Premier Lloyd George deals with the labor crisis in an address before the House of Commons; he recites Government efforts to remedy legitimate reasons for unrest, but declares that every power will be used to combat anarchy or Prussianism in the industrial world.

The German National Assembly elects Friedrich Ebert as first President of the German State, after adopting a provisional constitution.

Official statistics show that the civilian population of France decreased 750,000 during the war, besides 1,400,000 deaths among soldiers.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

January 17.—Marshal Foch, in an interview with American newspaper correspondents, declares that "it is on the Rhine that the French must hold the Germans" to avoid future wars; he is understood to imply not annexation of German territory, but rather restriction of German fortifications and army bases.

January 25.—The Allied expedition in the Archangel region of northern Russia (14,000 British, Americans, French, and Russians) is forced to retire by the Bolsheviks, operating in large numbers and equipped with artillery.

January 29.—The American Secretary of State, acting in the name of the President, (both officials being in Paris), extends formal recognition to the provisional Polish Government.

January 31.—The Allied expedition in Russia is forced to retire further northward, along the Vaga and Dvina rivers.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

January 21.—A general strike among dress and waist makers in New York City (mostly young women) involves 35,000 workers, who demand a forty-four hour week and a 15 per cent. advance in wages.

January 27.—Labor unrest throughout Great Britain assumes serious proportions, with strikes in numerous trades brought about by varying causes; it is estimated that 200,000 persons have quit work.

February 1.—Troops arrive in Glasgow, after a day of rioting by shipyard strikers.

February 3.—Transit in London is crippled by a strike of "tube" employees.

February 6.—A general strike in Seattle, growing out of disaffection among shipyard workers, causes practical cessation of industry; soldiers from Camp Lewis operate the municipal lighting systems.

February 8.—Unemployment throughout the United States, according to official announcement of the Department of Labor, has increased to 290,000 from 12,000 on December 3.

Mines in the Butte (Montana) district are closed by a strike called by the Industrial Workers of the World.

February 9.—Memorial services for Theodore Roosevelt are held throughout the United States, in London and Paris, and among American troops in France and Germany.

February 10.—The general strike in Seattle is ended, principally through firm measures taken by the Mayor, Ole Hanson.

OBITUARY

January 18.—Prince John, youngest son of King George of England, 13.

January 21.—Yi Hiung, who abdicated the throne of Korea in 1907, 68.

January 22.—George T. Oliver, of Pennsylvania, who acquired successive prominence as lawyer, steel manufacturer, newspaper publisher, and United States Senator (1909-'17), 71.

January 27.—Rear-Adm. French E. Chadwick, a distinguished naval veteran of the Civil and Spanish Wars, 75. . . . Ismail Kemal Bey, head of the provisional government of Albania, 1912-'14, 76.

January 29.—Bishop Arthur L. Williams, of the Episcopal diocese of Nebraska, 63. . . . Harrison E. Gawtry, for many years president of the Consolidated Gas Company of New York, 78.

January 30.—Major-Gen. Sir Samuel Steele, of the Canadian Army, 70. . . . Ermete Novella, a famous Italian actor, 68.

January 31.—Nathaniel C. Goodwin, the famous American comedian, 61.

February 1.—Brig.-Gen. John Moulden Wilson, U. S. A., retired, 81.

February 3.—Prof. Edward Charles Pickering, director of the Harvard Observatory, 72. . . . Xavier Leroux, the French composer of operas, 55. . . . Maria Theresa, recently Queen of Bavaria, 70.

February 11.—Read-Adm. John Hood, U. S. N., retired, 59.

WORLD HISTORY IN CARTOONS

"VOILA, MONSIEUR LE PRESIDENT!"
From the *World* (New York)

THE ARCHITECTS HAVE IT ALL WORKED OUT
From the *Journal* (Sioux City, Iowa)

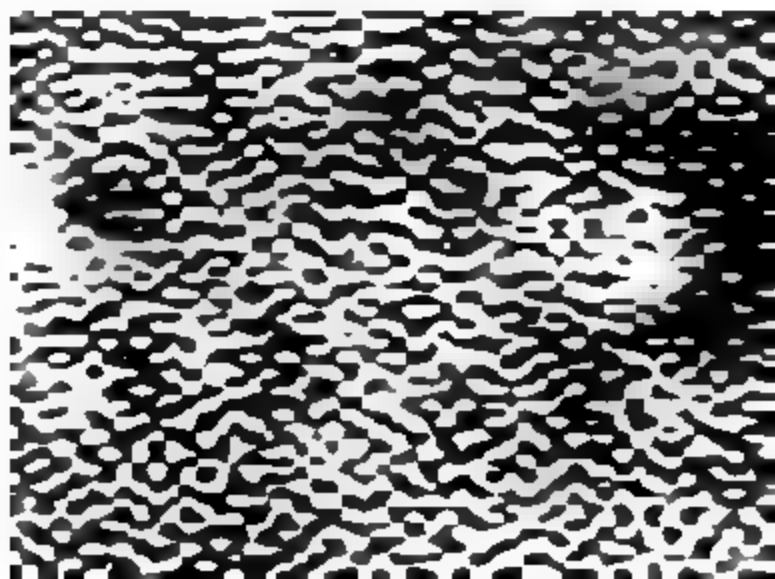
HITCHING THEIR WAGON TO A STAR
From News of the World (London)

PLASTERED!
From the News (Dayton, Ohio)

SPLASH! AND GOODBYE TO SECRET TREATIES
From the News (Dayton, Ohio)

ENVOYS EXTRAORDINARY
From the Herald (New York)

THE BOLSHEVIEK COMES DOWN FROM HIS MOUNTAIN
From the World (New York)



A DANGEROUS DERELICT
From the Eagle (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

RUSSIA LISTENS FOR THE VOICE OF PRESIDENT WILSON
From the Star (St. Louis, Mo.)

"THE WATCH ON THE RHINE"*From Amsterdammer (Amsterdam, Holland)*

INTERNATIONAL affairs still keep the cartoonists, like the editors, very busy. On the three preceding pages President Wilson, the League of Nations, and Russian

THE NEW PADEREWSKI MINUET*From the Republic (St. Louis, Mo.)*

Bolshevism are featured. On this page the Allied Watch on the Rhine, Paderewski's leadership in Poland, and the I. W. W. claim attention.

The opposite page carries a group of cartoons picturing such domestic topics as the attitude of Congress towards President Wilson, the proposition to provide land for soldiers, the railroad problem, prohibition, and our old friend the H. C. of L.

**"ON THE SIDE OF THE ANGELS"**

MR. LAOYD GEORGE: "But, my dear, we must be charitable. I believe I can see little wings sprouting already!"
From the Passing Show (London)

GIT!
From the World (New York)

© George Matthew Adams

HERE COMES TEACHER!
From the *Citizen* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

Many cartoons have to do with Uncle Sam's railroad predicament. Our selection this month is from the *Baltimore American*. It pictures the national uncertainty, dismay, and wonder. Nobody seems prepared to tell Uncle Sam where to get off.

LAND FOR SOLDIERS
From the *News* (Dallas, Texas)

"HOW DRY I AM!"
From the *Journal* (Jersey City, N. J.)

WILL SOMEONE TELL HIM WHERE HE GETS OFF?
From the *American* (Baltimore, Md.)

CARRYING ON
From the *American* (New York)

THE NAVY'S NEW TASK

BY HON. JOSEPHUS DANIELS

(Secretary of the Navy)

I confess to a feeling of gratification that the first Marines brought back from France—those "Devil Dogs," as the Prussians called them—came in the transport "North Carolina," the first ship in the war to be fitted as an aviation ship.

Nothing was further from the thought of the constructors who designed the ships of the American Navy, than that they would be converted into transports for the carrying of troops. Since the beginning of this war, there has not been any service the country wishes rendered that the Navy has not been ready to render, even along lines not regarded as coming within the province of the naval service.

When the war terminated so suddenly, the first call was for ships to bring back our soldiers, as during the war the demand had been insistent for ships to take the soldiers across. We immediately began to get ready all the ships that could be utilized for this purpose, and already we are bringing back 20,000 a month in naval vessels.

We have been most happy to receive letters from officers and men of the Army, voicing their appreciation of the comforts and consideration shown them on these ships. We shall continue to use naval vessels as long as they will be needed to aid in bringing the soldiers home as fast as they can be demobilized.

My only regret is that we have not enough ships to bring them more rapidly.

BACK FROM THE WAR ON A BATTLESHIP

AN OFFICER'S TRIBUTE TO THE NAVY'S NEW SERVICE

[An officer who returned to the United States last month after a period of service with the American Expeditionary Forces happened to come back on a warship. His experiences are set forth in a letter to the editor of this REVIEW, and he bears pleasant testimony to the manner in which the navy is performing its new task, as described by Secretary Daniels on the preceding page.—THE EDITOR.]

IF your soldier relative or friend has not already returned from overseas, do by all means hope that he may get transportation on board a United States battleship. At the moment of putting these observations on paper, thirty-seven army officers, including myself, and 917 enlisted men are living a most luxurious and comfortable life on the high seas on board the U. S. S. ———. Our ship was once a noted member of the American fleet that made its voyage around the world.

In order to provide accommodations for transporting soldiers, the ship's personnel has been reduced from 65 officers to 24, and from 1,185 men in the crew to 600.

Practically all of the army officers on board have separate staterooms—small, but well equipped, well ventilated, and extremely comfortable. The ship's crew have made certain readjustments in their sleeping arrangements in order to make it just as comfortable as possible for the soldiers. Some of the soldiers sleep in cots and others in the regulation sailor's hammock. The first night out the soldiers were falling to the ground like autumn leaves, but they did not take long to learn the right way to turn over.

There is practically no sickness on board, although I cannot imagine a safer place to be sick. There is a well-equipped dispensary, an operating room, and a hospital ward, with a surgeon and medical attendants.

As for food, it is the most delicious that I have ever eaten, and we have never had the same thing twice. While dinner is being served, the ship's orchestra plays a variety of excellent selections, and every evening there are "movies." One warm evening the moving pictures were shown out of doors, on

the upper deck, under a beautiful starlit sky.

The ship's captain insists that everyone shall spend as much time in the air as possible, with a certain amount of exercise daily. There are deck sports—such as boxing, medicine ball, and quoits. "Abandon ship" drills are held frequently and at unusual times.

The captain had issued the following orders to his men:

While engaged in transporting troops, it is the desire of the Commanding Officer that the greatest cordiality shall exist between the ship's crew and the army. This spirit must be cultivated and practised by every officer and man on board.

Our men must understand that the troops have had hard service for some time; also that living conditions on board ship are entirely different from what they have been accustomed to and that everything will be new and strange.

In order, therefore, that the troops may be as comfortable as possible and that they may leave the — with pleasant recollections of the ship, in particular, and of the Navy, in general, from their personal contact with our branch of the service, every effort must be made by all on board to make their stay with us pleasant.

The men of the ship's crew, not to be outdone by their commanding officer, printed and circulated this greeting to their soldier passengers:

We of the Navy deem it a great privilege to carry home, men who have stood the test at the front. All honor to you, men of July 18th and 19th and other historic days. You are now in the U. S. A., at least this is your country—U. S. S. —. We wish to make your last experience in the service happy; to connect France and America with a fortnight of comradeship, sports, and pleasant memories. God speed to you all. Our Country needs every man of us, to carry our spirit of good fellowship and sacrifice into the heart of American thought and idealism. Let us make reconstruction, real construction.

AMERICA AND THE ALLIES AT THE PEACE TABLE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

[It is now four and a half years since Mr. Simonds began to write for each issue of this magazine his articles upon the World War and its cognate problems of international politics. He made two rapid visits to the war fronts during the conflict, one early in 1916, and the second some two years ago. He has now been in France for several weeks after a few days in London, and he is to continue, month by month, to discuss for our readers the international situation as it develops. He is also busily studying the later battles in order to complete his "History of the World War," three volumes of which the REVIEW of REVIEWS Company has issued, while two are yet to be written. As he sailed in January, there came the agreeable announcement that he had been decorated by the French Government as a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor. At the end of this article, we publish Mr. Simonds' cable describing the Peace Conference situation at the date of President Wilson's departure from Paris.—THE EDITOR.]

I. PRESIDENT WILSON'S PRESENCE

IN the present article there are three specific questions which I desire to discuss, reserving until the April article a more general discussion of the Peace Conference. But before entering into an examination of these three matters I desire to warn my readers against placing too great credence in any rumors of rivalries, jealousies or bitternesses between the great powers which might threaten to break up the Conference or create permanent bad feeling. In my judgment all the evidence here points towards substantial and growing harmony. Divergent views are expressed not alone by the representatives of some of the nations, but by various representatives of each nation, but this is a gain and not a loss, since it leads to frank discussion.

Nothing seems clearer than that all nations here represented are determined that peace shall be made at Paris, that a just and durable peace shall be made; and there is every reason to believe that the more extreme of nationalistic aspirations and frontier claims of various nations, like the economic and industrial ambitions of others, will be properly curbed in the interests of world harmony.

From time to time rumors of every sort originate, reports of international disagreement and threats of ultimatums, but upon the slightest examination they disappear. A world Peace Conference is a huge and unwieldy party. Americans will find a good parallel for it in their own national political

convention. The same difficulties of organization and of agreement are here, but just as the National Convention must in the nature of things nominate a ticket and adopt a platform, and to win the election must choose a good candidate and frame a strong platform, so the representatives of the world at Paris are laboring under the ever-present necessity of making peace and making a just peace to escape the unfavorable judgment of their fellow-countrymen.

The first aspect which I desire to discuss is that of the President's presence in Europe, its meaning and its importance. Before I came to Europe I was one of those who doubted the wisdom of the adventure and saw in it great possibilities for harm and no real compensating benefits. This was the American point of view, and it was matched among the official and diplomatic people in Europe by an apprehension that if the President should come he would come as a dictator rather than as a conferee, and that he would demand the surrender by the nations associated with the United States of things which it would be impossible for them to surrender.

As it turned out both of these views seem to have been wrong. In the first place, the President's coming had an instant and an enormous appeal, not to governments or official worlds, but to great masses of the people in all the countries which Mr. Wilson visited. The testimony from London, from Paris, from Rome, is the same. In each case although everything which could be done by the official world to make the visit a success

was done, in all instances the peoples of the various capitals themselves went out and welcomed the President in a fashion unknown in European history.

In a rather inexplicable way the President of the United States became for the peoples of the countries which had fought the war and made the great sacrifice the symbol, a guarantee that the settlement of this supreme tragedy would be of a new sort. Mr. Wilson was almost a mystical figure for the masses of these people. They expected of him a miracle; they expected of him a League of Nations which would make a war impossible in the future while curing all the evils of this latest war.

For them he was a physical expression of a boundless hope, and in the first weeks of his visit the President did nothing which did not strengthen rather than weaken this universal impressive popular expectation. He was accepted as a saviour of society; his position was exceedingly difficult and dangerous, but in the midst of the difficulties and dangers he avoided mistakes.

Now the permanent gain as contrasted with the temporary expectation seems to me twofold. In the first place, the President, by his presence, loosed great waves of idealism and of aspiration. I do not pretend to say that any man coming as the President of the United States in the present circumstances might not have done the same thing, but what I am trying to explain is that the President of the United States, coming at this time, and in this way, has created conditions atmospheric and spiritual which are bound to be registered in the final peace terms.

In the second place, in England particularly the President gave a new direction and a new vitality to Anglo-American relations. I do not mean official or diplomatic relations, but I mean friendly relations between the two peoples. Mr. Wilson seemed to millions of English men and women to represent a principle which they believed in and desired to serve. His presence seemed the assurance that masses and millions of American people were animated by precisely the same principles and shared the same aspirations. This consciousness and belief in a common purpose and a common belief in the present and in the future seemed in England to give a promise of a durable basis of friendly relations. I talked to many scores of Englishmen, with not a few Americans in London. The testimony was the same. It was that

the President's visit had opened a new period in Anglo-American relations, that as a result misunderstanding would be avoided and the barriers between the two countries would be abolished. It is difficult to analyze the emotion and the conviction, but it is equally impossible to exaggerate it.

Viewed close to the event and with all proper qualifications necessary in the premises, the great thing, the very greatest thing, about President Wilson's visit was that it created the belief that there could be present and future coöperation between the United States and Great Britain, because there was a solid basis for such coöperation. Millions of men and women found in the presence and in the words of Mr. Wilson evidence of a contemporary community of thought, of aspirations and of ideals. I came to London wholly skeptical of the Wilson visit. I found unanimous testimony to its success, including that of the Americans in London who would naturally be least reserved in criticizing an American to an American.

It is patent that no man—since all men are human—could achieve the results expected of Mr. Wilson, and yet I am satisfied that the results of his visits to England, to France, and also to Italy, where perhaps the popular demonstration was the greatest of all, will be beneficial immediately and for the long future. I am satisfied that the peace that is made at Paris will be more satisfactory to the world because Mr. Wilson's visit and the kind of appeal which his presence made generated forces which will operate upon the delegates at the Peace Conference and which will directly influence and shape their decisions in the direction of justice and liberalism.

I do not think that Mr. Wilson has been over successful in the mere mechanics of the Conference. I do not think that he has shown himself particularly happy in the selection of his agents or inspired in many of his dealings with various nations. There are limitations and obvious limitations to any man and Mr. Wilson's limitations are as patent in Paris as they are unmistakable in Washington. The thing that I am trying to say is that Mr. Wilson's visit had an impersonal or non-personal aspect; that it had an effect that neither he nor anyone else could perhaps have calculated and that effect was good and convinced me as it convinced most of the Americans in Europe who like me were opposed to his going that his journey was thoroughly justified by the event.

II. THE ENGLISH PROGRAM

The second point which I wish to examine at this time is the purpose of Great Britain as it is expressed at this Conference, recognizing that in the larger way the Peace Treaty will be framed by America, France and Great Britain. What then is the main purpose of the British Empire as it is revealed at Paris?

The answer seems to me very clear. The British delegates have come to Paris resolved that no matter what else is decided here that as a consequence of mutual coöperation and association Anglo-American relations will be better and more intimate in the future. To this end I am convinced the British are willing to make any reasonable and almost any unreasonable concession.

The burden of British comment here as in England seems to be this. Through the President and elsewhere America has expressed certain ideals, has voiced her belief in certain duties which must be undertaken by all the great Powers of the world if we are to avoid another general war. Since America is sincere in advocating these principles America is necessarily ready to share in the obligations. This point is vital.

Now nothing is more surprising to the Americans in London or in Paris than the calm fashion in which the British assign to America specific duties, specific obligations. It is for America in their mind to grasp each of the thorny problems which European rivalries and complications make impossible for any European nation. For example, there is Constantinople. The English would not consent to the occupation of Constantinople by the French nor the French to a British occupation. The French and the British are agreed that Italy should not occupy Constantinople, but since someone must occupy Constantinople it is the belief of the English that it should be the United States, not as a matter of territorial or economic aggrandizement but as a moral obligation.

And Constantinople does not mean merely the shores of the Straits and the Sea of Marmora. It means really attacking the Turkish problem from both ends. It means dealing with the Armenian question, perhaps the Syrian question. Quite in the same way there are the German Colonies in Africa. Someone must take them. The English are unwilling that the Germans should sit down again on the road to India. The South Africans are determined that Germany shall

not have German Southwest Africa a base for any propaganda among the Boers leading to another revolution. Why not have America administer them?

Now the thing would seem absurd to the mass of my American readers but I hasten to assure them that it does not seem in the least absurd to the English mind. To English policy and English purpose the Peace Conference is to persuade America if possible to undertake the solution of many of the most complex problems of the whole world. This purpose is defended by quotations from President Wilson's various speeches, by quotations from various American statesmen and thinkers and by the frank assertion that no country save America possesses the resources commensurate with the task or is free from those limitations mutual jealousies imposed upon European powers.

I think it is of the utmost importance that America should understand how real and general is the British belief that the time has come when the United States must accept a portion of the responsibilities incident to her great strength as disclosed in the war. It is the view of the British in large numbers that America should become in a certain sense the agent of the League of Nations in many of the lost regions of the earth, not to raise the American flag, not to become a competitor in a new imperialism but to undertake a task of civilization and liberation so colossal as to demand American resources to the utmost.

Now with this fact in mind it is not difficult to see the British representatives at work in Paris. They are ready to coöperate with Mr. Wilson and the Americans in practically every question that comes up. Precisely in the same way and in the little differences of opinion in the world of journalism British journalists at Paris stand shoulder to shoulder with Americans. I can conceive of no policy uttered, no purpose declared by Americans at Paris which would lead the British to separate themselves from us, however considerable the cost to them. In any event this is the spirit of Britain in Paris.

I do not find anywhere any British appetite for territory. Rather I find the British reluctantly compelled to champion certain demands made by their Colonies—notably Australia and South Africa—with respect to the German Colonies, but doing it without enthusiasm or great conviction. I do not find the British eager to extend their

frontiers or add to their Empire but rather apprehensive of the greatness of the burden already laid upon their shoulders.

And this leads me to another observation. It is impossible to mistake the effect of the war upon the English people. It has had a chastening and a saddening effect. The last year of the war, with its defeats and its disasters, which in the end involved the physical interposition of America to save the day, has changed the whole outlook of many English upon the world and upon the Empire. The shock of the events of last spring is still easily to be detected and there is a frank and not unmoving confession to be had from Englishmen that the events of the war have changed the whole world and the position of England in that world.

And in this situation England's policy is not to be mistaken. There is a resolution undisguised and inescapable to preserve and to expand the sympathies and the coöperation which had their origin in a community of action against the common enemy. I do not believe that Lloyd George with his recently won election and his enormous majority could endure a direct disagreement with Mr. Wilson or the American Government, and I am satisfied that the British Government, like the British people, are resolved that there shall be no such disagreement.

So much for the British policy at Paris which I think is easy to understand when thus translated.

III. FRENCH PURPOSE

As contrasted with British purpose at Paris, French policy must deal with many points, all dangerous. These grow without exception out of the peculiar situation of France. She alone of the great Western nations has been invaded. This war has been fought upon her soil for the purpose of destroying her as a world influence and of making her a German vassal. In victory the German destroyed such of French cities and wealth as he did not mean to annex or could not remove. In defeat he completed the destruction and turned all of industrial Northern France into a waste. I do not know words that could describe the Flanders and Artois regions as I saw them them a few weeks ago, when through the courtesy of the British Government I had a chance to journey through Lens and over what was once the Hindenburg Line.

Therefore the first thought and the first

concern in the French mind is that France shall be guaranteed so far as is humanly possible against a return of the destruction from the North. Above all else, if the League of Nations shall fail, if the hope that Germany will transform itself proves idle, that the next war shall begin on German and not on French soil.

Four times in a hundred years the Germans have come down from the North into France, each time bringing destruction and three times carrying away a portion of French territory. In this last invasion their object was greater than ever before and they had marked out for annexation the fairest of French industrial regions.

Therefore with recent history and smoking ruins in full view France comes to the Conference at Paris asking first guarantees against any new German aggression. Viewed with reference to her recent agony this French demand seems reasonable, and yet to many Americans unfamiliar with the facts they have already taken upon the appearance of chauvinistic demands. They had already become evidence of a revival of French imperialism. And yet upon examination I can find no warrant for such comments.

What the French ask in substance is this: the return of Alsace-Lorraine, which requires no comment since it is a settled thing; the return also of the Saar coal districts, France's before 1815, not merely because of an ancient claim, but because the Germans have deliberately and wantonly destroyed the Lens coal district of the North for the precise purpose of making France dependent upon German coal.

And if this last wrong be not righted Germany will have lost the war politically but in this respect have won it economically.

In addition they will ask, I am sure, that the Germans be prevented by adequate guarantees from maintaining armies or fortresses or any military establishments on the left bank of the Rhine in that territory north of the new French frontier which will be that substantially of France before the French Revolution. This last demand means that the next time Germany undertakes to assail France, if she shall, the war will begin, not in the heart of Northern France, but on German territory, and it will begin between the Saar and the Rhine, and not between the Meuse and the Marne. France asks the world, which tardily discovered that the French frontier was the frontier of civiliza-

tion, that for the future this frontier shall be made safe against new inroads.

Argument for the Saar coal district is not based merely or mainly upon ancient title. Last year, when the Germans found they were not going to be able permanently to hold the French coal district of Lens, they systematically and completely wrecked mines and machinery, they dynamited houses, and they transformed the whole district into an almost hopeless desert. Their purpose was to make France dependent upon Germany for coal, to cripple French industry to the profit of Germany; and if the treaty of Paris fails to award France compensation in the shape of coal, the German object will have been achieved.

France asks, therefore, the frontiers of 1814, rather than those of 1870, as an act of justice, both because of ancient stealing and of contemporary destruction, and, so far as I know there is no criticism of her purpose among the British or among Americans in France.

So much for the European phase of the French purpose. I repeat that they do not think of imperialistic purposes. They are anxious to prevent a repetition of the past. It is very hard to give to Americans who have lived in peace and with no accurate picture of devastated France, real understanding of French emotion at the present time. France has just escaped a terrible disaster, which would have meant approximate national destruction. For nearly half a century the French people have existed under the shadow of German threat.

It still seems only yesterday that German shells were falling in Paris and the sky was lighted at night with the flame of German guns. It is only a few months since the arrival of German troops in Paris was believed inevitable. The greatest apprehension is over, but not easily do men and women forget perils so recent, which are again only repetitions of past history. It is this element which influences French idealism and French aspiration at the present hour.

It is this grim fact that compels the mass of thoughtful Frenchmen to examine the League of Nations with a suspicion that is easily interpreted as hostility, which it is not. The rest of the world can well afford to gamble in the matter of the League of Nations. The French cannot afford to take any chance, and the limitations imposed upon them by their recent history and by all their history are easily translated into a revival of

chauvinism, thereby doing France very great injustice.

And this, so far as I can find it, is the whole spirit of France at the present hour, a passionate determination to prevent a repetition of the recent horrors in France, not a desire to annex German territory nor German subjects. I do not believe any French Government could stand an hour which was convicted in the eyes of the French people of leaving open the Northern gateway.

For the United States, for England, even for Italy, now that Austria has disappeared, the League of Nations remains a possible experiment. It may succeed or it may fail, but its failure would carry no immediate and vital peril, but for France the case is quite different. A Germany of seventy millions of people will survive any rearrangement of territory that may be made with a shadow of recognition of the principles which are going to prevail at Paris. If France is left without guarantees against such a Germany and Germany chooses to regard the League of Nations as she treated her Belgian "scrap of paper," it will be France and France alone which will bear the immediate shock. The League of Nations might ultimately conquer Germany again as the present Alliance has, but meantime another desert might be created in Northern France.

This French frame of mind has seemed to many hostile to the League of Nations. I do not think it is that. I think most of all people the French would benefit by a real League of Nations and a successful League of Nations, and that as the most intelligent people in the world they see this clearly, but France cannot afford to take the chance and France will not take the chance, and therefore on the question of guarantees France is adamant, while England is ready and willing at all times to make almost any concession.

IV. SUMMARY

Thus briefly and in a somewhat cursory manner I have sought to set forth three phases of the present situation in Paris—I do not believe there is any reason to think that territorial questions as between the great Powers will lead to differences of opinion. On the contrary, I think all the great Powers are approaching an agreement save with respect of two things, the Italian demands in Dalmatia and the Eastern Adriatic and Egean and the Russian situation. As to

Italy, all indications point to an agreement among all other nations that Italy surrender claims which are unjust and have no warrant other than that of force and possession. The view in Paris is that Dalmatia certainly and Fiume probably will go to the Jugo-Slavs and the Greek Islands be returned to Greece. Nor is there a less firm conviction that the mass of the Italian people will accept such a decision even though their government opposes it.

As to Russia, it is hopeless to make any comment now. In its early days the Paris Conference considered sending a joint Allied force to Russia to suppress Bolshevism, but upon examination it was discovered that no government would undertake to send any considerable force of its own troops. It was discovered further that the people of no one of the great countries would consent to such a use of their troops. Therefore the single logical course had to be abandoned.

In the next place there was consideration of sending some help to the nations in the process of emergence in the circle about Russia, notably Esthonia, Lithuania, and Poland, but again the same discovery was made. There remained, therefore, only the possibility of persuasion, of moral force and it was proposed that representatives of the Bolsheviks should be invited to Paris; but at this point the French struck. It was pro-

posed that they should be invited to meet at Stockholm or Copenhagen but the Swedish and Danish people manifested the same lack of enthusiasm which characterized the French. To invite red-handed murderers to a Peace Conference was going it a little strong, so finally the Conference agreed to invite the Bolsheviks under certain conditions to meet in a forgotten Island in the Sea of Marmora practically inaccessible for the Western Powers and totally so for the Russians.

This is an obvious subterfuge. It means that since they were able to do nothing practical and compelled to do something promptly the representatives of the Paris Conference took a course which leaves the question as far as possible from the scene of their labors and left it substantially where it stood. It meant, as I can see it, the resignation by Western Europe and America of the task of restoring Russia by arms. It meant substantially leaving Russia to her own fate, but what remains to be seen is whether it means the total abandonment of the little nations on the outside fringe of Russia.

In the next article I shall endeavor to discuss in something of the same fashion the situation with respect to the smaller people and the developments of the Conference itself in its opening phases.

THE FIRST STAGE COMPLETED

(By Paris cable to the REVIEW OF REVIEWS from Mr. Simonds)

THE date of filing of this dispatch practically coincides with the completion of the League of Nations program and the departure of President Wilson for America. We have, therefore, come to the end of the first natural and logical division in the labors of the Peace Conference, and it is possible to give some summary of what has been accomplished in this period.

In the first place, the coming of President Wilson had an effect unforeseen either in America or in Europe. What was a dubious experiment in the minds of his own countrymen was transformed by the character of his reception into a real and unmistakable contribution to the making of a just peace. The mass of the peoples of Italy, France, and Great Britain welcomed the American President not merely personally and in his representative capacity, but also as a symbol of

promise of deliverance from the tragedy which the war had made.

After more than two months of his stay in Europe President Wilson can still count on the right side of the balance; and I think he has complete justification for his journey in the forces and aspirations stirred by his coming. Mr. Wilson has also succeeded in persuading the Peace Conference to adopt his view that the League of Nations program should not only be included in the Treaty of Peace, but that it should be made the first work of the Peace Conference.

Before this article is in the hands of the reader the character of the program of the League of Nations already agreed upon will be fully known. It will carry with it disappointment to those who hoped for more rigid and final settlement of the machinery of international relations. It will arouse skepti-

cism. It must depend upon the developments of the future for attainment of its highest possibilities. And yet it represents something real, tangible, and definite in the direction of making it easier to preserve peace in the world.

The President did not frame the League of Nations. The contribution of the British to its actual language was very great. But the President did carry through his determination that the first thing settled should be the League of Nations.

Now it is impossible to disguise the fact that while there has been substantial progress made in the matter of the League of Nations, there has been no actual solution, no approximate solution—no substantial beginning, in the way of solving of the more practical and material questions. And there has been marked development of anxiety and restlessness, particularly in France, as a result of the prolongation of the Peace Conference without the attempting of any material results.

The real test of Mr. Wilson's service to America and to the world must be hereafter in the machinery with which to coöperate with the French and with the British, and in the prompt settlement of the great territorial and financial questions which still remain clamoring for adjustment.

We have in the past months seen Germany reorganize herself and arise almost from ashes. In Paris, as in London, there has been a distinct realization that the new Germany is the old Germany, with different labels but unchanged principles. We have consciousness here in Europe of the renewal of old German propaganda. We have a growing feeling that a great blunder was made in not fixing the terms of peace with Germany soon

after the armistice, while Germany was still incapable of resistance; and there is a growing pressure on all sides that, in so far as possible, that mistake should be remedied without undue delay.

In sum, the first two months of the Peace Conference have, under Mr. Wilson's compulsion, been consumed in the formation of principles of a League of Nations. That task has been substantially accomplished. In that time all other great problems have been more or less neglected. Germany has recovered from the moral consequence of her defeat, and is preparing to resist in every way except by arms the just demands of her conquerors. France has felt the new menace, and French opinion has been disturbed by American insistence on solving moral problems before the material questions, which mean life or death to France, have been adjusted.

The American policy has tended to make a firm alliance with the British. Probably never in history have the governments of America and England been drawn so closely together. But, unhappily, this has been accomplished to some extent by a tendency towards separation between the Anglo-Saxon nations and their French Ally.

We have, therefore, to face certain unmistakable anxieties and difficulties during the next few months. We have still to face and settle all the great historical problems. We have made a very bad beginning by surrendering Russia first to Bolshevism and perhaps ultimately to Germany. But, on the other hand, there is a spirit of moderation and justice disclosed here in the purposes and demands of most of the nations, and the greatest danger now to be feared is long delay rather than permanent discord.



EUROPE'S MINOR FRICTIONS

BY LOTHROP STODDARD

EARLY in the year 1918 the German generalissimo Ludendorff remarked in an expansive mood: "Many chimneys will continue long to smoke, but the Great War will be over this year." Subsequent events have proven Ludendorff a true prophet. The Great War did end in 1918—albeit not in the way the doughty Prussian probably had in mind.

The first part of his prophecy was equally correct. Many political chimneys are still smoking—smoking furiously and creating an intolerable smudge that shows few present signs of abatement. These smoke-belching chimneys are dotted thickly all over the east end of Europe, stretching in a broad band from the Baltic Sea and the Arctic Ocean right across to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.¹

Peace may have descended upon Western Europe since the armistice of last November. But in Eastern Europe there is no peace. No sooner had the Great War ended than a new war began—or, rather, a whole series of little wars waged by the various elements which make up the population of this vast area. Race has risen against race, and in some instances, quickened by the Bolshevik leaven, class has risen against class within the same race.

Up to date no less than sixteen little wars have broken out, not counting in this astounding figure either the various campaigns in progress between the Russian Bolsheviks and the Russian Conservatives with their Allied-American-Czechoslovak backers, or the various purely class-struggles going on within particular race-groups. And, be it noted, these wars are termed "little" only by comparison with the "Great" War which is just over. Before 1914 some of them would have been considered respectable contests worthy of world-wide attention.

Since last November, Europe's eruptive east end has seen many a pitched battle with thousands of casualties, the total casualty list probably running far up into the tens

of thousands, while the suffering imposed upon the wretched civilian population already worn down by four and one-half years of Great War is beyond calculation. The only way to visualize the present appalling situation of Eastern Europe is to take a bird's-eye view of the whole field, noting in turn the various areas of political friction or armed strife.

• *Armed Strife in Finland*

Beginning our survey from the north, the first little war which comes to our notice is that being waged between the White Guard government of Finland and the Russian Bolsheviks. True, there is another war raging still further to the north, in the Archangel forests abutting on the Arctic Ocean, where American and British troops are supporting a Russian Conservative government against Bolshevik attacks; but the several campaigns being fought in Russia proper and Siberia are not to be here discussed, so we will begin our survey with Finland.

Finland has been independent since 1917, when the breakdown of the Czarist régime by the Russian Revolution enabled the Finns to throw off the hated Russian yoke. Shortly afterwards the Finns fought a most desperate class-war among themselves, the Conservative "White Guards" calling in the Germans, and the Social-Revolutionist "Red Guards" summoning the Russian Bolsheviks. In the end the White Guards triumphed and established throughout Finland a strongly conservative régime. Such a brazenly "bourgeois" government so near Petrograd, the Russian capital, naturally roused the ire of the Bolsheviks, and desultory fighting has been going on between the two governments. Recently large White Guard detachments have crossed the Gulf of Finland into Esthonia, to aid the Esthonians against the Bolshevik invasion of that country.

The Baltic Provinces Fight for Independence

Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland together form the so-called Baltic Provinces, stretching from the Gulf of Finland to Prussia. The Baltic Provinces are inhabited by two

¹The reader who may wish to refer to maps will find them in Dr. Talcott Williams' article on "The Battle of the Boundaries," beginning on page 281.

distinct native races—the Esths in Esthonia and northern Livonia (a people of Finnish blood) and the Letts in southern Livonia and Courland. The Letts are often erroneously called Slavs. In reality they, together with their Lithuanian kinsmen to the southward, form a distinct branch of the Aryan race which has dwelt around the southeast corner of the Baltic Sea since immemorial times.

Besides these two native races, the situation in the Baltic Provinces is complicated by the presence of a strong German element which has formed the upper class since medieval times. The Baltic Provinces have long been under Russia, which oppressed them sorely. Therefore, in 1917, the Baltic Provinces, like Finland, expelled the Czarist officials and set up autonomous governments of their own—Esth in the north, Lett in the south. These governments were Radical but not Bolshevik. Then, in early 1918, the German armies came in, overthrew the native governments, and set up a very conservative régime, run by the upper-class Baltic Germans.

When Germany collapsed at the end of 1918, the German armies began to withdraw and the Esth and Lett régimes came back again. Then the Russian Bolsheviks took a hand. Declaring these governments "*bourgeois*," the Bolshevik Government sent its "Red Guard" armies into the Baltic Provinces to Bolshevize them. The Esths and Letts have put up a plucky fight, the Esths winning a notable victory at Narva last January. They have been assisted by the Finnish White Guards previously mentioned, by Swedish volunteer legions, and by a British fleet which has kept off the Russian navy and rendered other valuable services. The fighting has been bitter and the Russians have committed great excesses upon the population. The worst sufferers have perhaps been the Baltic Germans, since all parties have gotten after them—the Letts and Esths because they were Germans, the Russian Bolsheviks because they were *bourgeois*.

A "Red" Blight in Lithuania

Lithuania, just to the southward of the Baltic Provinces, is in a similar plight. The Lithuanians, as already stated, are not Slavs, but during the Middle Ages Lithuania was united to Slavic Poland, and the upper-classes are to-day Poles, just as the upper-classes in the Baltic Provinces are

Germans. Russia owned Lithuania in 1914, and was cordially detested by both Poles and Lithuanians. In 1915 the Germans conquered Lithuania and held it until their breakdown at the end of 1918. The Germans of course maintained a strong, military government. Since then there has apparently been no government. When German authority lapsed, the Lithuanians set about establishing an independent Lithuanian state, but the influential Polish element at once proclaimed the revival of the historic connection between Poland and Lithuania. Both sides raised ill-armed militias between whom there was sporadic bloodshed.

Soon the newly established Polish State to the southward sent in Polish troops to reinforce the Lithuanian Poles. But just then the Russian Bolsheviks appeared. Declaring that the Lithuanians must be preserved from *bourgeois* Polish rule, the Petrograd government sent in its Red Guards precisely as it was doing in the Baltic Provinces. The Russians have made considerable progress, and a great part of Lithuania is now in their hands. One reason for their success is the inability of Poles and Lithuanians to combine against the common enemy. Meanwhile the Russian Bolshevik troops regard both Poles and Lithuanians as *bourgeois*, with consequent wholesale excesses and destruction of property.

Poland Wages War on All Sides

Coming now to Poland proper, we find a most extraordinary situation. The new Polish State, though scarcely born, is fighting with all its neighbors. It is waging regular wars with the Russians on the east, the Ukrainians on the southeast, the Czechoslovaks on the south, and the Germans on the west and north. And these wars are no child's-play. They are desperate conflicts, probably the bloodiest in the whole East European area.

The struggle with the Russian Bolsheviks is being waged both in Lithuania and the region directly east of Poland. This region, known as White Russia, is claimed by the Poles as having belonged to the Medieval Polish State. Like Lithuania, it contains a Polish upper-class. The peasantry, of Russian blood, are rising against their Polish landlords and are being aided by Bolshevik Red Guards who have occupied a great part of the country.

The struggle between Poles and Ukrain-

ians is bitter and bloody. Western Ukraina, comprising both eastern Galicia and the adjacent Russian provinces as far east as the river Dnieper about the city of Kiev, belonged to Medieval Poland, and here as in Lithuania and White Russia, a Polish upper-class has persisted to the present day. The race-hatred between Poles and Ukrainians has always been intense and is envenomed by differences of religion, the Poles being Roman Catholics while the Ukrainians are Orthodox or Uniates.

Accordingly, now that they have been given free rein, the old antipathies have flamed up with all their ancient bitterness. In the Kiev region the Polish element, being very small, has been simply overwhelmed. In Eastern Galicia the Poles, reinforced by troops from Poland proper, are putting up a desperate fight. Cities like Lemberg and Przemyśl rise like Polish islands out of the angry Ukrainian peasant sea.

The conflict between Poles and Czechoslovaks arose over the possession of Austrian Silesia, a region inhabited by a mixed population of Poles, Czechs, and Germans. Though small in extent, Austrian Silesia is valuable, containing some rich coal mines. Both the contending parties concentrated large bodies of troops in Austrian Silesia and one regular pitched battle was fought in January at Oderberg in which the Poles were beaten, the victorious Czechoslovaks occupying the country. Recently the Versailles Peace Conference sent commissioners to Austrian Silesia charged with orders to both Poles and Czechoslovaks to call off their war and await the adjudication of the Great Powers.

The struggle between Poles and Germans is far-reaching. The Poles claim the whole or parts of the four Prussian provinces of Posen, West Prussia, East Prussia and Silesia, which are inhabited by both races in varying proportions. Strong armed forces have taken the field on both sides and there has been much rioting by the civilian elements. As yet the bloodshed has been less than that in Austrian Silesia or Ukraina.

Chaos in Ukraina

Ukraina is truly a disturbed area. Besides the war with the Poles already described, the Bolsheviks are making serious inroads and are reported to have occupied the eastern part of the country. The Conservative native government which maintained itself largely by German bayonets has

apparently been crumbling ever since the Germans evacuated the country. Indeed, judging by the scanty and contradictory press-reports, Ukraina to-day has no real government, but is torn by contending factions, Conservative, Radical, and Social-Revolutionist, with Don Cossacks and some French troops pushing up from the Black Sea ports adding their contribution to the tangle.

The Ukrainians have, however, found time to quarrel with Rumania over the provinces of Bukovina and Bessarabia. The northern portions of these provinces are inhabited by Ukrainians. By last reports the Rumanians were still holding all Bessarabia but had retired under Ukrainian pressure from Bukovina.

Rumania's War Legacy

Rumania is having her troubles, though her claims have a more legal standing, being based upon a secret treaty concluded with the Allied Powers just before Rumania joined them against the Teutonic Empires in the autumn of 1916. By this treaty Rumania was promised, among other things, Transylvania and a large slice of the Hungarian plain-country to the westward, including the Banat of Temesvar. The Banat, a square block of territory abutting on the north bank of the Danube, is inhabited by an extraordinary medley of peoples, rivaling even Macedonia. Rumanians, Jugoslavs, Magyars, and Germans live here in inextricable confusion, with one or two minor races thrown in for good measure.

The trouble is that the Jugoslavs also claim the Banat and are furious at the secret treaty of 1916, the Serbian Government, as spokesmen for the Jugoslavs, having declared itself not bound by an agreement to which it was not a party and of which it was officially ignorant. The upshot was that, as soon as Austria-Hungary collapsed last November, Rumanian and Serbian troops simultaneously invaded the Banat and quickly came to blows. Serious fighting was averted by the appearance of French troops from Macedonia who thrust themselves between the contending armies and have since kept them apart.

Aspirations of the Czechoslovaks

Before discussing the somewhat thorny question of the Jugoslavs it might be well to complete our survey of Czechoslovakia, whose conflict with the Poles we have al-

ready noted. Czechoslovakia (consisting of Bohemia, Moravia, and the Carpathian mountain country to the eastward) is largely enveloped by Germanic territories. It also has considerable minorities of Germans, particularly in Bohemia and Moravia, who desire to detach themselves from Czechoslovakia and join the projected Federated Germany. All this reinforced by traditional race-antipathies, has not made for harmonious Czecho-German relations. In fact numerous regrettable frontier incidents have occurred, together with considerable rioting between the civilian populations.

However, the bloodshed has been relatively small, the Czechoslovaks having concentrated their military energies mainly against the Poles. In the Carpathian region the Slovaks have had a certain amount of trouble with the Magyars, the Slovak country having of course formed part of Hungary. The Czechoslovaks also claim as part of their state the mountainous territory just east of Slovakia proper. This region is mainly inhabited by an Ukrainian population, though separated from the main body of their kinsmen by the mountain-wall of the Carpathians. The Czechoslovaks call these people Uhro-Rusins and assert that they desire to join the Czechoslovak state. The exact truth of the matter is obscure.

Jugoslav versus Italian

Jugoslavia presents a highly composite picture. The various branches of the "Yugo" or "South" Slavs spring from the same race-stock and are fundamentally one in blood, and speech. Nevertheless, they have been politically separated for so many centuries and have been subjected to so many foreign influences that they have developed strong particularist divergencies of religion, culture, and viewpoint which have hitherto kept them apart and are to-day making reunion difficult. The chief thing which keeps their internal dissensions down is the

necessity for solidarity against hostile neighbors.

The old feud between Serb and Bulgarian has of course ceased to press, for the time at least, since Bulgaria has surrendered unconditionally to Serbia's Allies. The same is largely true of the Magyars and Austrian Germans, though there has been some civilian rioting in the frontier regions. Yugoslav attention is, however, intently focused upon the conflict with Italy. This conflict is one of the most serious, and perhaps the most pressing, which to-day threatens the peace of Europe. The debated zone between Jugoslavs and Italians stretches almost the whole length of the eastern Adriatic coast.

Public opinion in both Italy and Jugoslavia is highly inflamed and shows a regrettable disposition to fight rather than compromise. Armed clashes have already taken place, and actual warfare would probably have been already under way if the Western Powers—England, France and the United States—had not sent warships and troops into the disputed area. It is interesting to note that American doughboys are patrolling more than one especially volcanic point on the east Adriatic shore.

A Field for International Police

Such, in brief, is the present situation of eastern Europe. Our survey has been summary, touching only the high-lights, and passing over many interesting details. But enough has been said to show the absolute necessity of an effective international police-power for this whole region. Its peoples are unable to compose their feuds and settle down as peaceable neighbors. In a few short months they have already reduced eastern Europe to a cross between a bear-garden and a bedlam. If unrestrained, they may sink into a common welter of anarchy and ruin. One of the first jobs of the League of Nations will be the strict policing of Europe's eruptive east end.



WORK AND HOMES FOR RETURNING SOLDIERS

BY HON. FRANKLIN K. LANE

(Secretary of the Interior)

[Secretary Lane's statement herewith for our readers summarizes his program for the nation's material progress, and points the way to immediate employment of many returning soldiers who would like to become farm producers. The article by Mr. Elwood Mead, which follows, has the complete endorsement of Secretary Lane, and sets forth the best plans for rural development that have been worked out through practical experience. Mr. Mead himself is our highest authority on land settlement.—THE EDITOR.]

CONGRESS has much on its hands these days—problems of far-reaching foreign policy, wise methods of laying new taxes, the determination of a railroad policy, investigations of many kinds. There is no other body of men, it is safe to say, working so insistently and under such compelling strain as our two Houses of Congress. Matters which the necessities of war had compelled Congress to cast upon the Executive Departments have now come back into the hands of the National Legislature—suddenly, unexpectedly. And for these reasons it is not to be wondered at that a full-rounded and matured policy of readjustment has not been thus far evolved and enacted into law.

There is one matter of emergency, however, which should demand the attention of Congress at once and to which I believe that body will give thought and as to which it will act before the 4th of March. Our men are returning from France. Our war industries have been broken up. This means that there will be a temporary problem of unemployment during the transition period from full war speed to full peace speed.

Resume Public Work at Once!

To meet this situation the Government cannot act too swiftly. There should be a planned coöperation between our industries, the cities, the States and the Federal Government, to keep men at work. I do not mean that work should be made for men, but that work that is needed should now be done.

The fact is not generally noted, but this country has almost stood still for the past four years except in the promotion of those things needed to supply an immediate war demand in Europe or America. We have put into our railroads for their maintenance

only enough to keep them in condition to run. Our building program has been limited to daily housing requirements. No large enterprises of any kind have been entered upon excepting the construction of something that would sell to someone at war. Therefore, in the larger view of material progress, these years have been wasted, though they have made sure a greater material progress in the future. We now need to carry forward the projects and plans which for a time we laid aside, and out of what we have learned through the war of the world's needs and of our ability to meet them, we can gain a new assurance as to our future.

Resources Awaiting Development

But while we are viewing with appreciation those things which we did during the war, it is proper now that we should give ourselves concern as to those things in which we found ourselves delinquent. Our roads were poor; they broke to pieces under the strain of heavy motor traffic. Our rivers were clogged; they had been abandoned for so many years that there were no boats available to relieve the traffic of congested railroads. Why not now make good roads and clear rivers? Falling water we had which could be converted into power, but capital had feared to develop these hydro-electric opportunities because of short-sighted laws.

We became alarmed in the midst of the war lest our oil supply should fall short, and gasless Sundays resulted. Yet we have seven million acres of unexplored oil lands withdrawn from public entry. Why not release these opportunities? The world was crying aloud for bread, and we suddenly realized that the farm population of the United States was gradually declining in proportion

to the city population; that now less than 50 per cent. of our people are on the land. All these things point toward work that should be done. The difficulty now is that private capital is trying to find into what safe channels it can be led, while public credit is embarrassed by the large war calls that have been made upon it. Once confidence has come back we shall carry on, and this is the time that tests the thoroughbred.

Putting Soldiers Upon Farms

My suggestion as to the solution of our immediate problem is a plan for putting sol-

diers upon farms. This I proposed as an expression of gratitude to the soldier, as a means of reclaiming great bodies of our unused lands, and as an opportunity to demonstrate that farm life can be made not only profitable but enjoyable by careful planning. Congress is considering the creation of a fund of one hundred million dollars out of which we can make farm homes for returning soldiers and sailors. This will not be enough to guarantee against great labor discontent, but it will show how some who are willing to work may find both work and homes without being the subjects of bounty.

FARM SETTLEMENTS ON A NEW PLAN

BY ELWOOD MEAD

(Chairman of the California Land Settlement Board)

THOSE who believe in a planned rural development start with the assumption that land settlement is a subject of great public importance; that the creation of stable and efficient communities is a task worthy of the ablest minds, and that there is in the Government service and in the State Agricultural Colleges a large body of trained men who should be mobilized for this service.

A planned rural development is needed to meet the conditions of the 20th century. These are entirely different from those which confronted the pioneers who opened their way through the wilderness with wagon, axe, and gun, or who pushed further west across the trackless prairie where in the arid and semi-arid sections a pitiless nature bedeviled them with heat and cold and insect pests. The struggle to survive made them hardy and self-reliant but left them neither time nor opportunity to study problems affecting the general welfare. Free or cheap land made them hopeful, confident and independent but they did not realize that the Government could be made a useful, helpful agency to lessen the hardship and risk of their struggle, nor that they were laying the foundations of a civilization to last for unnumbered generations.

Now the free land is gone. To buy and equip a farm is a costly undertaking. The percentage of our population which attempts it is rapidly decreasing. Yet every year

thousands of young men, who lack capital but love farm life, reach the age when they ought to marry and settle down to their life work. Something is needed to give them the opportunity formerly afforded by free or cheap land, and the best way to create that opportunity is for the Government to give financial aid and expert direction to rural development.

The experts of the Government departments and State agricultural and engineering departments should be the responsible planners. They should be called from the side lines to take part in the game. They would bring to the task not only their own but the world's accumulated knowledge and experience. No more inspiring opportunity could be given to men of ability and constructive minds than a field in which to demonstrate the practical value of their knowledge in helping industrious men secure a fair opportunity to enjoy landed independence and to induce men and women of intelligence and ability to perform the important work of the country with satisfaction to themselves. They would select areas large enough to create a definite community life and make coöperative activities possible; determine how the soil, climate, and market facilities of these areas could be best utilized; fix the size of farms needed to give employment and a comfortable living for families; determine the kind of agriculture which

would maintain soil fertility and the form of tenure which would lessen speculation in and non-resident ownership of land.

Communities Should Be Organized

These planners would realize at the outset that the success of these settlers would depend on getting the farms fully developed in the shortest possible time; that the careless cultivation of the pioneers, dealing with land that cost little, is no longer possible, and that facilities to market to advantage the crops grown must be provided. The social side of farm life would have attention. There would be a community center with a baseball field for the farmers' sons. A vocational school, a social hall, coöperative organizations for stock-breeding and buying and selling would make these communities entirely unlike the individualistic settlements of the past.

Social and Economic Progress of Other Countries

Other countries have realized more clearly than the United States that the profits of farming depend almost as much on ability to sell to advantage as on ability to grow large crops. In Denmark, Ireland, Germany and Australia the cultural work of the farm is supplemented by coöperative distributing and selling activities which bring the producer and consumer into closer relation and cut out needless expenses and agencies. One looks in vain in America for the publicly owned cold-storage warehouses at terminal points, such as exist at Manchester, England; Hamburg, Germany, and Melbourne, Australia. The coöperative slaughter-houses of Denmark, New Zealand and Australia, and the municipally owned abattoirs and milk-distributing systems of several progressive countries of the old world have done much for their rural progress.

American Inefficiency

The absorption of the American farmer in his own affairs and his neglect of what lay beyond the borders of his fields have left those who control the management and distribution of his products free to consider only their own interests. The intelligent pressure needed to secure efficiency in all lines of human endeavor has been lacking in this feature of American rural life. The result is that the method and equipment for distributing perishable food products in the large cities of America are primitive and ineffi-

cient beyond belief. The way food products are received and distributed in large cities is in sorry contrast to our methods of handling the human tide that flows through their gates.

Nor is the lack of efficiency the only cause of low prices for that which the farmer has to sell and the high prices which the consumer pays. The channel from the grower to the consumer has, either through indifference or design, been made needlessly costly and complicated. Brokers, warehousemen, wholesalers and retailers are linked together by common interest in having nothing interfere with the toll they levy on the farmer. Those farm profits which have to go through processes to reach the form used by consumers have in recent years been largely controlled by combinations which have erected dams in the current flowing from the country to the cities which give them power to manipulate prices that are becoming more and more a source of anxiety to the nation and of political unrest on the part of the farmers of this country. As much is charged for distributing milk as the farmer obtains for producing it. It took mob rule to shake off the strangle-hold of the tobacco trust, and nothing gives farmers more anxiety than the power to control prices possessed by the milling and meat-packing combines.

The average cost of distributing and selling farm products is greater than the sum paid the farmer for growing them, and this is due largely to inefficient, chaotic methods and equipment which are a half-century behind the times and one of the great menaces to rural progress.

If only one rural community could be created in each State under the direction of the State Agricultural Colleges or, better, by the State coöperating with the Federal authorities, it would start a movement for the improvement of our marketing methods and facilities, which is sorely needed.

The farmers of remote Australia and New Zealand have for years been able to borrow money at 4½ to 5 per cent. with which to buy and improve farms. They could do this because they secured the benefit of government credit through postal savings and land banks. The American farmer, acting on the doctrine that every man should look out for himself, has had to pay from 6 to 18 per cent. for operating capital, often obtaining money only as a personal favor and too frequently unable to secure the needed amount on any terms. In an unplanned, in-

dividualistic rural society, what the individual wants is tangible and concrete; what the community wants is remote and abstract, and the result here has been an unplanned, wasteful, discordant rural growth. Town development was left to the real-estate subdivider; country development to the colonization agent.

Changing View of Land Ownership

Until recently few objected to individuals or corporations owning all the land they were willing to pay for. As a nation, we believed that men strong enough and shrewd enough to acquire the earth were entitled to own it. Now we are beginning to regard the ownership of land as a trust involving obligations to the State; to believe that land ought to be well farmed; that its fertility ought to be maintained; that those who cultivate it as wage-earners or tenants ought to have opportunities for advancement and self-improvement and thus be able to carry on this service to the nation with profit and satisfaction. Where present conditions do not make this possible, the creation of better opportunities is a duty of the State.

That belief is being strengthened by the decrease in the number of farmers in great agricultural States like Iowa and Missouri; by the increase in farm tenantry and dry-rot in rural community life. During the last fifty years the area of farming land in New England has decreased 42 per cent. In the last seventy years the sheep on New England farms have decreased from 4,000,000 to 439,000, or 89 per cent. The newspapers of the last thirty days have had disquieting reports of emaciated children and discontented city workers, due to the high prices and inadequate supply of milk. In the last quarter of a century the population of Massachusetts increased 59 per cent., while the local milk supply diminished 24 per cent., and New England now imports milk from Canada.

The soil of Connecticut is as fertile as the sand dunes of Denmark, and the nutmeg State is as thickly peopled. Yet in the last sixty years 800,000 acres of Connecticut land has gone out of cultivation while in the same time over 1,000,000 acres has been added to the cultivation area of Denmark. In Connecticut rural life is unorganized; in Denmark rural development had the benefit of state aid and direction and of organized community life. Coöperative slaughter-houses, coöperative egg-shipping agencies, and a system of vocational training unsurpassed any-

where help to explain why rural life in the foreign country has advanced while in the home State it has declined.

Planned Rural Development Should Be Based on Community Units

Community life and spirit cannot be created by dealing with scattered individuals. There must be enough people living in close contact to make community action effective, to lessen the expenses of administration, and to give courage to the members who confront the hard task of earning a living and paying for a farm at the same time. Credit associations, coöperative livestock-breeding associations, vocational training schools, arrangements for shipping and selling direct to consumers—these and other collective tasks will add to the interest of rural life, challenge the ability and develop the capacity of rural leaders. The British Commission fixes the minimum number for such rural communities at 100. Danish and Australian experience confirms this.

The psychology of group settlement must be seen to be realized. What I wear and eat is important only when contrasted with what is worn by my neighbors. If they wear patched clothes I am not mortified if my trousers are ragged. A group settlement practises economies and makes sustained efforts with cheerfulness and pride which are impossible to a single family living among easy-going prosperous neighbors. In the State settlement of California settlers who lack money to build the houses they desire or who object to war prices are living this winter in their barns. They regard this as an adventure rather than a hardship.

Significance of the Land Settlement Act of California

Since the beginning of this century thirty of the most progressive countries of the world have made government aid and direction in land settlement a part of the nation's activities. California is the only American State which has adopted this policy. In the hope that it will bring more clearly before you how a planned rural development differs from an unplanned one, I will outline briefly the procedure followed in the State settlement at Durham, Calif.

The land settlement act of that State created a board, appropriated \$260,000 which is to be repaid in fifty years with 4 per cent interest, and gave the board authority to buy 10,000 acres of land and to subdivide and



PREPARATORY TO GRADING AT DURHAM

(This tractor made possible the seeding of about 2,000 acres of grain. Without a power equipment of this kind such a feat would have been impossible within the limited time. Smaller tractors were tried, but they either lacked power or were unprofitable)

settle it as a demonstration of the advantages of skilled direction adequately financed. The Durham settlement of one hundred families, located on about 6000 acres of land, is the result of the first year's operation.

In this development the board had the co-operation and assistance of the State Agricultural College in selecting the land, estimating its productive value, and fixing the prices which colonists could afford to pay; made a soil survey which became the basis for fixing the size and price of farms; created a mosquito-abatement district to forestall possible malarial troubles.

The State Engineer's office furnished architects and architectural draftsmen to help prepare plans and specifications for settlers' houses.

The Office of Good Roads and Rural Engineering of the United States Department of Agriculture furnished the plans and supervised the construction of the irrigation and drainage systems.

The State Attorney-General secured by agreement the settlement of a water-right controversy which had extended over five years and had cost many thousands of dollars.

The benefits to settlers of these preparatory steps include, among other things:

Ability to reach an intelligent decision as to the productive value of each farm;

Ability to secure settlers without paying commissions to land-selling agents. This saved settlers over \$100,000.

Twenty-two acres of land have been re-

served as a community and recreation center and movements are in progress for the establishment thereon of a vocational training school in agriculture.

Concrete and gravel highways are being built to connect the farms with the concrete State highway.

Settlers have had the advice and aid of a farmstead engineer in locating farm buildings and laying out fields.

A community contract has been made with an electric power company, which gives settlers electric current for power purposes at $\frac{3}{4}$ cent per kilowatt hour and for lighting purposes at 2 cents per kilowatt hour.

A large part of the land was made ready for irrigation and planted to crops before being offered to settlers. This enabled them to begin immediately the vocation they understood, and they could see in those growing crops money for the first year's living expenses and to meet the next instalment on their land. Leveling the land for irrigation was the aid settlers most appreciated. This is an engineering rather than an agricultural task. It requires a special knack and experience and an equipment that the individual settler cannot afford. In order to do this economically the board invested \$10,000 in land-leveling equipment. Doing this has saved settlers time and costly mistakes due to lack of skill and experience in this kind of farm work.

An expert superintendent, to whom settlers can go for advice, is a feature the value of which settlers appreciate.

A coöperative stock-breeding association has been organized, and the professor of animal husbandry of the State University is its president.

Settlers have twenty years' time and amortized payments at 5 per cent. interest on land and improvements. Their own capital has been supplemented by State funds in financing the initial equipment of farms. In this way the full earning power of the land is realized the first year.

In the selection of settlers the board gave preference to married over unmarried people; to tenant-farmers over almost anyone else; to the man with adequate capital over the man to whom the undertaking would be a serious financial risk. Fifteen hundred dollars, which is about 10 per cent. of the average cost of equipped farms, was fixed as the minimum capital which a settler must have. The average cash capital of settlers accepted was about double this sum.

The number of applicants was several times the number of farms. Yet there has been no complaint nor criticism of unfairness on the part of those who had to be denied, nor any political pressure exerted to induce the board to modify its decisions.

One year ago no owner had lived on the land for twenty years. On last Christmas Day there were over one hundred homeowners, a large percentage of whom were living in houses which for convenience of

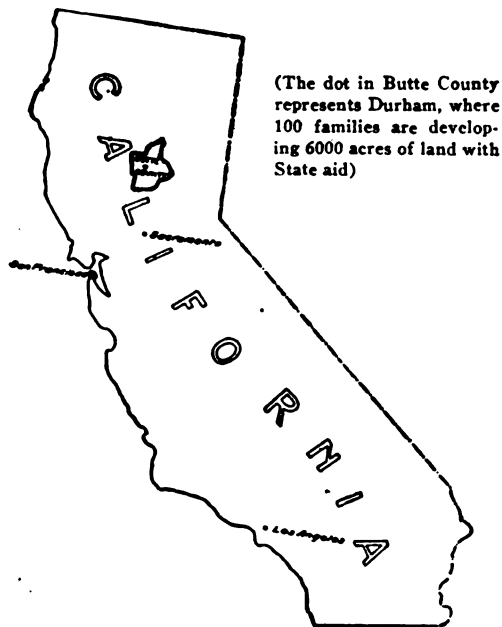
arrangement and attractive appearance will compare favorably with those of any country community. This is due to the fact that the settlers had the benefit of some of the best talent of the State in planning and erecting their homes. Good taste costs no more than poor taste.

The saving to this community by having the building program financed and carried out under the board's direction has to be seen to be realized. Instead of leaving each settler to look after the building of his house and other improvements unaided, which would have meant that over one hundred men would have had to abandon farm work at a critical time to hunt for carpenters, try to engage plumbers, do many things they did not understand, under conditions which compelled them to buy quickly and hence to buy at a disadvantage, the board made this supervision a part of the State aid. The material for the improvement of farms was bought at wholesale in carload lots and for cash. In this way the settlers were able to secure wholesale prices.

Precautions Against Speculation

It was recognized that the success of the colony would cause a rise in local land values and that settlers would be tempted to sell their holdings. If this kind of settlement was to achieve the results California desired settlers must be impressed at the outset with the idea that they are creating a permanent community and not being given an opportunity to make a quick turnover. The contract under which they take their farms requires them to enter on actual residence within six months and to continue to reside on the farm for at least eight months in each calendar year for a period of not less than ten years, unless prevented by illness or some other cause satisfactory to the board. No farm can be transferred, assigned, mortgaged, or sublet within five years without the consent of the board.

It was thought in some quarters that settlers would resent these restrictions, but most of the applicants had been tenants who did not want the conditions from which they had escaped reproduced in a community which is to be their permanent home. The restricted freehold of this settlement is not the most logical form of tenure. It is, however, a move in the right direction, and the demand for these farms has shown that community development does not need the incentive of speculation.



LOCATION OF CALIFORNIA'S LAND SETTLEMENT, AT DURHAM, BUTTE COUNTY

A FARMER'S HOME AND ALFALFA FIELD IN THE DURHAM STATE LAND SETTLEMENT AT DURHAM, CALIFORNIA
(Seventy families live within a radius of one mile from the community center)

Provision for Farm Laborers

Twenty-six allotments in the Durham settlement are occupied by farm laborers. Each allotment has an area of about two acres, and on these comfortable homes have been or are being built. The purpose is to give wage-earners on farms homes where the wives and children can live in comfort and independence; where they can have land enough to grow fruits and vegetables for their table; to keep a cow, some pigs and chickens, and to have the feeling of independence and self-respect needed to create the right kind of character in the rising generation.

The homes of the farm workers at Durham represent a form of rural democracy which needs to be extended. Already the wives of some of these wage-earners have secured

flocks of pure-bred fowls from the State Agricultural College. One settler, who is a carpenter and who has earned \$5 each day working at his trade, has, with the help of his wife, built his home by working mornings and evenings. A farm laborer who had only money sufficient to pay the 5 per cent. deposit on the land now has over \$600 with which to start building his house. Since July 1 he and his wife, together, have been paid \$6.50 a day and their board for working on adjacent farms and orchards. For two months of the time every dollar of their wages was deposited in the local bank. These examples might be multiplied to show what great results come from giving proper incentive to hope and ambition. These people will be our future farm-owners.

A pressure water system has been provided

The Durham settlement is more than a self-supporting addition to the State's population and productive wealth. It is a significant patriotic achievement. Its members have a pride in their enterprise; a neighborhood solidarity lacking in individualistic colonies. They believe they are creating institutions of enduring value, and they have a love for the State and a devotion to its interests because of what it has done for them and because what has been done for them and because what has been done here shows a public desire to make economic equality and contentment in rural life a definite achievement. Settlements of this kind are an antidote for tenantry; the best way to stop the drift of youth to the cities.

A FARMER'S HOME ON ONE OF THE ALLOTMENTS OF DURHAM
(Type of farmhouse erected for settlers by the Land Settlement Board)

for the farm laborers' allotments. Provision for electric lights has been made in their houses. They are as interested in the progress of the community as any farm owner, and participate actively in the community conferences regarding matters affecting the general welfare.

The constitution of the Stock-Breeders' Association requires that the colony shall have only one breed of dairy cattle, one breed of hogs, and two breeds of sheep. Only pure-bred sires are to be used, and every dairy animal coming into the settlement must be tested for tuberculosis. All sires are to be owned by the association or approved by it. This association now owns two of the best-bred bulls in the State, one bought by the association and the other a gift from Mr. Kiesel, a public-spirited banker.

Good Showing for the First Year

The whole area of the settlement is in crop and the first year's returns from many farms have given their owners a generous income. *Every payment due the State has been made. Every contribution to the collective activities has been met in full,* and this has been accomplished by settlers of limited capital who have found here opportunities and an inspiration un hoped for under individualistic, unplanned development.

Homes for Returning Soldiers

This demonstration in California has an important relation to the movement to provide rural homes for returning soldiers. Every soldier who wants to live in the country, and who is qualified to succeed there, should be given a chance. It cannot be done successfully by financing farm-buying by scattered individuals. It can be done through a planned community development. That is the conclusion of all the countries which have had the most experience and have given the most study to this subject. England, Australia, New Zealand, and even France, are

making generous but carefully-thought-out provisions for communities of soldier settlers.

When one looks over this country for opportunities for such development the areas first thought of are those to be found in sections of the country now unpeopled and which need reclamation in some form. Settlements can be created on the arid lands of the West, on the lands which need drainage, and on the cut-over timber lands, which would not disturb any existing cultivators. The achievements of the United States Reclamation Service in creating productive and prosperous communities on what were before desert wastes show that such reclamation can be made a solvent and successful undertaking. But while these sections of the country have the greatest areas, soldier settlements should not be restricted to them. Every State has helped win the war; every State will be benefited by having its young men return and help give new life and direction to agricultural progress.

In many of the older States such settlements should be created because of the food needs of their industrial population. These States have large and varied local markets, with fine opportunities for skilful and intensive cultivation. They also have many areas overlooked or neglected from causes in no way related to lack of soil fertility. The rural population has been depleted by a wrong system of rural education which trained men for vocations of the city rather than the country, and by the migratory and speculative trend of development which made distant hills look green.

These States also have reclamation problems and acute conservation needs. Brush land needs to be cleared; the fertility of worn-out fields restored; existing farm boundaries changed; and better roads built. The old, careless, wasteful cultivation of much of this country needs to be displaced by scientific farming, which will make the maintenance of soil fertility the basis of successful farming and a national obligation. Unsocial, unprogressive rural neighborhoods would be replaced by organized rural life which these young soldiers, who have had their outlook enlarged and their love of land strengthened by what they have seen of France and England, would, if properly helped, establish.

The importance of such communities to the agriculture of the older sections of our country cannot be exaggerated. No one can travel through the Piedmont region or along the hills bordering the Ohio River without realizing how rapidly the agricultural wealth of some sections is being destroyed and how slow and costly will be its replacement. It took unnumbered centuries to build up the eight or twelve inches of fertile soil which once covered these hillsides. When it is gone they will be useless. Yet we are letting them be washed away at the rate of six hundred million wagon-loads a year.

The policy which Secretary Lane has presented to the nation, if adopted, will both add new productive areas and help to end our crude and destructive methods of cultivation. It will start this nation on a new and better kind of rural progress whose effect will be felt for many decades to come.

• AN APPLE ORCHARD IN OXFORD COUNTY, MAINE

(This is a long-neglected orchard that has been renovated under the direction of the county agents who are demonstrating to Maine farmers how the quality and quantity of the apple crop in that State may be improved. The new vitality is shown in the abundant bloom)

MAKING OVER THE NEW ENGLAND FARM

NOW that the era of free land in America has come to an end, the nation is taking account of its farm resources as it never did before. The food demands of the war period, not yet remitted, have at least brought about a searching examination of soils, to the end that the real agricultural capacities of our forty-eight States are no longer regarded as suitable subjects for vague and idle generalization. The citizen who does not know definitely what the farms of his State can best produce is no longer considered well informed, for during the past few years groups of men throughout the country have made it their business to find out what was being grown in every section and whether or not in any particular locality the best possible use was made of the gifts of nature.

Not all the men who have been making these investigations are interested primarily in farming as a business, but they are all interested in the farmer himself as a member of the community. Some of the studies in rural conditions are conducted in the interest of education. This has been the case in the South especially, and it is true also of New England and parts of the West. Educationists know that the problem of the country school is vitally related to movements of population, which can only be understood when the conditions of agriculture are known. Hence the importance, from the

standpoint of the improved rural school, of knowing what population can be sustained by any given farming district and whether farming in that district can be made more profitable by introducing new methods or new crops.

The General Education Board has used its resources generously in support of farm demonstration work. For several years it has made appropriations to the College of Agriculture of the University of Maine and the New Hampshire College of Agriculture to enable this type of coöperative effort to be continued in the States which those institutions serve. At present a fund of \$80,000 is available each year in the State of Maine alone and more than fifty farm demonstrators are employed under direction of the extension service of the College of Agriculture. The last report of the General Education Board gives interesting details of the methods developed in that State.

Maine has about 60,000 farms, but many of these are no longer yielding a profit to their owners (80 per cent. of whom are native white Americans), and there is a smaller acreage under cultivation than in former years. The drift of farm-bred youth to the cities has been quite as noticeable here as in the rest of New England. This, of course, has worked to the detriment of rural interests generally.

Local farming conditions differ widely

A NEIGHBORING ORCHARD, PHOTOGRAPHED AT THE SAME TIME AS THE ONE ON THE OPPOSITE PAGE
(The neglect of the trees is shown in the scarcity of bloom)

from county to county. Aroostook County, for instance, is chiefly interested in producing potatoes; Kennebec County's principal interest is dairying, while Oxford County devotes most of its attention to apple orchards. The farm demonstration work introduced by Dean Merrill, of the College of Agriculture, adapts its methods to these varying local conditions. The demonstration staff comprises

a director of extension, who acts as leader of county demonstration agents, an assistant county demonstration leader, a State leader of boys' and girls' clubs and his assistant, one specialist each in farm management, poultry, dairying, and home economics, and fourteen county demonstration agents, with a clerical staff and a considerable number of emergency workers. All the demonstration agents were born on the farm, and, with one exception, they are graduates of the Maine State College of Agriculture.

Each county agent gives primary consideration to one particular crop or product, but he always seeks to stimulate the farmer's interest in "side lines"—small fruits and grains, gardening, pork-production, poultry production, boys' and girls' clubs, community organization, and so forth.

The chief activities to which county agents devote themselves in Maine are the care of

A GIRDLED APPLE TREE
BEING SAVED BY BRIDGE

A VERY OLD APPLE TREE GIVEN A YOUNG AND
VIGOROUS TOP BY INTELLIGENT PRUNING

orchards and the handling of apples, the promotion of dairying and its related interests, the production of hay and silage crops, and demonstration in growing potatoes, corn, and small fruits.

The agents are teaching the Maine farmers how to make their apple orchards more profitable. The older and more neglected the orchard, the better the opportunity for the demonstrator. He enters into an agreement with the farmer for a period of four or five years and then invites in the neighbors, explains to them the cause of the adverse conditions, instructs them in the fundamentals of pruning, and, setting aside a part of the orchard for demonstration purposes, sends the men up into the trees to do the pruning under his direction. Later, the trees are fertilized, sprayed, and properly cultivated. A part of the expense thus incurred is met by productive crops that are grown on the ground. Within three or four years the demonstration plot is wholly distinct from the rest of the orchard, and points the lesson that the demonstrator wishes to enforce more graphically than a library of treatises on horticulture.

Meanwhile, the demonstrator, besides showing how to renovate old orchards, is teaching the proper planting and care of young trees. The farmer learns from him how to select the stock, to prepare the ground, to fertilize, cultivate, and otherwise care for the young trees and to grow profitable crops on the ground while the trees are coming into bearing. Our illustrations show the practical way in which these lessons are impressed on the farmer. Coöperative marketing is also promoted through fruit-growers' associations.

Hay is the farm crop to which Maine is by physical conditions best adapted, and it is

the State's most valuable crop. The county agents are showing the farmers how production of hay may be increased by the better care of meadows, but their main purpose is to persuade the farmer that it is more profitable in the long run to feed the crop to animals than to sell it as hay. The value of Maine's dairy products is only a little more than half that of her hay crop. The demonstrators argue that the farmer is now virtually shipping out of the State and selling the soil in the form of hay, whereas he might transform his hay into the more valuable products—meat, milk, butter, and cheese—and return the manure from the cattle to the soil. So the county agents seek to utilize the hay within the State by encouraging the multiplication of herds.

The growth of silage crops and the building of silos are stimulated by the county agents. In certain counties silage corn is an uncertain crop on account of the short growing season, and millet is being substituted as a silage crop. Silo construction "bees" have superseded the "raisings" and log-rollings of pioneer times. One of the farmers in a neighborhood having provided the necessary material for a silo, the neighbors come together on an appointed day and, under the instruction of the county agent, put up the structure.

These are only a few of the ways in which the farm demonstration work is teaching the farmers of Maine that their industry under modern conditions is largely a community enterprise, and that by his own unaided effort the individual cannot hope to succeed. All this is preparing the ground for precisely the kind of rural community effort that is outlined so clearly by Mr. Elwood Mead elsewhere in this REVIEW.

THE BATTLE OF THE BOUNDARIES

BY TALCOTT WILLIAMS

THE Battle of the Boundaries extends across Europe from the Rhine to the Ural. Winning the war is a task direct, immediate and clear, by the side of marking its boundaries. In each of the new lines drawn a possible war lies unless a League of Free Nations substitutes arbitration for battle.

From the Treaty of Verdun (843) between the three grandsons of Charlemagne, the boundary on the Rhine separating the halves of his Empire, has been drawn by war and by battle for 1076 years. Boundaries many there be on the earth's surface over which successive empires have striven under many dynasties, tongues and peoples; but nowhere is there a single line, deep-graven by the plough-share of war, where the same races, the same tongues and the same opposing views of life, society, rule and the arts have wrestled in the womb of time for ten centuries. In the German Atlas, France begins a narrow strip on the West coast of Europe from the Channel to the Bay of Biscay, extending itself across lands and regions belonging to the German people (*Deutsche* once meant only the "people") driving back with a tongue drawn from Rome and a civilization essentially Roman, the Central German race that had once won all Western Europe for its own. In the French Atlas, the German Empire, beginning in savage lands and peoples brute and uncivilized in the central plain of Europe, rolled back a civilized race half across Gaul, a race which in its turn has forced back the alien tide, until it proposes to make all secure in the future by pushing across the Rhine again.

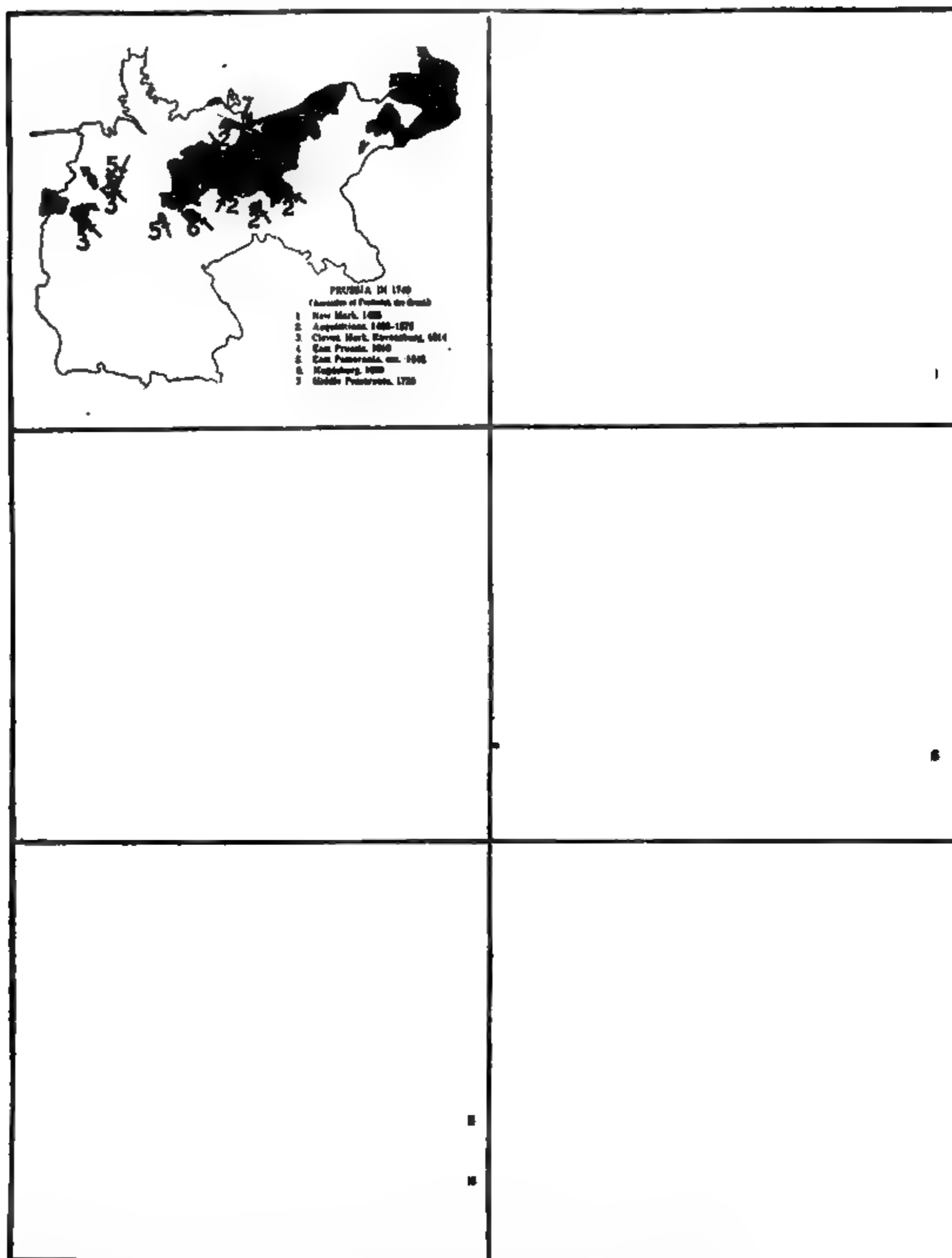
Europe in council had the same problem before it at Vienna in 1814-15 and decided

on the line which had taken shape by the successive decisions of united Europe over two and a half centuries—substantially the line the French Revolution found. For 223 years



THE EASTERN BOUNDARY OF FRANCE AS DETERMINED IN 1815

(The change made in 1871 is indicated by the broken line and the shaded area representing Alsace-Lorraine)



From "Collected Materials for the Study of the War," compiled by Albert E. McKinley (Philadelphia)

GROWTH OF PRUSSIA

(The solid black on each map generally shows the total area at the date of the preceding map, the shaded area the territories since added. On the first map the solid black is the area in 1450. On the map for 1806 the dotted line separates the Polish territories lost in 1815 from those retained. The limits of the German Empire in 1914 are shown on each map)

the northeastern boundary of France eddied from Valmy to Waterloo and settled to the old landmarks. These were removed in

1871 by the Treaty of Frankfort and the great war has followed. The prospect of a future war will be diminished in proportion

as the boundary of the past, the one that Europe settled on at Vienna by following the past, is changed by the Treaty of Versailles. It is not fortifications or military advantages or strategic reasons or economic advantages that defend boundary lines and make them secure; but peace, goodwill and a mutual sense of justice secured. It is this that makes the one longest boundary, without any defenses whatever, the line between the Union and the Dominion, the United States and Canada, the most secure the world around. As the new French boundary secures this, it will share the same security. It will be insecure as it lacks this "cheap defense of nations."

The Slav Boundaries

Italy is secure in its boundaries because it sought unity, with self-determination. The boundaries of Slav races are difficult and insecure because they seek self-determination without unity. No boundary can be drawn between any two of the Slav races which will suit both. The rough and approximate justice which can be carved out between Italy and Jugo-Slavia-Serbia on the Adriatic can never remain in peace unless

arbitration be provided, enforced by a League ready to make resistance to a decision perilous to the aggressor. Whatever is said now for this particular boundary or that particular division line, this is certain in the future:—no general principle can be applied to the claims of Italian and Slav on the Adriatic without somewhere leaving one party or the other dissatisfied and irritated, ready to act when the hour comes making it safe to draw the sword unless this course is certain to mean loss. This is equally true of the line between Hungary and German Austria on one side and Jugo-Slavia and Rumania on the other. It is true of the dispute between Poland and Bohemia and true, too, of the triple conflict between Poland, Ukrainia and that part of Galicia which wishes to stand alone; of the western boundary of Poland, where it touches a population part German and part Polish, the northern boundary where German dwellers are between the Pole and the



AREAS (IN SOLID BLACK) NOW CLAIMED BY ITALY



THE BASIS OF THE ITALIAN CLAIM—VENETIAN POSSESSIONS (IN SOLID BLACK) IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY



TERRITORY CLAIMED BY THE NEW REPUBLIC OF THE CZECHOSLOVAKS, HAVING A PRESENT POPULATION OF ABOUT 13,000,000, OF WHOM 10,000,000 ARE CZECHOSLOVAKS



RUSSIA'S WESTERN BOUNDARY IN 1914 AND ITS RELATION TO PROPOSED NATIONAL ALIGNMENTS

Baltic, and the eastern boundary where Lett, Russian, Ruthenian, and Ukrainian each claims special areas, historically by past and recent administration, racially by "natural"

boundaries. The older the Slav fraction the more it trusts to history; the younger the more it trusts to existing conditions.

Poland lay for its early centuries behind the Lithuanian dike which was the first to feel the shock of the Central Asian hordes from 1000 to 1300. The Letts themselves were part of an earlier Central Asian movement which ten to twelve centuries or so B.C. rolled across the Russian steppes and filtered through the Russian forest and spread itself in a vast expanse, checked by central Europe. The remains of the Western edge of this great wave are present to-day in Finland, in scattered Letts and in Bulgars, races and tongues of a distant and diverse kinship. Look at the earlier map of Poland and you will see Lithuania still holding its place. When the Tartar horde ebbed, Lithuania was gone. Into the vast open space left Ruthenian and Russian poured. Of all the great migrations, which begin near the Pacific and end two-thirds of the way between the Ural and the Bay of Biscay, the only racial one that has moved eastward is the Russian. The great river plains of Russia in the south and its northern forests were swept again and again by Tartars. To put it in its most general shape, the Asiatic besom of destruction swept what is now Russia about 2400 B. C.; just before and after the Christian era and 1200 years later. The last swept the Russian area clean to Poland and the Slav race, now called Russian, slowly crawled, 1000 years gone, first into the river



plains and then hewed its way into the great forest which still covers 40 per cent. of Russia.

Old Battle of Boundaries

Lithuania in the fourteenth century dwarfed Poland. Its seaboard was narrow, a mere strip between Prussia (the Borussia which held the German Knights' town of Königsberg) and Courland, itself German in origin, by rule and by immigration. Narrow at the point where it touched the Baltic, it spread through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a vast bulk of over 300,000 square miles, ruling the western provinces of future Russia, extending to the Black Sea over most of Ukraina, holding Kieff and holding the eastern bulwark of Europe for three centuries from the days when the Golden Horde ruled from its turbulent camp on the

Volga, through the days when the Kipchak Tartars held all north of the Black Sea until first Genghis Khan and then Tamerlane smote all between Ural and Poland. Weakened, Lithuania was annexed by the Russian Czar in the seventeenth century and for a hundred years it was crime to use its name and tongue. Its peasants shared the change from freedom to serfdom which marked Russia and nowhere was a more ignoble, brutal or capricious slavery. Emancipated in the last century, it is on this foundation that free institutions have to be established for a race whose literature a generation ago had more books and newspapers published in the United States than in Lithuania. Shrunken by the claims of Poland and Russia, it is certain to demand boundaries covering the history of the past and the tongue of the present.

TERRITORY OCCUPIED CHIEFLY BY JUGO-SLAVS (SOUTHERN SLAVS)
(The horizontal shading indicates Italian territorial aspirations)

It will contest Lemberg with Ruthenian and Pole. It will have its claims in Slovakia. It will ask for a seaboard cutting off Courland. Czecho-Slovakia has its claim in Silesia, its unsettled boundaries with its neighbors on all sides. Rumanian and Magyar have crowded the Serb or Jugo-Slav from the north out of the Banat. Each will claim this ancient and blood-stained borderland. The Serb once extended into the Hungarian plain on the north with the four rivers whose silver streams, *party-per-pale*, shine on the arms of the Magyar land. South, Serbs once stretched over the fertile lands of the South Balkans, on which Bulgars have encroached. All Serbs suffer from their mountain territory, as their higher illiteracy showed thirty years ago. They are

certain to seek the lowlands whenever opportunity offers.

Europe is dotted with dubious bounds. Neufchatel, divided between Germany and Switzerland at the Congress of Paris in 1856, comes up for decision now. So do the boundaries of Holland and Belgium. Holland yielded to Prussia (map) and Belgium yielded to Holland. These were avowedly compromises. Towns in Neufchatel and Valengin have already annexed themselves to Switzerland, which declines the perilous gift. Belgian and Dutch papers in December were talking of war between the two countries. Neither England nor Belgium will ever again be willing to have the Scheldt held by the Netherlands, when it is the natural water-gate to Antwerp.

TRAINING HUMAN CAPACITIES FOR THE NEW ERA

BY HOLLIS GODFREY

(President of the Drexel Institute, Philadelphia)

[Dr. Godfrey's article is for thoughtful rather than superficial reading. It goes to the heart of our "Reconstruction" problems. High wages and short hours are desirable, but they must come by means of increased skill and training for results. When Dr. Godfrey talks about foremen and engineers and shopwork, he has also in mind the growth of skill in the farm community, in the office system, in the conduct of public schools, in the running of a religious society, in the practise of law and medicine, or in the handling of a city's police problems. The country's greatest asset is the moral and economic power of its people. With high training and good planning, material resources will respond to the demands of a richer civilization.]

Dr. Hollis Godfrey is a distinguished engineer, President of the Drexel Institute of Philadelphia, who served as the engineering authority on the Council of National Defense at Washington for two years beginning in 1916. As a consulting engineer, an educator, and broad-minded leader, Dr. Godfrey promises to be one of the marked men of the new period upon which we are entering.—THE EDITOR.]

ON August 1, 1914, the peoples of the world were moving slowly but surely along the road of progress and achievement. Some were advancing more rapidly than others, but all were progressing along a road of peace. In medicine, in education, in public work, and in all practical applications of science, a worthy advance had been made and we were on the whole a distinctly happy and prosperous world. Suddenly, on August 1, the German Empire by declaring war on Russia drew most of the civilized world into a cataclysm of blood and dropped a wall across the old road of progress. Our advance along that road of peace was halted.

During the first year of the war, if you remember, we thought we could go back to the old road, but we could not. We never could have gone back after one day, but we continued to talk about going back. Every day, every month, and every year added to the impossibility of doing this, until, when the German fleet surrendered on November 22, 1918, anyone who talked about the possibility of going back to conditions before the war was simply indulging in a forlorn hope. The question now is: What road are we going to take in the period of reconstruction and readjustment which will enable us to meet the needs of the new situation?

If we go back all the way to the time when the Phœnician merchants first decided that they would sail out for new territory, or if we turn to the days of Elizabeth when Drake sailed to the new world, we see that when-

ever a nation has reached a point at which its problems are new—where the world itself is almost new—the nation has to master these problems or perish. This is equally true of an institution, an industry, or an individual. There is just one of two things to do—either drift or plan; and we are at this moment in a situation where as a nation, an institution, or an individual, a choice must be made.

The danger is that we shall wait too long before coming to a decision. As a nation we are still undecided. Just the other night in a little group of six who were talking with me, three said, "Let us wait until the League of Nations is established and President Wilson gets back. In the meantime, stand pat." Two of the other three said, "Plan." And one said, "Act to hold the best that we have and plan to make the most of what is to come." It is the third policy that is the right one to pursue to-day.

We must always assume that a large part of the world will drift and that another part will plan. This article is frankly only for those people who plan. Intelligent planning directed towards a given end means progress. We will simply discard drifting, because we are in a situation in which we must plan and progress, if we are to live. I firmly believe that there is sufficient evidence to indicate that the plant, institution, or individual that drifts the first two years of a critical period like this, will be dead or dying within a decade. That is why I believe that every

plant, every institution, and every single individual must spend every possible hour in new planning, holding as they do so to the best of the old.

Suppose we call that settled and assume that a plan is to be made. The question then is: How shall we plan and to what end? What can history tell us of the way to directed planning? If we go back again to England in the time of Elizabeth, we find the period in history which is, in my opinion, most like our own. The reign of Elizabeth faced, as the world faces to-day, the problem of social unrest. During the early years of the reign, England was outwardly at peace with the Continent. This gave opportunity for the study of domestic problems and for the formation of sound domestic policy. The opportunity was widely used. Old industries were revitalized, new industries were developed, and important improvements made in methods of cultivating the land.

This development of new capacities rather effectively took care of the problem of social unrest by providing employment and settling other vexing questions. But if conditions were not to become stagnant or worse and if the old evils were not to reappear, additional outlets had to be found for the newly developed national strength which expressed itself powerfully in commercial and industrial resourcefulness. These new outlets the shrewd merchants of England, especially of London and Bristol, were quick to find in foreign commerce and trade. Following the masterly example of Columbus and the Cabots, Drake and other great seamen of Elizabethan England were sent out to discover new worlds or to exploit those already known. Thus, when stagnation threatened them, did the merchants and seamen of England by developing at home and abroad new capacities, put English trade on a sound footing in their own day, and lay the foundation of their country's commercial supremacy and of her present vast Colonial Empire.

There is a lesson here for America. We cannot, nor need we copy many of the methods of Drake and his contemporaries. We require only their vision. They sought new capacities and it is in the development of new capacities that we must find the end of planning to-day.

Bringing Out Mental Capacity

We have a new and great opportunity for the development of capacities. We are interested not only in the development of ma-

terial capacity, which was probably, despite the marvelous and perhaps accidental intellectual by-product of its work, the chief concern of the industrialism of this former age, but to-day we find in the development of the mental capacity of the worker our great new world. This we must do if we are to live as a nation and build a great new state.

To do this effectively or at all, we must take care of the mind of the buyer who buys the service and the mind of the worker who performs the service that is bought. The doer of the service can only work well when he knows that the product of his labor is fitted to an economic or spiritual need of a given time. There is no earthly use in training a maker of square pianos when the need of this product has disappeared. No matter how brilliantly it may be done, it is futile to train any engineer or craftsman for the solution of problems that do not exist or for tasks that need not be done, especially when all the training and development of capacity imaginable lies ready to our hand in the actual problems that must be solved and the actual tasks that must be done.

Lessons of the War

Time presses us heavily. We must get swift results at the minimum cost. A moment's thought on the history of the Great War will show us clearly what is really the swiftest way to get results. The whole war from August 1, 1914, to July 18, 1918, was an example of the hindrances, checks, and dangers of drifting or of action without complete planning. On July 18, 1918, under Marshal Foch, the tremendous force of action based on complete plan began to operate, and in four months the work was done which had not been done by four years of planless method. And be it noted, in tactics Foch made his gains (so most of the tacticians say) by the development of mental skill, which is the swiftest capacity development possible, taking into consideration total time involved in complete action.

When we remember the lessons of the war, the reason for placing the emphasis upon the development of mental rather than material capacities appears at once. We admit that mental capacities can be developed far more swiftly than material ones, but ask why they have not been more largely developed from the standpoint of their value as industrial capacities? For one reason and one only. The means for their development industrially were not in existence in sufficient quantity to

make maximum development possible—exactly as advances in the art and practise of navigation have inevitably had to precede the development of the capacities of new lands.

Now for the first time the great war—by far the greatest engineering and educational experiment the world has ever known—has supplied us with the means for such development and, by focusing all the pre-war experience in engineering and education on the supreme need of winning the war and developing that knowledge in the hot crucible of war, it has supplied these means in the three great groups necessary for the development of complete industrial mental skill.

The Kind of Education Demanded

These groups point out (1) what knowledge is necessary—the knowledge basis of the development, (2) how that knowledge can be best and most simply taught—the expression basis of the development, and (3) what men are best fitted for a given job and how we can know when they are fitted—the test basis of the development. How all three means for the development of mental skill capacities can be used in a given specific case will be told later.

And there is a further reason why the next period is to be a great period of the development of mental skill. The war has changed the attitude of the people toward the nation. And new development cannot be individual. It must be pointed towards three ends—the development of a better state, a better opportunity for one's associates, and a better opportunity for one's self. No longer will plans headed for mere individual gains suffice.

But there is one point which any believer in my statements must not forget. Production must go on. Any development of capacities must be in addition to existing capacities and must not interfere with them. That is, he must remember that any development of new capacity must insure the keeping of all that is good in the old. In other words, I do not mean for a moment that we can go ahead and develop new capacity to a high point and let another perfectly good thing drop to a low point. Hold what you have and develop the new. Insure the old—promote the new.

And there was never a period in the history of the world when there was so attentive an ear to the theory, which is unquestionably correct, that the swift and profitable way to insure the old and promote the new is to in-

sure the development of mental skill by education. A plea for education will be heard to-day by the vast audience of men who have come back from this war. It will be heard by the thousands of untrained individuals who went into the war and failed because they lacked training. And it will be heard by those who succeeded because of their training. They all have recognized in their work, whether it was on this side of the ocean or abroad, that the thing that is most profitable is education, and that education based on right knowledge and right methods brings the surest and swiftest results.

A Practical Program

Thus far we have been concerned with the theory of the need for development of as yet undeveloped capacities of mental skill. Let us now present the general statement of a specific plan for such development in one of a group of fields where such development is possible based on the results of war training. It is given in outline only, owing to space limitations. It has been, however, worked out and checked in detail.

It is in the engineering basis of capacity development, in the educational teaching of that basis and in the fitting of the man to his work that we find the greatest field for meeting the pressing problems of to-day. But to make this theory work, it must be brought down to earth. Dreams and theories are necessary, but to make them work for men and women to-day and not to-morrow, we must have a plan on which any man anywhere can act.

The plan proposed is fundamental, first, in its division into two types of skill—mental skill and manual skill, or technical skill and vocational skill, or engineering skill and craftsman skill, in whatever way we choose to express the comparison. If it is a problem of hand working on material, it is a craftsman problem, no matter how guided by the brain. If it is a coordination of plans by which the work of men on material is planned by the brain, it is a technical problem. A craftsman works only with the material at his hand; an engineer works with the design of that combination of goods and services which makes a finished product through existing or new avenues of industry.

The engineer is the man or woman who organizes men and materials in groups of men and groups of material, produces the assembly drawing, showing what is to be made, the bills of materials showing what is to be used, the instruction card telling how

the work is to be done and by whom. The engineer must visualize his complete work with relation to the whole factory which makes the product and with regard to the buyer who is to use it. In the making of a given product, engineering and craftsman skill both have a definite and valuable part. One is as important as the other, but this does not lessen the necessity for correct definition as to the purposes of our plan.

Engineering training has been steadily undergoing a process of definition for the last fifty years or more, and the boy who wishes to become an engineer has a large group of splendid engineering schools from which to choose the one which best meets his special needs. Vocational training which will give the citizen command of a trade or craft is recognized by city, State, and nation as the right of any citizen and a multitude of great vocational schools exist.

"The Non-Com. of Industry"

But industry has a third type of worker whose task has been little defined, whose schools are few, indeed, and yet whose mental capacity is capable of the most extraordinary advance. There is no other type in industry to-day whose development will bring greater rewards to all concerned, to capital, to labor, and the community alike. I refer to the foreman (call him by any name you please—leading man, inspector, route man, boss), the non-commissioned officer of industry.

The foreman is primarily a community officer of an industrial community. He is the route man who makes the route by which the goods travel, and he is the Public Works Department who keeps the shop clean. He is the public school teacher who teaches the citizens of his part of the community how to live and work effectively in that community. He is a public servant who, if he rightly performs his function, is not concerned with controversies between employer and employee, being detached from both in any discussion and with his work not involved in any problems which give rise to differences of opinion.

There is nothing that will do more in this period to aid in the development of both material and mental capacity than the giving to the craftsman the training which a non-commissioned officer of industry should have, and to existing non-commissioned officers of industry training for advancement in their own jobs or preparing them for the commissioned jobs of the engineer. "A squad is

no better than its corporal," said a great general. We may paraphrase the remark by saying, "A group of workers is no better than its foreman." And (let me repeat) the remarkable part of the whole thing is that with a proper functionalization of the foreman's job, all his gain in mental skill aids the advance of industry without interfering or blocking or even entering any of the controversial fields in which are fought out the differences between capital and labor.

I have defined the foreman's job at some length because I do not think that there is anything in industry which has made more delay, has cost more in money and time than the lack of realization that the moment a man becomes a non-commissioned officer, he undertakes a technical task and, if he does his job rightly and is allowed to do it, never does a single piece of craftsman's work while working as a foreman. He organizes men and materials. He is essentially sub-engineer in charge of the execution of the engineer's design, but he has not heretofore been trained as an engineer.

The fact is that the non-commissioned officer of industry assimilates the assembled drawing of the engineer and carries out a detailed drawing in terms of the men and materials. Here is a great human need that must be filled if industry is to advance and to fill that need we must train rightly a new group who have never been properly trained before. Only by providing that training can we fill in a link in industry and serve to the maximum degree the nation, our associates and ourselves. The world is too complex and too large to say this is the only way out or to say that good training has not been obtained in a few cases. There is no panacea; there is no cure-all. But there is a general need in every industrial city and town everywhere for trained foremen, and no proper means of supplying that need.

A Basis of Experience

When any man makes as strong a statement as that just made, I like to know why he says it and what experience he has had to back it up. I want to go back and give the reader a little of the personal history on this matter which has led me to these conclusions. In 1899 I took a class in an evening school which was made up chiefly of foremen, subforemen and inspectors. It was concerned with elementary mechanics and the principles of physics, although it became almost from the start a course in the theory and

practice of foremanship, because of an almost accidental happening. The first night I went in (I was recently out of college and had recently worked my way through the shop) I knew by experience that my students could ask me any number of things that I could not answer. I evolved in the spirit of self-protection, a scheme for meeting trouble. I said to them, "You can ask me a lot of things that I cannot answer, but there is nothing you can ask me that I cannot find out. Ask me any question and I will answer it on the second class night following. I will answer nothing on the night it is asked."

I kept that question-and-answer plan going for six years and during that time I believe I had asked me almost every fundamental question of foremanship. And as the years went on, I was able to check their questions and answers by my actual experience in industry. Nine years of experience in industry passed by and an opportunity of administering the affairs of another night school came. So for five years in the Drexel Institute I have been watching the foreman situation with the utmost interest, especially in view of my opportunity to check the situation at Washington during the whole of the war.

I served in the government service for two and one-quarter years, during which time I had one industrial and institutional problem after another of all sizes and kinds presented to me. Over and over again I found this to be true—that the great crying need was for non-commissioned officers of industry. There were craftsmen, and manual workers and engineers, but there were no foremen—none who could take the plans from the engineer and put them through. The question I was asked again and again was this: "What are we going to do about foremen and where can we get them?" So after study both from the side of the employer and from the side of the employee, I came to the very definite determination that the non-commissioned officer's field is separate from that of the craftsman on the one hand and from that of the engineer on the other.

When the war came to the United States what I had foreseen took place. No one who had any part in the industrial development of the war can forget the desperate lack of trained non-commissioned officers, industrial and military, which cost so dearly in time and money. The need was shown with a clearness never equalled. But the military requirement brought great advances in the power to meet the need in this period of re-

construction. France outlined with a beautiful clarity the problem method of intensive training, Great Britain developed the theory of the vestibule shop, the United States developed the theory of maximum training devoted to a given end in a minimum time, and every theory, to name but a few of the great developments of mental and manual capacity of the war, was checked in thousands of cases by the grim and relentless test of war. In four years the world made and tested out an amazing number of possibilities for the development of capacities, which are only waiting the next stage, the change to peace, to become available for industry, and in few of these fields are greater opportunities of proved value at hand than in that of which I write to-day.

But every one of these fields must be carried out with two points of view: the making of a skilled citizen out of an unskilled citizen and the making of a skilled worker out of an unskilled worker. No work is complete which does not include the great factor of citizenship and an understanding of the citizen's place in the community.

Now there is nothing finer than the foreman group of industry. The way they have developed their job under adverse circumstances elicits my warmest admiration. Why not give them an open road to advancement instead of leaving it to chance which so often leads into a blind alley?

Machinery for Training

It remains, therefore, to outline specifically a plan by which the foreman may get that training which he needs. The first thing to do, is to bring the educational experience of the war to bear directly upon the problem. As stated above, we can in this way ascertain:

- (1) What knowledge is necessary;
- (2) How that knowledge can be best and most simply taught;
- (3) What men are best fitted for a given job and how we can know when they are fitted.

There now exists ample machinery for ascertaining each of these three things, which, if focussed and centered upon the foreman, will give him the right training to perform his job.

There are two types of workers in industry who are especially eligible for this training, but they must be taught in two separate groups, the first composed of skilled craftsmen, the second composed of men who are already foremen. The skilled craftsman

must be educated in foremanship; the foreman must be trained for advancement in his existing job or for promotion to higher jobs, the craftsman who possesses the qualities and knowledge which fit him for advancement must have the training which will enable him to change from a manual worker to a mental worker. When that training is done, the worker, having mastered the principles of his technical work, should be competent to be a foreman in any department of the trade group to which he belongs—mechanic trades, ship trades, carpenter trades and the various like occupations.

The non-commissioned officer who is already working at his job must be taught enough of the fundamental principles to work up so far as possible what he has not obtained by practice, but he must be taught in the main by reference to the specific problems of his own shop and his own department and by the material and men that he has to use to get his work accomplished. When that training is completed, the non-commissioned officer should be a far abler officer, should be worth more money to his employer and himself and should be in the line of advancement.

Comparatively Brief Time Required

The procedure for actually putting this training for non-commissioned officers into effect, I have found by actual practice to be simpler than it may appear from the gravity of the general problem. The time in which the training may be done in the first group has been determined by a number of experiments as about four hundred hours, which can easily be taken in a year of night-school study with employment continuing regularly during the day. The time necessary for the training of the second group is probably materially shorter, but how much shorter is not yet known.

It has been found by the experience of the war that the problem method of instruction when rightly done is so fascinating to the student that the work offers its own incentive as well as the reward of money and advancement at the end. And, perhaps best of all, it is possible practically to eliminate any hour of instruction which does not lead straightway to the making of a more skilled citizen. The cost can be estimated with a considerable amount of precision from known factors.

The length of the period of training, therefore, presents no serious difficulties. Nor does the problem of testing—the fitting the

man to the job. When, however, we come to decide upon the subject-matter of the course, a great deal of serious thought is needed. In the last twenty years I have worked out and am now making available for our own classes investigations which are basic to the solution of this problem in both the school and the shop. In addition, the great new resources of technical and vocational teaching may be drawn upon.

Engineers Who Are Also Teachers

With a command of industrial practice as it has been focused by the war, the engineer experienced in shop practice who is skilled also in teaching (and admirable men of this type exist) will be able to give the craftsman that training which will most quickly make him an efficient foreman. If this same engineer is also an expert in engineering research, he will be able to point the way for the education and advancement of the existing foremen. But he cannot develop the educational capacity of existing foremen in terms of their own shop in public institutions devoted to general aims. He must do it in the shop, and develop the work as an outside teacher and investigator. The work should never be put into hands that are concerned with other duties nor into the hands of any one who is not both teacher and engineer.

Merits of the Plan Summarized

So I commend the examination of this vital problem to those engineers who are teachers, to every foreman, and to every worker who desires to fit himself to be a foreman, to all employers and employees, and to all men and women everywhere—all who are interested in planning a way by which all in common may advance and none may lose, during the building of that great new state which should be brought forth after the travails of war. For search as I may, I can find no way in which any citizen can suffer loss in the development of this plan, if the plan can be carried out according to design, because the employer gets a foreman who understands foremanship, the engineer gets a man who can read and interpret his designs, the craftsman acquires a fundamental knowledge of his job with a chance to become a foreman, the non-commissioned officer of industry gets an insight into the work of the engineer which may advance him to that position, the men in the shop get a square deal, and the community gets skilled citizenship.

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NATURE'S POWER SUPPLY FOR OBTAINING NITRIC ACID

(If nitrogen is to be reduced directly from the air in solid usable form, cheap waterpower is necessary. At Niagara Falls—shown in the picture above—the first experiments were made with the object of burning nitrogen electrically and of obtaining ultimately nitric acid. Niagara's power was not cheap enough, and that was before the present legislative restrictions on its use were imposed. The industry thrives in Norway and Sweden.)

THE CHEMIST AND THE FOOD PROBLEM

SOLVING THE PROBLEM OF AN INCREASING POPULATION AND A
DIMINISHING FOOD SUPPLY

BY WALDEMAR KAEMPFFERT

(Editor of the Popular Science Monthly)

WE paid no great attention to our utter dependency on the nitrogen of the air until in 1898 Sir William Crookes, in a memorable paper read before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, showed that the population of the world is increasing more rapidly than its food supply. Wheat eaters dominate the world. In 1898 they numbered 516,000,000, and they were increasing at the rate of 6,000,000 annually. By 1945 the wheat fields must cover 292,000,000 acres in order to feed a population of 834,000,000, he argued, and then dramatically asked: "What is to happen if the present rate of population be maintained and if arable areas of sufficient extent cannot be adapted and made contributory to the subsistence of so great a host? If bread fails, not only us, but all the bread winners of the world, what are we to do?"

For years the farmers of the eastern and western hemispheres have been growing more wheat than Sir William pessimistically concluded it would be difficult to supply in 1941.

Although his dismal prophecy is not likely to be fulfilled, chiefly because he made no allowances for the use of better agricultural machinery, better tillage, better varieties of wheat, and better seed, it served the useful purpose of arousing newspaper editors, government officials, capitalists and chemists to a realization of our food problem.

Sir William harped on the need of nitrogen. Without it we cannot grow wheat, without it plants cannot grow, and if plants cannot grow cattle must starve, and with them mankind. But what is nitrogen? Where can it be obtained? How is it used?

**NITROGEN, NITROGEN EVERYWHERE, BUT
NOT AN OUNCE THAT YOU CAN USE**

Breathe and you inhale nitrogen. Eighty per cent. of the air is composed of it. Without it you die. Pure oxygen may not be breathed indefinitely with safety; it would burn you up before your time. Nitrogen serves to dilute it. Eat bread, meat, beans, or any tissue-building food, and you eat

nitrogen. Blast a subway, blow up a Czar, destroy a fort with explosive shells, drop bombs on a munitions factory from an airplane, and you accomplish your purpose with nitrogen. Poison a rat and you will find nitrogen your deadliest instrumentality. Dye a fabric one of a hundred different shades and you must fall back on nitrogen. Dissolve gold out of the rock in which it is locked and you will find that nitrogen proves indispensable.

Every twenty-four hours you draw into your lungs four hundred and fifty gallons of it, enough to make thirty pounds of T. N. T. or forty pounds of gunpowder. The nitrogen above one square mile of the earth amounts to about twenty million tons—enough to last the world for fifty years. Of this enormous volume a minute fraction—about 0.000002—is in the active service of the vegetable and animal kingdom.

Plentiful as it is, nitrogen as a free gas has not many industrial uses. It must be converted into solid, assimilable form. Most elements are readily converted into useful compounds. Hydrogen and oxygen combine to form water; chlorine and hydrogen to produce hydrochloric acid; sodium and chlorine to yield common table salt. But this gas nitrogen is chemically rebellious, extraordinarily inert.

Barnyard manure and other animal fertilizers contain nitrogen in the very chemical form that the soil demands. For centuries farmers have been manuring their fields. They never knew why until the modern chemist told them that they were merely restoring to the soil a fraction of what had been removed from it by crops and cattle. Whenever we kill a steer or a sheep we kill a crop producer.

There is not enough animal fertilizer to restore to the soil the nitrogen that has been removed by growing verdage and grazing cow. Is there no artificial form of assimilable nitrogen? The chemist points at once to ammonia, a nitrogenous by-product obtained in the manufacture of illuminating gas and of coke. For years farmers have been fertilizing the soil with ammonia, not the strong liquid household variety, but solid ammonium sulphate. The amount of ammonia sold by all the illuminating gas-works in the country is negligibly small in comparison with the demands for fertilizer. Far greater is the quantity obtained when soft coal is reduced to coke in an oven.

By the end of the war Germany was recovering fully one-third of her nitrogen in the form of coke-oven ammonia. The United States, on the other hand, still wastes most of the ammonia which it might similarly husband. Why? Because it employs the wrong kind of oven for the most part. Instead of collecting the fertilizing values which are absolutely vital to us, we allow most of them to float off into the atmosphere. The man who lights cigars with one hundred-dollar bills popularly symbolizes recklessness. He is totally eclipsed by our coke companies. They toss millions into the air where he consumes but paltry hundreds.

But, granting that much valuable ammonium sulphate might be obtained if the right kind of coke-oven were generally adopted, there would be no assurance of a steady supply. Coke-oven ammonia is a kind of waste, a by-product. No sane business man would coke soft-coal for the sake of obtaining ammonia. He produces coke only when the iron industry demands it, and the iron industry's demands vary from year to year.

(The power of waging war, the power of producing crops to feed a whole population, the power of developing essential industries have hitherto been dependent upon the millions of tons of nitrogen deposited in the form of nitrate of soda behind a Chilean plateau five thousand feet above the sea-level and twenty miles from the Pacific coast—a dreary, parched, almost rainless strip of land, a veritable desert, but a great national asset)

THE FLAME OF A 400-KILOWATT OVEN

(Whenever lightning flashes nature is fixing atmospheric nitrogen. So the scientists have imitated her by developing methods of applying electricity. Here is a typical arc furnace which burns the air to produce nitric oxide, from which nitric acid is obtained, which in turn can be changed into solid nitrate)

CHILE'S PRICELESS DESERT

Luckily for mankind, nature deposited millions of tons of nitrogen in the form of Chilean saltpeter (nitrate of soda) behind a plateau five thousand feet above the sea level, and twenty miles from the Pacific Coast—a dreary, parched, almost rainless strip of land, a veritable desert. For nearly a century that Chilean waste has been a priceless possession of civilization. It has stood between us and starvation. Upon it the farmers of Europe and America have been almost entirely dependent for nearly a century, and with them a host of industries as well as grasping empires that have expanded their dominions by means of gunpowder, nitroglycerine and T. N. T.

The power of waging war, the power of producing crops to feed a whole population, the power of developing essential industries, have all been dependent on Chile. What would happen if the ports of that country were blockaded? The great German chemist, Ostwald, wrote some years before the European conflict: "If to-day a great war should break out between two great powers, of which one were to prevent the export of saltpeter from the few ports of Chile, it would thereby make it impossible for the enemy to continue longer than its ammuni-

tion supply would last." No wonder that Germany had accumulated approximately six hundred and sixty thousand tons of Chilean saltpeter and that it threw its spiked helmet up with joy when it captured two hundred thousand tons more in Antwerp.

Chile practically lives on her nitrate. She levies an export tax of \$11.60 on every ton exported. She has collected from the United States alone about ninety million dollars. Between 1867 and 1916 we used about 8,040,217 tons, costing \$261,999,000. Our importations in 1913 amounted to 625,000 tons, valued at \$21,630,000. Whenever you eat a piece of bread rest assured that you have paid your share of Chile's tax.

ONLY THE AIR CAN HELP US

The Chilean nitrate beds are not inexhaustible. Some time in the present century all their nitrogen will have been mined. Unless some cheap way of reducing the free nitrogen of the air to solid form is invented the world must starve.

Every tree in the forest, every wild plant, must assimilate nitrogen from the soil. How did nature place it there in exactly the right chemical combination? Hers is a very slow process. She snaps her fingers at time. A million years is to her what a second is to us. Whenever lightning flashes, nature is fixing atmospheric nitrogen. A black cloud looms up on the horizon. The sultry air is charged with electricity. Suddenly there comes a blinding flash. A huge electric spark has fixed a scarcely measurable amount

BIRKELAND-EYDE ELECTRIC ARC

(Prof. Kristian Birkeland and Dr. Samuel Eyde were the first to succeed commercially in making nitric acid from the nitrogen of the air. They used an electric arc, which, by means of a magnet, they spread out until it was bigger than a cart-wheel)

of nitrogen, and the rain has conveyed it to the earth below. Millions, possibly billions, of such storms in primeval ages, helped to furnish the earth with the nitrogen that it now yields to green leaves and forest animals.

One way of fixing nitrogen is to imitate nature. So, the scientists have developed methods of applying electricity. How does the lightning flash reduce the nitrogen? The laboratory answers. It is not the electricity that overcomes the inertness of the gas, but the heat generated by the lightning flash. Nitrogen must be burned. That is one way of fixing it. But the heat required is so intense, measured as it is by thousands of degrees, that only electricity can generate it.

LIGHTNING IN THE FACTORY

What is wanted, then, is a continuous, artificial thunderstorm, something that lasts not for a fraction of a second but for hours and even days, something in the nature of an electric furnace so designed that it burns air and with it nitrogen, in enormous quantities. Nitric oxide is the name given to this burned nitrogen. With the aid of water it can be transformed into nitric acid, which in turn can be changed into a solid nitrate upon which a plant can feed.

The whole problem of reducing nitrogen electrically resolves itself into the burning of as much air as possible in a given time. Bradley and Lovejoy, two Americans who made the first commercial experiments, employed an apparatus in which four hundred and fourteen thousand sparks—miniature lightning flashes—crackled every minute. Professor Kristian Birkeland and Dr. Samuel Eyde, of Norway, who followed them, used an electric arc, which, by means of a magnet, they spread out until it was bigger than a cartwheel. Two Germans, Schönherr and Hessberger thought that it would be better to use an electric arc which would be very long (from sixteen to twenty-three feet) and around which air whirls. Pauling invented the fan-shaped arc flame. E. Kilburn Scott, an English experimenter, advocates a conical furnace at the bottom or apex end of which the air enters, to pass through an arc flame whirling around fifty times a minute, and to emerge at the wide top of the cone as nitric oxide.

Photograph from E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.

THE FAMOUS RJUKAN FALLS NITRATE PLANT, IN NORWAY

(The cheapest water power in the world is to be found in Norway and Sweden; hence they are the only countries in which a commercially successful electric nitrate industry has been developed. The illustration shows how the water is brought from above the falls, through ten five-foot pipe lines, to the power house. The water spins a turbine, which drives an electric generator. Intense heat is thus developed, and air is burned, according to the Birkeland-Eyde process, to obtain nitric oxide)

It is clear that all these engineers follow the same principle. Their inventions differ from one another only in the method adopted of obtaining a large heating surface and of feeding to that surface a huge volume of air in a given time.

At best, only a very little nitrogen is fixed in the form of nitric oxide—scarcely as much as 2 per cent. Although the air costs nothing, the power required to generate the intense heat must be extraordinarily cheap. Enormous quantities of current are consumed by the furnaces. To generate these currents by means of the steam engine and dynamo is ruinously expensive. Hence the electric nitrate plant is always built near a swift stream or a waterfall, the power of which spins a water-turbine, which, in turn, drives an electric generator. The cheapest water power in the world is to be found in Norway and Sweden. Hence Norway and Sweden are the only countries in which a commercially successful electric nitrate industry has been developed.

Nitric acid is the ultimate main product of a plant in which air is electrically burned to fix nitrogen. In time of war the demand for nitric acid is enormous; without it ex-

A GLIMPSE OF THE OVEN-ROOM IN THE GREAT
 NIAGARA FALLS PLANT, WHERE
 CYANAMID IS MADE
 (There are fourteen cyanamid factories in the world)

plosives cannot be made. But in time of peace there is a different story to tell. Nitric acid cannot be easily and safely transported. The Norwegian companies have been obliged to install large ammonia producing plants in order to convert their nitric acid to ammonium nitrate. The best informed chemists and engineers are agreed that the Norwegian process cannot be profitably introduced into the United States by any firm which is not directly interested in the manufacture of explosives from nitric acid or of celluloid and similar nitrocellulose products. Our waterpower is too expensive because of the legislative restrictions imposed on its use; and that waterpower is not to be found in regions where nitric acid is utilized in large quantities.

CYANAMID APPEARS

Two German chemists, Professor Adolph Frank and Dr. Nicodem Caro approached the nitrogen problem from a different angle. They thought that it might be practicable to discover some substance which would absorb nitrogen and combine with it if the proper chemical conditions were provided. In 1898

they succeeded in producing an entirely new form of fixed nitrogen—a new chemical, in fact—which they called calcium cyanamid and which proved to be an excellent fertilizer. About one million tons of cyanamid were produced in 1916 by fourteen factories located in Norway, Sweden, Italy, France, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, Japan, and Canada.

And how is cyanamid made? Here is an electric furnace. A dazzling white flame bridges two electrodes. Its temperature is 6000 degrees Fahrenheit. In that terrific heat lime (calcium) and coke (carbon) are fused together. Every quarter of an hour the furnace is tapped. What is this white hot mass which pours out into the waiting iron car and which is so blindingly dazzling that it can be gazed at only through colored glasses? Calcium carbide, familiar to everyone who has ever used it for the generation of acetylene gas. It has a strange affinity for nitrogen at high temperature. The carbide is powdered and then heated to redness in huge ovens that look like drums.

But where is the nitrogen? It is obtained from liquid air—air liquefied by chilling it to 380 degrees below zero. That liquid air is composed of four-fifths nitrogen and one-fifth oxygen. The atmosphere is so hot in comparison with it that the liquid air boils like water on a stove. Pure nitrogen bubbles off first. It is carefully collected and forced into the drum-shaped ovens containing the white-hot powdered carbide. The carbide sucks up the nitrogen eagerly. A product not found in nature is obtained—calcium cyanamid. Cooled, ground and otherwise treated, it becomes a fertilizer. From it ammonia, nitric acid, and other useful nitrogen compounds can be obtained by suitable chemical methods.

Since the cyanamid process, like the Norwegian arc process, is dependent on electrical heat, why has it been so successful? Because it consumes less electricity, even though two electric heatings are required. Every one of the raw materials must be purchased in the market and transported to the plant and manufactured. Yet the cyanamid process is the cheapest in actual commercial use. It is one that the United States Government adopted for the Muscle Shoals plant now in course of construction.

So far as we may determine from the statistics published before the war, about two-thirds of the world's artificially fixed nitrogen is made by the cyanamid process and only

one-third by the arc process. According to the latest reports, the German production by the cyanamid process was raised from sixty thousand tons in August, 1914, to six hundred thousand in 1916.

HABER AND HIS CHEMICAL MAILED FIST

The war found Germany in a perilous position, so far as nitrogen was concerned. Without explosives she could not hope to win, and without some way of fixing nitrogen she could neither make explosives nor fertilize her soil to grow the crops that her hungry people were demanding. She was spending one million dollars a day to produce one and one-third million pounds of powder containing about five hundred thousand pounds of nitrogen. Her thirty million dollar hoard of Chilean nitrate could not last long. Had it not been for her chemists she would have been compelled to surrender in less than six months. They meant more to her than all her Ludendorffs and von Hindenburgs.

It happened that before the war Fritz Haber, a chemist who was financed by one of the richest German chemical companies, had evolved what may be designated as the most violent method ever conceived to fix nitrogen in a usable form. He adopted mailed-fist methods. No soldier that ever charged a machine-gun was braver than Haber. He and his assistants must have taken their lives in their hands time and time again before they were able to announce that at last they had succeeded. The men who work in a nitroglycerine factory follow no more hazardous vocation than the trained chemists who are indispensable in a Haber plant. It cost millions to develop the process; but it made Germany independent of Chile and of Norway, and it gave her a new industry.

Haber wanted to make ammonia—a particularly useful compound, because it can be converted into solid ammonium sulphate to take the place of Chilean saltpeter in agriculture or changed into nitric acid without which explosives cannot be made. Metaphorically speaking, Haber seems to have banged the laboratory table and to have sworn that he would make nitrogen do what he expected of it. He squeezes nitrogen and hydrogen in a tank. The pressure is enormous—2600 pounds to the square inch. The pressure is accompanied by the development of great heat (1000 degrees Fahrenheit), which facilitates the process.

A LIQUID AIR PLANT—AN ESSENTIAL ELEMENT OF EVERY CYANAMID FACTORY

(The nitrogen is obtained by distilling it from liquid air. This is a portion of the immense plant of the American Cyanamid Company at Niagara Falls)

The forcible squeezing and the attendant heating occur in the presence of what is called a catalyst, which is a substance that induces chemical action to take place without in itself undergoing any change. A catalyst is a kind of chemical field marshal. It gives orders that two elements shall combine, and after they have combined, just as if they were two regiments of soldiers, the field marshal catalyst is able to give more orders of the same kind. It always remains the same imperturbable commander. Unless it is present to give its chemical orders, nothing happens. The most familiar example of a catalyst is the piece of spongy platinum, which, when held over a gas burner, causes the gas to ignite. Haber's catalyst is probably some form of iron.

THE PERILS OF THE HABER PROCESS

A Haber plant is about as dangerous as a dug-out on the battlefield. It is enclosed in a bomb-proof shelter. Dozens of ingenious alarms are installed to warn of approaching danger. If the slightest trace of oxygen or air finds its way into the compression

chamber the result is a terrific explosion. Hence oxygen alarms are found everywhere. Yet despite these dangers, despite the great technical skill required to carry out the process—a skill so great that the huge German company which developed the process would probably be crippled if its force of experts were suddenly to leave—the Haber process is a commercial reality. It will probably compete with Chilean nitrate, and for that matter with every other form of fixed nitrogen in the world, after the treaty of peace is signed.

The first Haber plant, erected in 1913, had a capacity of thirty thousand tons of ammonium sulphate a year. By 1918 Germany was producing five hundred thousand tons by the Haber process—a mere guess. The German company with the aid of which the process was brought to commercial perfection had financed the Norwegian company that owned the Birkeland-Eyde process. It is significant that the Norwegian holdings were sold soon after the success of the Haber process was assured.

Other nations have attempted to fix nitrogen by the Haber process, but not one has succeeded commercially, partly because the veil of secrecy that was thrown around the technic has never been lifted, partly because only workmen of rare skill can be employed. Workmen? They are in truth chemists—doctors of philosophy. Only Germany has enough of them at her command, most of them paid less than a machine-tool operator in an American automobile factory.

WHY DIDN'T WE THINK OF THIS BEFORE?

Now comes an American chemist, Professor Bucher of Brown University, who calls attention to an old process which is the simplest of all and which bids fair to win a place for itself because it is not dangerous, because it requires no great pressure or power and because it can be carried out by ordinary factory workmen properly supervised.

As far back as 1839, an Englishman, Lewis Thompson, made a mixture of powdered pearl-ash, coke, and iron, and heated it in a crucible. He obtained potassium cyanide (a form of fixed nitrogen). Thompson noted that the process must be carried out in the presence of iron, even though the iron itself remained unchanged. Chemists knew nothing of catalysts in 1839. Iron was evidently a necessary catalyst in the process. Both in England and on the continent companies tried to fix nitrogen in the form of cyanide, ac-

cording to Thompson's directions. They failed chiefly because of the difficulty of obtaining suitable apparatus.

Modern chemist as he is, Professor Bucher realized that the iron was a catalyst. He mixes soda ash, powdered coke, and powdered iron together, heats the mixture moderately; and blows nitrogen over it. That is all. Sodium cyanide, a fixed nitrogen, is obtained. There need be no alarming outlay for power or for costly furnaces and materials. The plant can be built anywhere. Think what that means in a vast country like ours, where the cost of transportation may be so high that a farmer cannot afford to buy fertilizer, cheap though it may be at some distant waterfall.

Blow steam on the sodium cyanide, and you obtain sodium formate and ammonia. Give the chemist ammonia, and he in turn will give you nitric acid or fertilizer or any nitrogen compound that you may need in your factory.

But Dr. Bucher goes even farther. He leads a little waste gas (carbon dioxide) from his furnace to his sodium cyanide. A magical change takes place. He has urea, which is three times richer in nitrogen than Chilean saltpeter and twice as rich as the ammonium sulphate that farmers indirectly buy from coke-oven companies. By another process he can obtain oxamid from his sodium cyanide, oxamid being a fertilizer that is not easily washed away by rains because it does not readily dissolve in water. No one ever thought of growing wheat with the aid of urea or oxamid. Now it seems they can be made so cheaply that they may become as common as other fertilizers.

Sometimes we gasp at the miracles wrought by the chemist. Perhaps we ought to marvel at his blindness. For forty years he has been trying to convert the gaseous nitrogen of the air into a useful solid. He harnesses waterfalls; he risks his life by experimenting with enormous pressures. And all the while he might have made what he wanted from such plentiful and cheap materials as coal, iron, soda and air.

Professor Bucher would be the last to claim any great originality for his work. Indeed, one of the great industrial air-liquefying companies had long been developing the Jacobs process, which is also based on Thompson's forgotten researches. Two experimental plants are in operation. Engineering problems must be solved, but problems not nearly so difficult as those which

confronted Haber, for example. Between 1844 and 1847 efforts were made to commercialize Thompson's old process. Mechanical difficulties were encountered, the most formidable of which was the inability to secure a suitable retort that would withstand the corrosive action of the furnace charge. The United States Government itself has taken a fatherly interest in the process, which speaks for itself. Thus, Dr. Parsons, who was sent abroad by the Government to study nitrogen fixation, states that in the cyanide form "nitrogen will be fixed . . . cheaper than by any other known synthetic process."

The war has spurred us to take heed of our nitrogen needs. Out of all the blood and ruin there rises the certainty that although land is becoming scarcer and scarcer, the human race will not lack for enough fertilizer to grow its food.

But nitrogen is not only a fertilizer. It is a labor saver. It enables a farmer to grow more crops to the acre with less effort. Europe's example proves the point. Before the war Belgium produced more wheat to the acre than any other country in the world. Why? Because she used the most nitrogen—495 pounds to the cultivated acre. Germany followed with the next largest yield. Why? Because she used the next largest amount of nitrogen to the acre—207 pounds. All other European countries fall behind Belgium and Germany. Germany with only one-fifth of the United States' cultivated acreage uses 40 per cent. more fertilizer. Belgium raises thirty-seven bushels of wheat to the acre; Germany nearly thirty-one. And we? About fourteen and a half. The same inequality is to be found in the production of rye, oats and potatoes.

Germany is smaller than Texas; yet she uses seven times as much fertilizer as the whole United States. In twenty years Germany increased her yield of grain crops fifteen bushels to the acre; the United States only three bushels. Her potato crop has been increased eighty bushels; ours twenty-four bushels. In general, Germany's crop yields are approximately 80 per cent. greater

to the acre than ours. The German farmer, like every other farmer in the world, pays no particular heed to governmental instruction. He uses fertilizer, not because his government wants him to do so, but because it pays him to do so. The net profit varies from 100 to 200 per cent. on the investment.

WHAT IS THE UNITED STATES DOING?

When we consider what nitrogen has done for Europe and above all for the most formidable enemy that we have ever fought, we ask: What is our Government doing?

Aroused to our utter dependency on Chilean nitrate for the manufacture of fertilizers and explosives, Congress appropriated the ridiculously inadequate sum of \$20,000,000 for the erection of nitrate plants. All the processes described in the article were either to be experimented with or carried out on a commercial scale. Then came the armistice. Work on the government plants has practically stopped. The only appropriations asked for are to be applied in paying caretakers of buildings. Despite Europe's example, experts are to be appointed for the purpose of determining whether the work of fixing nitrogen, as a government enterprise, shall go on or whether the plants shall be salvaged.

Surely we have a lesson to learn in the United States. Ten billion dollars a year is the total of our annual food bill. Ninety per cent. of the families in the country spend 40 per cent. of their income to eat and live. Getting food is the chief occupation of mankind. Yet land is becoming scarcer and scarcer. The area of improved soil increased by an average of 31 per cent. per decade from 1870 to 1900, but only 15 per cent. from 1900 to 1910. During the period from 1900 to 1910 the population of the United States increased 21 per cent., but the crop production increased only 10 per cent.

If food is to be cheapened, we must grow more crops to the acre, without an increase in labor. This means cheap agricultural fertilizers; and cheap agricultural fertilizers are in turn dependent on a cheap way of fixing the nitrogen of the air.



AN APOSTLE OF GOOD ROADS, LOGAN WALLER PAGE

BY JOHN M. GOODELL

TWENTY-FIVE years ago the American country road rambled over the wooded hills, slouching along winding, level courses until it was absolutely necessary to cross a divide, and then rushing up the hillside in such a way as to finish the climb as quickly as possible. Or, out on the prairie, it followed section lines so as not to cut up the farmers' fields, and, as everybody was busy building up a substantial homestead, these lanes received little attention. Mud made these country roads almost impassable in the spring; dust made them insufferable in the summer; steep grades limited the loads even when the roads were passable. They were a little better than English roads in the days of Charles II, pictured so vividly by Macaulay, but only a little.

Over these lanes of mud and through the clouds of dust passed from country to town or railway station a large part of the raw materials used by our people. The ruts, mud, stones, and steep grades were in the foreground of one's mental picture of rural life; they emphasized the difficulties of the farmer in marketing his crops and obtaining his supplies; they loudly proclaimed the isolation of his family. Yet tradition and daily contact so accustomed us to all these uncivilized conditions that we looked upon them as a manifestation of Nature, not to be opposed successfully by mere man except within a few miles of wealthy communities.

To-day the old roads of this kind are anathema to every intelligent man. We know that good roads are one of the most important economic and social factors in rural development and afford legitimate relaxation, worth spending hard-earned money for, to that large part of our city people who derive one of their chief pleasures in driving through the country. And so, at the end of this short span of twenty-five years, we are all clamoring for better roads. Many of us are talking about good roads so much and so often that we have forgotten that most of what we say which is worth saying was patiently taught to us years ago, when we listened only perfunctorily, by one man, the same man to whom we have turned ever since for help over the hard places in our road problems.

THE LATE LOGAN WALLER PAGE

A Washington Bureau Chief with Ideals

An idealist whose imagination clearly pictured better conditions for a whole people, an engineer who knew how to reduce his dreams to practicable plans, a man of such forceful personality that he wrested from an uninterested public the necessary initial support for those plans, an executive who finally carried them forward by administrative skill so successfully that the entire country calls urgently for more of this service, was suddenly taken from his great responsibilities on December 9, 1918.

Logan Waller Page, the nation's road-builder, was a man who maintained the best

traditions of a family distinguished for public service since the days of the little colony at Jamestown. He did this, moreover, in a way that was a surprise to those inclined to believe that permanent public office affords no opportunities which attract good men. His career is an inspiration to others in office who are striving to help the public utilize in a better way and in a larger measure the resources which scientific research and good engineering experience provide. His life, cut short in his forty-ninth year, affords a well-rounded example of the good a man can do and the distinction he can win as a loyal, intelligent, active bureau chief at Washington.

First Federal Director of Public Roads

Although a man of broad scientific attainments and deep interest in many of the leading features of the world's work, he subordinated all of them to his life's main object, bettering the country roads. While an undergraduate at Harvard University, he investigated the road-building materials of Massachusetts and immediately after leaving college he became the geologist and testing engineer of the highway commission of that State, the pioneer in using scientific methods in attacking its road problems.

His investigations convinced the few men who were then aware of the breadth and importance of our highway problems that scientific knowledge of the road-building materials of the country was necessary. Secretary Wilson of the United States Department of Agriculture needed little urging to authorize such an investigation, and, at his invitation, Page undertook the work in 1900. In 1905 it was combined with the economic studies of highways and highway transportation which the Department had inaugurated a few years before and the Office of Public Roads was formed, with Page as director, to carry on all the Department's road activities.

From this little beginning has grown, under his inspiration and direction, the important United States Bureau of Public Roads, now coöperating with every State in building a system of roads which will cost over \$150,000,000, carrying on a comprehensive program of research to furnish wider knowledge of ways to obtain more road value for the money spent on our highways, and, of late years, showing how the principles of engineering may be applied to the irrigation and drainage of farms and to the improvement of farmers' buildings and mechanical equipment. It is this bureau which has made

engineering so helpful to the farmer and has lifted him out of the mud-bound isolation of a drab-colored existence into an active, vitalized life as closely in touch with the great currents of the world's activities as that of the average metropolitan resident.

A "Salesman" of Good Roads

All this was accomplished only after the hardest kind of missionary work. Early in the days of the Office of Public Roads Page learned that no decided good came from merely publishing bulletins on the right methods of building roads and related topics. He saw that it was necessary to go out into the country and "sell" good roads to those needing them, just as other specialists were selling improved machinery and better stock. It is a strange thing that so many kinds of knowledge useful to us in our daily tasks must be forced on us. It is still stranger that so few of the many men engaged in the investigations supplying that knowledge realize that their public service is only partly finished when their results are in print. The work is not done until men are made desirous of reading what is printed. And so Page, following the advice of friends in business, traveled about the country, introducing good roads to State, county, and town officials, to the farmers on the prairies and the planters along the bayous, to granges and to banking associations.

This part of his success is of great significance to those interested in the betterment of any aspect of our national life. It was this characteristic of ready use of any legitimate means to an end which first lifted him from the level of a student widening the horizon of our knowledge to that of a teacher putting his discoveries into a form to be readily understood and assimilated, and then lifted him again to the level of the reformer who can make persons desire to obtain the knowledge they should have.

Arousing Interest in Highways

Of course, one man with a little staff of able associates could not arouse the interest in highway improvements which has grown so rapidly from 1905 to the present time. Help was needed and Page obtained that help by inspiring men in every walk of life with his intelligent enthusiasm for rational road betterments. If one plan for arousing a State to the necessity of getting a dollar of road improvements for each dollar of road taxes paid failed to produce the desired result, he

tried another and another until, for one reason or another, every State now has a State highway department and there is a fairly general understanding that roads cannot be properly built and maintained without competent engineering advice. In 1916 we spent about \$300,000,000 on our country roads, a sum so great that the desirability of using it to the best advantage is self-evident.

By 1916 the interest in road-building was so general that Congress decided upon national participation in the improvement of roads useful for carrying the mails and serving the general welfare. The federal aid road law of that year is one of the great acts of constructive legislation of the Wilson administration. Under it the resources of the federal Government and the individual States are happily joined for the betterment of our basic arteries of transportation, the rural roads. The administration of the law was delegated to the Secretary of Agriculture, who in turn assigned to Page the executive charge of the work.

This law, as well as the Agricultural Extension law of 1914, established a new principle in Federal and State coöperation, yet so well were its provisions drawn and so wisely have they been administered that a searching investigation of the operation of the law, recently made by one of our leading State highway engineers, brought forth from the various States but few criticisms and those, with two or three possible exceptions, of minor significance. This record with a new kind of legislation is proof of a real achievement of which the Congressmen who passed the law and the Department of Agriculture may be justly proud, and to which Page contributed largely.

Road-Building in War Time

When the United States took up arms in 1917, public works were rudely checked. Transportation, money, materials and labor were needed in enormous quantities at once for winning the war. The agencies called upon to furnish such supplies began wholesale embargoes on non-war activities. Page saw that road work should not be wholly stopped by the war program, for a large amount of it could be done without affecting military activities in any way. With the aid of the Secretary of Agriculture he organized the United States Highways Council on which every government department and establishment having an interest in roads and streets was directly or indirectly represented.

In order to know what materials were needed for highways and streets, Page, who was chairman of the Council, obtained the help of the State highway departments, following his characteristic method of carrying on work coöperatively. Any city or county desiring to build or maintain a street or road submitted its requests for materials or transportation to the highway department of its State. If the department did not consider the work a war-time necessity the application was disapproved and never reached Washington. If the department approved an application it was sent to the Highways Council, which then did its best to furnish what was requested for every project of real necessity. When the Council was organized, the absolute cessation of street and road work was threatened; when the armistice was signed the Council had furnished about two-thirds of the materials needed to meet the requirements of the applications approved by the State Highway Departments. That achievement, a great benefit to city and country alike, was largely due to Page's foresight and administrative ability.

Secretary Houston's Tribute

This is not the place to speak of Page's professional ability, as engineers appraise engineering attainments. Of the broad aspects of his work as the nation's road-builder none can speak more authoritatively than the Secretary of Agriculture, D. F. Houston, who recently paid this tribute to his friend of many years and valued assistant since the present administration assumed office:

Page was the real pioneer of the modern good roads movement in the United States. He inaugurated the work in the Federal Government. He organized and developed a great service—one of the most valuable in the nation. The Bureau of Public Roads is a great monument to him. He directed it with its increasing duties with great skill and efficiency. Not only the Nation and the States, but also people in all parts of the country are greatly indebted to him, and are living fuller and more satisfactory lives because of what he did.

Page cared little for praise, which came to him from all quarters. The reward he prized was the passage of sound highway legislation, the organization of efficient highway departments, the building and maintaining of correct types of roads for the traffic to be carried. All these things are coming about more easily and more frequently because he devoted his life to advocating them; they are a national memorial to his ability.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES

THE December number of *The Round Table* (London) contains a very remarkable article—"Windows of Freedom"—on the part which America is destined to play in the coming resettlement of the world. "The future position of America in the world," says the writer, "not that of Germany, Austria or Turkey, is the great issue which now hangs on the Peace Conference."

The old system of the "Balance of Power" in Europe has vanished as a result of the war. England, in spite of herself, was from time to time compelled to interfere to preserve the balance; the United States always stood aloof; but to-day America, as well as England, sees that the world is one. "Their isolation, which was never splendid, is now impossible." At the Peace Conference a new system for preserving the peace and good government of the world will have to be devised, but at its first session the Peace Conference cannot hope to produce a written constitution for the globe, or a genuine government of mankind. What it can do is to establish

a permanent annual conference between foreign ministers themselves, with a permanent secretariat, in which, as at the Peace Conference itself, all questions at issue between States can be discussed and, if possible, settled by agreement. Such a conference cannot itself govern the world, still less those portions of mankind who cannot as yet govern themselves. But it can act as a symbol and organ of the human conscience, however imperfect, to which real Governments of existing States can be made answerable for facts which concern the world at large. To such a body civilized States can be made answerable for the tutelage of regions assigned to their care by the Peace Conference because their inhabitants cannot as yet maintain order for themselves. On the maintenance of order in such regions depends, not merely their own prospects of freedom, but also the future peace of the world. With such responsibilities the British Isles are already too heavily charged. The allies in Europe ought not to be made answerable to a League of Nations for the whole of the regions outside Europe now severed from the German and Turkish Empires. The future of the system depends upon whether America will now assume

her fair share of the burden, especially in the Near East and even in German East Africa.

The idea that the League of Nations which will come some day will spring fully grown from the Peace Conference is one doomed to disappointment, says the writer. It is as yet a mere aspiration, and no two people are agreed as to the practical means whereby that aspiration may be satisfied. But the proposal for an annual conference is obviously feasible. It bars nothing. It leaves the future open for everything. It insures the discussion of, and facilitates the approach to, whatever closer organization is possible. Out of it the League of Nations will surely emerge, an edifice not hastily erected on shifting sands, but built for all time on foundations broad, sure, and enduring.

Turning to the part of the United States in the world government of the future, the writer suggests that an infinite sphere of usefulness is open to America in the Middle East. The disposal and government of the derelict territories severed from the German and Turkish Empires is the most difficult of the questions which the conference has to face. They cannot govern themselves. How are they to be governed? Under a system of international control? That has always failed in practice. On the other hand, any distribution of these territories among the European Allies is bound to lead to jealousies and bitterness. In the regions of the Middle East there are engagements with France and Italy which must in any case be observed, but if America can disregard her old traditional aloofness, it is surely not too much to ask that her allies should forget their old rivalries and claims:

If once the problem is really considered on that plane, it will come to be seen how largely it is solved if once America will make herself answerable to a League of Nations for peace, order, and good government in some or all of the regions of the Middle East. Her very detachment renders her an ideal custodian of the Dardanelles.

For exactly similar reasons, her task in preserving the autonomy of Armenia, Arabia, and Persia will be easier than if it were to rest in our hands. Her vast Jewish population pre-

eminently fits her to protect Palestine. Her position between India and Europe removes all our objections to the railway development which these regions require.

WORK BEFORE THE ALLIES

IN the *Fortnightly Review* (London), Dr. E. J. Dillon outlines some of the difficulties which confront the Allies in clinching their military victory. He says:

In the first place, it behooves them—and the spokesmen of Great Britain in particular—to draw the bonds of friendship between this country and the United States much closer than heretofore, and to come to a satisfactory agreement on the crucial questions to which the events of the past four years have given a commanding place in the interests of mankind. Their differences on these subjects are not yet absorbed by consciousness of the providential destiny before the two peoples. There should be greater alacrity in progressively adapting our policy to the ever-growing exigencies, and although there are many notes to our statesmen's song they cannot plead that President Wilson's ideas are too deeply rooted in abstract theories to be applied to the concrete world of to-day, for they have publicly made them their own.

That the difficulties in their path are redoubtable, and the means which they have left themselves to overcome them are meager, cannot be gainsaid. This lesson will be borne in upon them at the conference. But experience, say the Turks, is like a costly comb given to a man when his hair is gone. The principle of the League of Nations has a twofold action: it dissolves before it can cement, and while the solvent is infallible the cement has not yet been tested, and is therefore a matter of guesswork. The heterogeneous must be reduced to its component units before all these units can be welded together in one organic whole.

It is a process of rejuvenation resembling Medea's, which required the living being who was to undergo it to be first killed and cut to pieces. And even then revival was not guaranteed. The ram who was boiled in her cauldron came out a lamb, but King Pelias has remained dead to this day. That the German race, which is homogeneous, numerous and resourceful, and doubtless the Russian race later on, will come out of the cauldron rejuvenated and fortified is certain. But what will happen to the remaining European states is dubious.

On the other hand, the only alternative to the League of Nations would seem to be a system of unstable equilibrium of which the corollary is the continuation of armaments and the constant danger of further warfare. But this, again, will not be brooked by the peoples of the world, who are resolved to end militarism and its works, even though they should have to wreck the political and social fabrics in the effort.

The abolition of conscription is no settlement, because militarism can be inculcated in the family, the school, the gymnasium, and the university. Neither would a league of the present Allies bring the requisite solution, because it would be tantamount to a condominium of the world. Equally futile is the offer which our publicists have so generously made to the United States to take over their share of the "white man's burden," and rule the Near East from Constantinople. I sounded American statesmen on this subject in Washington a few weeks ago, and they all declined it with thanks. In a word, the Allies' trustees have to pilot their respective ships of state between more terrible dangers than the rocks of Scylla and the whirlpool Charybdis.

EFFECTS OF THE WAR IN GERMANY DESCRIBED BY GERMANS

JUDGING by the articles in the German reviews for December, the unity of the German nation during the war seems to have been torn asunder by different party cries and varying aims, and the *morale* of the people was evidently terribly affected by so much political disunity.

Writing in *Nord und Süd*, Dr. Max G. Zimmermann says the League of Nations may be a good idea in itself, but it has been invented by Germany's enemies to vanquish the Germans by a majority of votes. The Germans must, therefore, see to it that they get the fullest securities through the League.

Also in Germany's internal affairs influence from without has acquired a terrifying power. It is largely to this influence that the transformation of the German form of government is to be attributed, the suddenness of which has been so momentous to the nation.

The further development of home affairs should have proceeded from the German people themselves at the end of the war. When will Germans learn to think for themselves? Oh, that in proud national consciousness they had only had the courage to be themselves? That alone impresses the world.

Their wonderful individualism, however, has

too often led them to want of unity among themselves. So long as the Fatherland was in danger, all special desires should have been suppressed. In the war and in the peace negotiations, externally complete unity should have been shown. After four years of enormous successes lack of unity among the political parties, the hunger for power of some of them, weakened the nation. The deep and rich sensibility which is reflected in German art has been at once the strength and the weakness of the German people. It made the majority of them weak in face of the momentary successes of the enemy.

From such moods arose the Majority Resolution of July 19th, 1917, on peace without annexations or indemnities, and the peace offer, with its fateful consequences, of October 5th, 1918. In history the German nation has frequently shown itself great in suffering, and in the war it has achieved almost the superhuman. Let the nation now, by steadfastness and preparedness for a struggle, rescue in the peace negotiations what can still be rescued.

Let the nation remember that Frederick the Great at the Peace of Hubertusburg asked for nothing more than the preservation of his domains, and yet in association with this came the increasing greatness of Prussia, because then as now an era of mighty deeds had gone before, revealing to the world the inner value and the inner strength of the state. May the enormous strength which has been displayed in the struggle and the suffering of the Germans in the war spur them on in the coming years of peace to the same

achievements in all domains of economic and intellectual life as those by which in the last decades they excelled all other nations.

In another article in the same review, Dr. Richard Müller discusses some of the "kultural" effects of the war. The plays and the operas heard during the war, he writes, are not very different from those which preceded it. After some attempts to banish foreign works, and to awaken a sense for national art of the grand style, sensations were sought in Hungary and Scandinavia, instead of in France and Russia, but in reality everything remained much as before.

Even German poetry remained unchanged. The gigantic successes of the later Strindberg, Meyrink, H. Mann, and others, may in the aesthetic sense have been deserved, but whether they lead to the conclusion that a new intellectual orientation of the people has taken place is another matter. The contrary is indeed the fact, for the desire for sensations has increased and not disappeared.

The German people are warned that the peace conditions will be very unlike those which prevailed before the war. The change will be most in evidence in economic life.

LORD BRYCE ON ARMENIA'S FUTURE

IN *The Contemporary Review* for December Lord Bryce applies the general suggestion thrown out in the *Round Table* article, which we notice elsewhere, that the United States should undertake the future government of the ex-German and ex-Turkish territories in the Middle East to the particular case of Armenia.

Turkish rule over populations of a different faith must cease forever to exist: so much is universally accepted. But the elimination of the Turks raises at once the question of reconstruction. The first thing to be done is to restore order in the devastated regions of Armenia and Cilicia, and this can be done almost immediately. But then arises the question, Who is to govern and administer these countries, since, in their present devastated and half-depopulated condition they cannot govern themselves?

That which we should contemplate and work for is a Christian Armenian state—of course, with full protection secured to every race and every religion, but this cannot be for fifteen or twenty years, and in the meantime there must be a protecting power, a

Western civilized power, who can send in trained officers, some military, some civil, and so set on foot an administration which will command not only obedience, but also confidence in its uprightness and impartiality. This power, says Lord Bryce, should clearly be in the United States:

To it would belong one unique advantage. Its missionaries have already won the gratitude and affection of the Christian population, to whose progress they have for the last seventy or eighty years rendered inestimable services by their schools and colleges, while they have also enjoyed the respect and confidence of the Muslim population, whom they have not tried to proselytise, and to whom their schools, colleges, and hospitals have always stood open. These missionaries are the only foreigners who really know the country and understand the people. If the United States were disposed to undertake the philanthropic task of supplying administrators for a period of, say, twenty years, it would have an opportunity unprecedented in history of conferring permanent benefits such as no country has ever received at the hands of another. If, however, the American government and people should hesitate to make such a departure from the long-settled lines of their policy, nothing would remain except to find some European power, or some group of powers, willing to undertake the task.

ITALIAN ADVOCACY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE sympathetic attitude of Italy toward the great project of a League of Nations has found expression in the founding of a special magazine to further the progress of the good cause. This is to be issued monthly and is entitled *La Società delle Nazioni*; the place of publication is Milan, the initial number having appeared in November of last year. It contains a half-dozen papers treating of various aspects of the question.

One of the most significant is by Gerolamo Lazzeri, who sees a hopeful sign in the fact that the uncompromising individualism that has been the characteristic of the state in times past, has given place to an individualism of a much milder form, one that is destined to disappear gradually.

The state is no longer regarded as merely a phenomenon of force, as nothing but a great driving engine for the commercial and cultural energies. The consciousness of its own being, the necessity to make itself respected, have imposed upon it respect for others. It has ceased to feel itself an isolated organism in the family of nations.

When the need for expansion was realized, for giving to its commerce and industries an ever wider outlet, the wish to conquer its cultured neighbors yielded to the desire to extend its sway over regions where the populations were still in a primitive stage of civilization, and then to develop the newly acquired colonies. In this policy of colonial conquest and up-building the nations have been forced to justify their aims by giving to their action the character of an irradiation of civilizing forces.

Germany's great error and crime should not be sought in her effort to find wider spheres of activity, but in her failure to understand that it was impossible to impose a hegemony upon peoples which had acquired a full consciousness of their being, and had long passed the period in which they could be treated as colonies.

The writer finds that in giving the world to the flames of war, Germany was striving to realize a League of Nations based on the old Caesarean principles. She could not see that history never turns backwards. The Roman Empire was successfully founded because Rome represented an almost unique

center of civilization, and could impose this upon all the peoples which had remained barbarians or semi-barbarians; but Germany enjoyed no real primacy in this respect for her civilization was only one among many.

To-day it is no longer possible for one nation to dominate over the others, they must all be content to collaborate in a truly international development. To render this practicable the national government of the states must conform to the new ideals. There must not be a dominant caste, basing its power upon force alone. When this is the case the rule of force will be inevitably applied in international as well as in national politics.

Turning from this latest-born of Italy's magazines to the time-honored *Nuova Antologia* (Rome), we find there, from Signor Major des Planches, formerly Italian ambassador to Germany, a glowing tribute on the part taken by President Wilson in the entrance of the United States into the world war. He writes:

One of the decisive facts in the great war was the participation of the American people, with all the means at their disposal of men, material and money, in association with the Allies, in their struggle to defend the liberty of Europe and of the world against the efforts of the Central Powers to establish a hegemony.

The resolution taken by the United States to form a great army and, in spite of the menacing submarines to send it across the ocean, provided with all the immense material that modern war demands, to combat for a cause that did not directly concern the territorial integrity or the existence of the home country, was assuredly a bold and advantageous enterprise of which history offers no parallel.

It is a matter that well merits research, and one that excites our admiration, why and how the American people, naturally averse to warlike undertakings and interferences, should have reached such a determination. But this was both logical and well-considered, and was strictly in accord with the principles formulated and followed from the very foundation of the country by the wise men who established it and guided its destinies.

We find in the messages of President Wilson the same spirit that inspired Jefferson with the Declaration of Independence. For although Washington had left the supreme recommendation to avoid any interference with European affairs, and Monroe had promulgated the doctrine to which America has constantly conformed in its foreign policy, the principle of a splendid isolation, still the country was forced to act as it did in order to be consistent with its history.

WHO WILL PAY THE WAR'S COSTS?

THE all-important question of German indemnities—the just amount, the manner of securing it, etc., is cogently discussed in the *Revue de Paris*, by Jean Bourdon. He favors, as much more effectual both in obtaining the just dues and as a guarantee of peace, annual payments extending over a long period instead of over two or three years.

He says in part:

Reparations, guarantees—such is by general consent the peace program of the Allies. Two points have not been generally considered: the greater the indemnities the stronger will be the guarantees of peace; but to obtain those indemnities new methods must be employed—a perfectly just procedure, since all the means employed would not even liquidate the debt which the Central Powers owe the Entente.

What reparation are we justified in exacting? It is not a question of depriving Germany of her property, but that of her returning ours. What does she owe us for the present war?

First: no one doubts that she ought to indemnify *in toto* the invaded people for all the destruction she has perpetrated.

Second: The maimed, the widows and orphans, as the greatest sufferers, should be pensioned, not by France, as some claim, but by her aggressors.

Third: Are not the Allies justified in claiming the repayment of their war expenditures, since they were occasioned by Teuton aggression?

These claims seem almost too obvious to be debated; yet they are contested by some on the score that the debt would transcend Germany's total fortune, public and private. That reasoning is manifestly ambiguous. Is it a question of fact or of right? If the Central Powers can not assume the whole debt, the victims of their actions must perforce bear a part of the burden, but it should, at least, be made as light as possible. Legally, a credit does not cease to be legitimate because the debtor is insolvent: the creditor is justified in seizing the debtor's entire possessions—in other words, the total confiscation of the public and private wealth of the Central Powers (not including State railways, etc.) would be conformable to equity.

The question remains, which of these confiscations, all just, are practicable. And primarily: Should they constitute a capital furnished by Germany successively, or annuities stretching over a long time? The first method is usually preferred, 1871 forming a precedent. But then it was a question of a billion dollars. France had no difficulty in raising it in two years.

Before the World War, Germany laid by \$1,600,000,000 yearly. If she were to indemnify the Allies within two or three years she would, therefore, pay twice or thrice that amount, at the utmost: to require prompt payment of the indemnity would mean that

Germany should pay only 3 or 4 per cent of her indebtedness—not to speak of Austria, which, owing to its deplorable economic situation, could offer very little. Such indemnities, absurd as reparation, would not deprive the Central Powers of the means of renewing their aggression.

If we repel such a prospect; if we do not wish our dead in the Great War to have fallen in vain, we must break the instruments of war in our enemies' hands. They must be rendered incapable of preparing for or waging one. Territorial, military, economic precautions must be taken against them: one of the most important consists in imposing upon them the payment of forty or fifty indemnifying annuities.

To impose bankruptcy upon Germany is to deprive Krupp and his like of their gains. If all the possible confiscations in Germany are just, is this one not pre-eminently so? And it would be politic as well as just. We want to deprive the Germans of the desire of ever waging war: that can only be done by making every individual feel that war is anything but a profitable industry. But could they do so if they saw in their midst fortunes created or increased by the war? The bankruptcy of the state would be followed by a financial crisis, which would, however, be of short duration. The crisis of 1907 in the United States furnishes an example of swift restoration of prosperity.

What annuities would these various measures produce? \$1,400,000,000 in the German budget would be available; to this must be added the sums gathered by taxation—in all, an annuity of \$2,400,000,000, not even half of the interest of the war debt which German aggression has imposed upon the Allies.

It is necessary, therefore, to have recourse to other measures to obtain the payment which is our due. It is notably with that end in view that one must consider the suppression of the great landed estates in Central Europe. We know that east of the Elbe all, or nearly all, the soil is divided into great domains. The peasants, who remained serfs in Prussia up to the beginning of the 19th century, received either little or no land on their liberation. It is from this system of land ownership that the influence of the Prussian nobility springs. A like situation exists in Hungary. To deprive the Junker and the Magyar feudal lords of their wealth and the influence flowing from it would be to punish an important part of those responsible for the war, and to prevent the recurrence of new wars.

The Allies are involved in debt, and even if those least involved should assume a part of the debt of those most heavily burdened, none of the nations could exist with their enormous liabilities. Beginning to-day, the various countries will have to discharge a great part of their war debts, unless they can count upon the Austro-German annuities. In other words, in France, for example, there would have to be levied an extraordinary tax upon capital, amounting not to one-tenth, as has been proposed, but to one-third—a partial confiscation of private fortunes.

THE FRENCH DEMAND FOR SHIPPING

IN the January number of *Le Correspondant* (Paris) under the title "How Shall the Allies Offset the Destructive Work of the Submarines?" an anonymous French writer throws an indirect cross-light on the persistent reports of strained relations between French propagandists and the English-speaking delegations to the Peace Congress.

Former discussions have been actuated, says the writer, by separate interests and too narrow views. The needs of the World-State as a whole must alone be considered.

The total tonnage available for the oceanic carrying trade of the world is estimated at forty millions—a loss of two millions since 1913. For a period not yet definable, conditions will be neither those of war time nor as in settled, permanent peace. Millions of men must be fed where they now are, until finally repatriated. Many essential industries must be completely equipped anew. (The writer ignores, comparatively at least, the importance of provisioning whole nations until agricultural conditions are restored.) It is clear that the tonnage now in existence is quite inadequate. All the shipyards of the world should be kept in fullest possible activity. But these present and prospective resources for commerce should be distributed among the victors according to the relative losses and sacrifices of each separate country in the war! (This surprising thesis is all but taken for granted as evident, and practically applied to four great powers only—England, United States, Italy, France—to the evident advantage of the last-named.)

The United States has increased her tonnage by four millions during the war, besides a half-million obtained from Japan. England has lost nine millions through the U-boats, and has built meantime less than two-thirds of that amount. France, even in 1913, had only 25 per cent. of her carrying trade under her own flag, and is to-day even worse off. Italy has suffered much less, and is not gravely inconvenienced.

France requires colonies sufficient to supply all her material needs independent of other countries (this again being quietly assumed as self-evident) and a merchant fleet adequate for all transportation to and from her home-ports. She proposes, for the present at least, a government-owned (or subsidized?) transportation system; and, as her own navy-yards are in an inchoate state, a

prompt beginning must be made "from without." (The unity of interests throughout the league or world-state is obscured during this part of the discussion.)

In the future, the immense navy-yards of the United States will turn out up-to-date specialized vessels, refrigerator-ships, tanks, cattleboats, etc. It is recognized that we in the United States, transporting finished products for sale abroad, have now more imperative need to fly our own flag over our merchant fleet than when we sent forth chiefly raw materials, e. g., cotton and cereals, with no serious rivalry to face.

The hastily built "standardized" output of the last year or two is, we are told, short-lived and very imperfect. The United States should charge off at once to profit and loss a large part of its actual or replacement cost, and merely endeavor to recoup the balance, at most, during the few years that these vessels can be kept seaworthy.

The conclusion, not boldly drawn, but camouflaged under phrases as to unity of interest and sentiment, appears clearly to be, that the French should receive from us at once, as a matter of right growing out of their superior sufferings and losses, a very large share at least of this "standardized" mercantile fleet. This action must be taken before French sailors are attracted to other national flags, or even drift away into other employments.

The question of utilizing the German merchant marine is much more frankly—and even mercilessly—handled. The illegal and piratical character of the unrestrained submarine campaign is emphasized. Admiral von Holtzendorff is cited as authority for an estimate of fifty billion marks for the amount destroyed down to July, 1918. German expressions of glee over the grievous lack of food and fuel in Allied countries are quoted.

The conclusion is firmly drawn that Germany's entire mercantile fleet, in home, allied, or neutral ports, with the output of her shipyards for the next years, should at once pass into Allied hands—preferably, under the French flag. No beginnings of German commerce proper should be tolerated until all the chief Allies are in satisfactory shape. Even the provisioning of Germany itself, if actually necessary, should be done by Allied crews under the Allied flags.

A RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONIST APPEALS FROM BOLSHEVISM

MADAME BRESHKOVSKAYA, known the world over as "The Grandmother of the Russian Revolution," who spent half her life in Russian prisons and in Siberia as an exile, is now visiting the United States. Her mission here is to tell the American people the truth about conditions in Russia and to organize help for the four millions of Russian orphans now left without shelter.

In the course of an address delivered in New York Madame Breshkovskaya said:

There is no doubt that Russia will be able to find the right path, but her pains, her bloody sufferings will be known only to the millions of Russian mothers and the millions of our other innocent martyrs, our orphans. Flooded with tears and blood, Russia moans and cries out to the world. She is a living body, and her tortures cannot be looked upon cold-bloodedly as an extraordinary, never-before witnessed experiment in social evolution. She is alive, and every pore of her body is shedding blood. The illness that was not stopped in time, I fear, may be prolonged for years. Only through insistent, and incessant work and efforts can Russia be brought to the normal conditions, to the position in which she found herself two years ago, after the glorious Revolution of March, 1917. In those days there was real freedom in Russia, and it seemed that our young country had every possibility for peaceful evolution and the free building of her future. I may assert, without boasting, that the March Revolution, perhaps the most beautiful and the most rational revolution in the world, was brought about, among other factors, through the efforts of the Party of Socialists-Revolutionists whose program for more than one-half century presents a basis for settlement which will satisfy the demands and aspirations of the overwhelming majority of the Russian people.

In explaining Bolshevism Madame Breshkovskaya said to a few American journalists:

You do not visualize Russia properly. All of Russia is not in disorder, only certain provinces. Russia is more than Petrograd and Moscow and Kiev. The Cossack provinces are in order. The peasants are waiting—in the disordered provinces—impatiently for peace and order, that they may work. The great mass of people in Russia are yearning toward stability and working for it. I do not think you feel the causes of Russian Bolshevism. The phenomenon in this country could hardly be the same thing. The psychology of the real Russian Bolshevik is that reaction produced by decades, even centuries, of oppression. He has inherited a hysteria, a fixed idea; he is incapable of seeing that he is only substituting one rule of terror for another. The Russian Bolshevik says: No one shall have a voice in the government who does not work with his hands. How stupid! They do not see how many modes

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MADAME CATHERINE BRESHKOVSKAYA, THE WELL-KNOWN RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONIST NOW VISITING THE UNITED STATES

of service exist, and that all are essential to the well-being of Russia.

But there is one thing Russia will never do; she will never yield to monarchical dominion again. She will work out her own particular form of republican government—slowly—slowly, but surely,—for the Russian people are very clever—and in time you will have orderly conditions and a great civilization in the place of chaos.

Returning to the matter of Bolshevism, Madame Breshkovskaya said:

The German agents supported the Bolsheviks. These agents had the backing of many ignorant Russians—the illiterate peasants—because they promised that they would give them land. Then when the Bolsheviks got into power, they forgot their promise and turned to all the criminals in Russia to support their iniquitous rule. All the convicts were let loose from the prisons to serve them, and in their ranks you will find the Czar's former military police and the spies of the old monarchy. These professionals in the art of murder are doing all the dreadful deeds about which you hear in this country. Teachers are persecuted. They are thrown into jail if they do not swear fidelity to Bolshevism. For over a year the schools have been largely deserted, no teachers, no pupils, and no assurance that this evil condition will come to an end.

HOW TO ADVERTISE IN CHINA

"THE population of China," says Trade Commissioner John A. Fowler, in *Commerce Reports* (Washington), "is variously estimated at from 325,000,000 to 400,000,000, and competent observers have estimated the literacy of the Chinese people to be around 10 per cent. At first glance one is inclined to conclude that there is a large percentage of these 400,000,000 who cannot be reached through the printed message."

The writer points out that this conclusion is fallacious, and in the course of his article presents some novel information concerning advertising methods employed nowadays in China. He says:

China has been, and still is, an unexploited field in many lines of merchandising; and trade has followed the lines of least resistance. The most spectacular advertising campaigns have been made to the masses, and the success of the campaigns for introducing kerosene, cigarettes, and the patent medicine "Jin Tan" are striking illustrations of the efficacy of advertising of this class. In the first case, the selling campaign was connected with a real need; in the second it was an appeal to a habit; and in the third to the longing of the physically unfit for health.

On the other hand, these successes must not lead to the conclusion that there is no sale in China for higher-priced articles. The popular opinion in America seems to be that China is a country of slow, patient, and industrious, but always poor people. There is a large class of buyers in China who can afford to buy anything they consider necessary to their comfort, as well as many of the luxuries of life.

In China advertising is not organized as it is in the United States, nor as it is in Japan. The difficulties that the American advertiser will meet in initiating an advertising campaign are many and annoying to the American type of business man who demands results; nevertheless, a start has been made toward organizing on broad and sound lines.

China has thousands of newspapers, though they tend to be short-lived and are subject to frequent changes of name. The foreign advertiser will find it difficult to do business with them directly, and should employ a reputable agency as go-between. One agency in Shanghai has established satisfactory business connections with about 200 newspapers throughout the country and is able to furnish detailed information concerning each of them. Newspapers in European languages reach and influence the Chinese of all classes, largely through the missionaries.

The Chinese newspaper has essentially a class circulation as compared with the popular news-

paper in the United States. Circulation figures must be taken with a fair understanding of the oriental propensity for self-appreciation. The average circulation of all the more reliable newspapers in China will not exceed 3,000, but this circulation will be in the first instance to a class with a particularly high purchasing capacity. After the first reader finishes with his paper it is read by his friends, who often read it aloud to relatives who can not read. In China there is an almost superstitious reverence for the printed or written word, and newspapers are often read to shreds. When it is finished as a newspaper it enters on its career as wrapping paper, and the more familiar characters are read by the partly literate.

Billboards are extensively used in China for advertising purposes, and there are also concessions for advertising at the railway stations, controlled by an English agency at Tientsin and a French agency at Shanghai. Monthly and weekly periodicals supplement the daily newspapers as an effective means of reaching certain classes of readers. The mails offer special facilities for advertising, since it is possible to arrange with the Post Office Department for the delivery of a circular or other light advertising matter with each letter. This plan has in some cases produced surprising results at relatively low cost to the advertiser.

There are several very large and well-classified mailing lists owned by foreign firms, but only one of these is available to the general advertiser. This has approximately 200,000 names, classified by districts or by occupation, and there is one particularly fine list that covers a considerable part of the dealers in drugs in China.

The use of calendars is one of the most-favored forms of advertising in China, as the calendar is a most important thing in the life of every Chinese. He regulates his life by the sun, moon, and stars, and never enters upon an important negotiation or journey without a careful consideration of omens and signs. Most advertisers issue a calendar, and some who never advertise in any other way put out the most elaborate designs. They are highly treasured by the recipients and a regular trade in them is maintained. When the calendars are issued there is a general rush for them by merchants, clerks, and coolies, who turn them over to the dealers for a consideration; but as a rule there is only a halfhearted attempt on the part of business houses to get these calendars into proper hands, as the best an advertiser can wish for is that his advertisement will be bought and paid for. In the Chinese cities you will see displays of dealers in calendars on walls and in alleys where the dealers do a good business at profitable prices. One calendar issued by an insurance company in Shanghai and costing a little over \$1 Mexican sold for \$2.50 Mexican in the shops, and was in good demand at that.

SHALL THE SAAR COAL-FIELD GO TO FRANCE?

THE basin of the River Saar, lately the scene of bombing exploits on the part of the Allies and now in the occupation of the French Army, is about to furnish a new problem for the world's peacemakers to grapple with. The project of annexing the rich Saar coal-field to France is being widely advocated in the French press. The arguments in favor of this plan are set forth in *La Nature* (Paris) by Auguste Pawlowski, who also furnishes a history and description of the district in question.

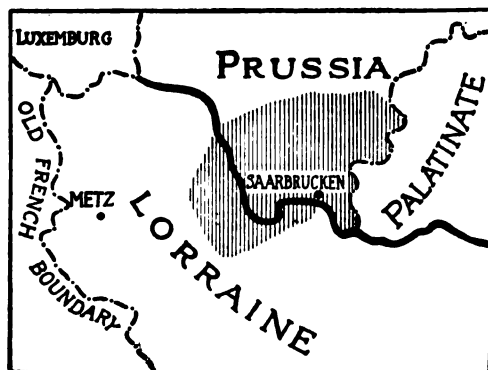
The Saar coal-field is, with the exception of that of the Ruhr, the most important coal-producing region of Germany. The commercially workable beds occupy a roughly oval area extending about 45 miles southwest from Frankenholz, near Waldmohr, in the Rhenish Palatinate, and St. Wendel, in Rhenish Prussia, to and beyond Boulay and St. Avold, in German Lorraine. The Saar River bisects the area in the middle, and Saarbrücken is the commercial center of the region. Somewhat less than two-thirds lies in Rhenish Prussia, one-third in German Lorraine, and a small portion in the Palatinate.

Various figures are given concerning the coal resources of this region. The known seams of coal in a given vertical section range in number from 27 to 32, and extend to a depth of from 5000 to 8000 feet. The aggregate thickness of the seams ranges from 65 to 100 feet. One authority, Dechen, estimates the total coal reserves of the region at 45,500,000,000 tons. According to Frech, there are 5,631,000,000 tons within 1000 meters of the surface, 9,413,000,000 above 1500 meters, and 33,000,000,000 below 1500 meters. These figures refer only to seams of 70 centimeters (27½ inches) thickness and upward. English authorities have estimated the total tonnage in seams of one foot and upwards at 53,515,000,000. The coals of this region contain more volatile matter and are lower in heating value than those of northern France and the Ruhr district. They are suitable for domestic use and for gas-making, but are comparatively poor for cooking. For the latter purpose they are, however, used in combination with coal from the Ruhr district, and after preparation by special methods. The coke produced in the Saar

region in 1913 amounted to 1,700,000 tons. On the whole the Saar coals are not particularly well adapted for use in the iron industry.

Coal was mined in the Saar basin as early as 1430, and the mines were systematically developed in the eighteenth century by the Princess of Nassau, whose mining rights in the region date from the Golden Bull of 1356. From M. Pawlowski's historical sketch two salient facts may be gleaned: viz., that operation of the mines by states or their rulers has generally prevailed, and that the French possessed this territory during the Napoleonic period (1793-1815). In the year 1913 the output of the Prussian part of the district was 12,406,536 tons; of the Lorraine section, 3,795,932 tons; and of the Bavarian (Palatinate) portion, 810,546 tons. More than 80 shafts were in operation. Nearly the whole output from the first of these sections was produced by 27 mines belonging to the Prussian Government. The Bavarian Government operated two mines in the Palatinate. The rest of the region was exploited by private concerns. The Prussian state mines yielded comparatively small profits. During the fiscal year 1913-1914 the expenditures for these undertakings amounted to 93,899,200 marks, and the receipts were 104,110,438 marks.

In explaining why France covets the Saar coal-field, the writer utters the complaint that the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine is going to accentuate the unfortunate situation that prevailed before the war, when it was necessary to import 20,000,000 tons of coal per annum from England and Ger-



THE COAL-FIELD OF THE SAAR BASIN

many. The reconquered provinces contain immense industries but comparatively little coal with which to operate them.

Is France justified in taking the Saar basin, which lies just beyond the old frontier of Lorraine? M. Pawlowski thinks she is, for several reasons. First, he asserts that it is a military necessity for her to push her frontier not merely to the eastward of the district in question, but all the way to the Rhine. Second, the Saar region is said to be historically French, though the author

hardly presents this argument in convincing terms. Third, French industry and French science have taken an important part in developing the region. Lastly, the bulk of the mines belong to the government of Prussia, at whose door lies the chief blame for the pillage and destruction wrought in northern France during the war. It is peculiarly fitting that Berlin should make partial amends for the wrongs done to French industries by handing over to France a means of helping reestablish those industries.

THE SWEDES OF FINLAND

A SINGULAR situation—at least in the eyes of most Swedish Finlanders—obtains in Scandinavia to-day, though a modification of it might seem to be warranted by the recent course of events in Finland. Finland is free, and the Fenno-Scandinavian bonds are free to tighten. But this seems to be happening, say the Finland Swedes, at their expense. The heart of Sweden goes out to her self-liberated daughter-country; but less, they say, to the Swedish minority there than to the Finnish majority. The Åland islanders, part of the minority, evidently want union with the Swedish kingdom; the Swedes of Finland are chary of losing the islands, fearful lest the Finns proper might thereby gain further political preponderance over the Swedish party. Swedish public opinion being generally covetous of the islands, the Swedo-Finlanders are hard put to it in persuading the Ålanders to remain with a nationality which is beginning to find itself—though within the boundaries of a new republic where might is on the side of the stronger race, that of the rival Finns.

As the Danes in North Schleswig kept themselves more Danish than the Danes themselves, so in certain respects the Swedish element in Finland has preserved a purer Swedish culture than the inhabitants of Sweden. The fact notwithstanding, whatever comes nowadays from Finland but is not Finnish appeals but little to the average Swedish mind, though certainly the works and deeds of former generations of Swedo-Finlanders meet with due appreciation in Sweden; every one there is well acquainted, for instance, with the literary works of Runeberg, Franzén, or Topelius; or with the

historical importance of such names as Adlercreutz and Horn.

The complaint of the Finland Swedes is that the doings and productions of the *Finns* has supplanted the old interest in Finland's Little Sweden. The explanation of this Swedish neglect of kinsmen might be said to lie in the fact that the Swedes, realizing that their blood-brothers in Finland were forever lost to them, not only through Russian possession of Finland, but also through sundry temperamental if not racial differences, have hardly felt able to look upon the Swedish-speaking parts of the country as *terra irredenta*.

The situation is somewhat paralleled in the attitude of the British towards American culture, but with this difference, that whereas Americans have always maintained that their national individuality is quite separate from that of the British, the Swedo-Finlanders, under the pressure of a politico-cultural war with their Finnish neighbors, have fought insistently for the ideal of maintaining at least their cultural character as *Swedes*. But the people of Sweden, partly through ignorance and nonchalance, have felt unable to recognize that kinship in the absence of other political inducements than a desire to possess the little Åland group.

The Swedish Finlanders are now issuing frequent appeals to the Swedes for recognition as brothers in language, literature, and cultural ideals. There are quarters where these appeals are looked upon as worthy of notice; and possibly campaigns will be launched in the near future against this non-recognition of nearest of kin, and that state of affairs—so unusual in present-day Europe—will meet with considerable remonstra-

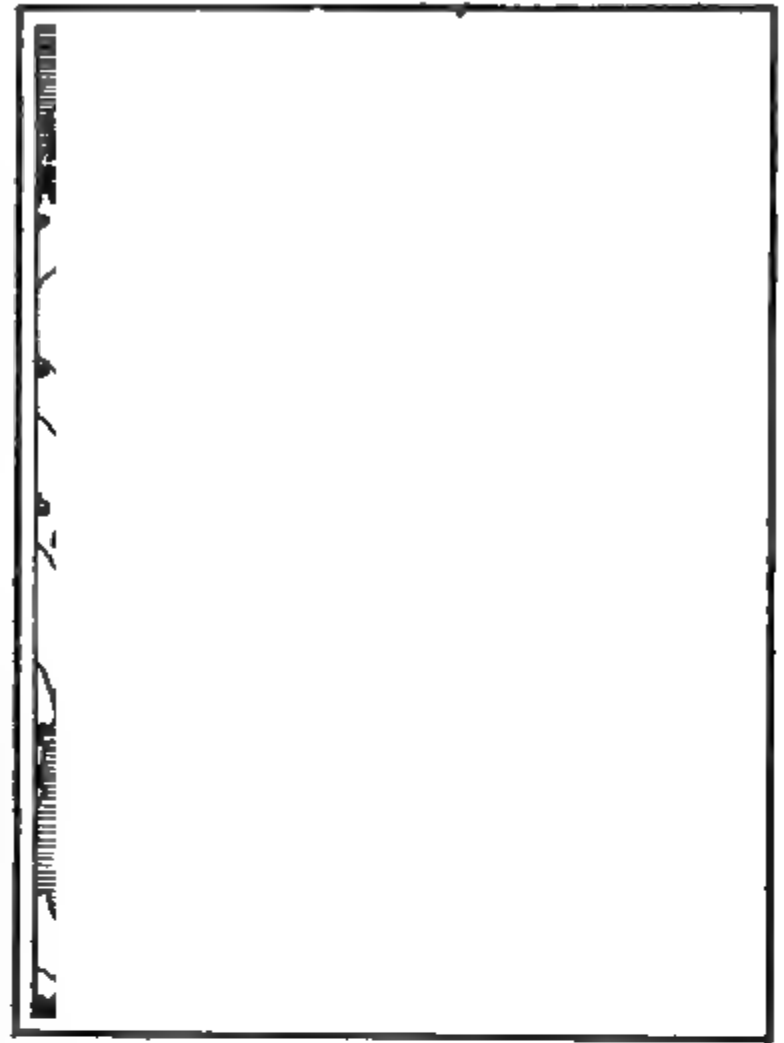
tion in the hitherto neglectful mother country.

Since the conquest of Finland by Eric the Holy a millennium ago, the Swedes in Finland have constituted the bulwark of Scandinavian culture against the encroachments of the Slavic world. But the area of Finland actually settled by Scandinavians has always been small with reference to the total area. On the whole, only a fourth of the urban population and a tenth of the rural are of Swedish extraction. It is to a considerable extent mixed with the Finnish, and to a much smaller degree with the German and Russian elements, which have almost invariably been assimilated, when assimilation has occurred, into the Swedish element and not by the Finns, who comprise the "farmer class" proper. In fact, this occupational difference has of late years been accentuated by the migration into the cities of most of the small Swedish agricultural population. The ratio of 12 or 15 to 100 in population has prevailed, so that the Swedes in Finland now number some 400,000 and the Finns about 3,000,000.

The Finns indubitably owe their present cultural standing to the liberal-mindedness of certain Swedish Finlanders, who agitated for decades for the equal education of the Finns and for popular appreciation of Finnish literature. But at least one of these champions of things Finnish went beyond the bounds of nationalism and earned slight gratitude for himself from the Swedes in Finland. This was Johan Snellman, who in the forties, in his journal, *Saima*, advocated the Finnification of the Swedes themselves, making Finnish—a language related not to the Scandinavian but to the Hungarian—the sole national language. Since that time this aim has taken on an increasingly political character and gained tens of thousands of adherents—among the Finns.

Fortunately the Swedes have been able to hold their own, in spite of Russia's greater leaning towards the more obsequious Fennoman party. Even before the downfall of the Czar, the Swedes had many separate institutions of learning, and had gained divided attendance at others. Last year the Swedes founded, or rather refounded, a second college at Åbo, the old capital, thus actualizing a long-cherished dream.

It must be said, however, that the Fennoman cause has not abandoned the idea of a linguistic triumph, or near triumph. In the light of historical instances, it will be a hard



THE SWEDISH DISTRICTS IN FINLAND

(The black areas indicate the parts of Finland where about nine-tenths of the Swedish population live)

thing to attain, especially if Sweden herself manifests, more, to be sure, on cultural than on ethnic grounds, an active interest in the fate of her children in Finland. The Swedo-Finlanders, especially those of the western coast, shed proportionately far more blood in last year's civil war against the Reds than did the Finns; their political prestige has grown thereby, if not their hopes for recognition in their own country of their Swedish nationality. They are beginning to clamor for a separate school system, and for separate cantonal governments, to be united into one bishopric.

In all fairness, especially in case of expostulations from Sweden, the Fennoman party ought to remain content with its own Swede-born advancement and award the patriotic Svecomans a federative administration. Constitutional guarantees for their nationality and language are what the Swedes in Finland deserve; quite as much as the Swedes in Sweden, who certainly made strenuous objections some centuries ago against assimilation by their Danish cousins. Retention of Åland, a strong national organization, Swedish moral support, and intellectual as well as material commerce with Sweden are the legitimate demands of a doughty people.

AN ARGENTINE VIEW OF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

THE fundamental differences existing between the universities of Argentina and those of the United States, in their general outlines, are presented by Señor Ernesto Nelson in *Estudios*, a monthly review published at Buenos Aires.

While recognizing the practical inferiority of the Argentine universities, and admitting that those of the United States represent in the main a realization of his ideals, the writer does not think that a mere grafting of their forms on the Argentine stock would have a satisfying result. The trouble lies deeper, in the essential character of the Argentine system, and proceeds from the direct intervention of the state.

The European conception of a university figures it as an organ of the state, and this is fatal for the popularization of culture; but the Argentine Republic, at its formation, committed the error of preserving social institutions which were in conflict with the free political institutions that were adopted, and it is now experiencing the evils of this system.

What is of prime importance to-day is that both the rulers of Argentina and the youth of the country, upon whom rests the task of social reconstruction, shall clearly perceive the causes of the crisis for which provision must be made, and that those who take up this work shall do so with minds freed from the work of all prejudices, that of admitting blindly the logic of the existing order of things. For this order of things, the right of the state to possess a monopoly of university culture, is precisely the cause of the troubles, as can be proved by a comparison between the universities of the two Americas divided by the Rio Grande.

In Argentina, the writer remarks, the state considers that it should be the guarantor of the physicians, engineers, lawyers, and professors, since the mere possession of a title constitutes a privilege that opens up the path to remunerative positions and assumes social and political prerogatives. Hence, for the state the higher culture is technical efficiency, and it would be a useless task to expect to find in these state universities any place for those admirable faculties of liberal arts which in the United States fill the soul of the Latin American with regretful longing. They do not confer a professional but

a cultural title, while the student has a choice among an immense number of elective courses covering the widest field.

Another defect that the writer notes in Argentina is the absence of lectures by men who can speak authoritatively on questions not necessarily professional, while in the United States such lectures are accorded a prominent place in the department of liberal arts. For this reason this branch of the university occupies a leading place, and attracts the largest number of students, and the primacy of culture over professionalism influences the idea that the public forms of higher education. This ceases to be only a means of acquiring a professional title, and becomes an epoch in the intellectual development of the individual, and the students flock to the universities, not to secure a diploma, but to live in the atmosphere best fitted for a young man between eighteen and twenty-five years of age.

Thus it is that while in Argentina the purely cultural branches seek to take on a professional form in order to make their way into the university, the reverse is the rule in the United States, where a narrow professionalism is regarded with disfavor, and the candidates for degrees in law, medicine, mathematics, etc., are led to follow some literary, historical, or philosophical course as an antidote, the choice of the particular course being left quite free, so that it may be better in accord with the special vocation that has been selected.

From this free play of individuality there results an enrichment and a diversification of the student's fund of information that cannot fail to have its effect upon the general level of culture, increasing its efficiency. As pure light on traversing a prism spreads out into the various colors of the spectrum, so the light of science reveals all its splendid diversity when emitted by the master minds entrusted with the task of its dissemination. The example offered by the universities of the United States moves Señor Ernesto Nelson to declare that the cause of higher education in Argentina demands the enactment of a law severing the ties that bind the university to the state, one which shall give the right to found new universities, and shall assure to each of these a subvention proportioned to the number of its students.

WHAT WILL BECOME OF THE BREWERIES?

THE manufacture of malt liquors in the United States represents an invested capital not far short of seven hundred million dollars, or did at a recent date. What does the cataclysm of nation-wide prohibition mean to the owners of this enormously valuable property? This question is obviously one that interests not only the owners of breweries, but the country at large. It is an economic question of importance.

In the *Popular Science Monthly* (New York) Mr. H. E. Howe, a chemical engineer connected with a large firm of industrial chemists, points out various ways in which the brewers may adapt their plants to the new conditions. Apparently but little has yet been done in this direction. While some breweries have made radical changes in order to maintain their earning capacity, others are preparing to quit business, and there are some brewers who believe that post-war legislation will permit them to brew 2 per cent. beer and accordingly are preparing to keep their property in condition, at considerable expense. The writer says:

It has been difficult at times to make those concerned appreciate that virtually every brewery presents a different problem, so far as its use in new fields of endeavor is concerned. There may be a class of work that most naturally fits in with brewery equipment, but raw materials, market, competition, location, and other such factors must be considered. The problem often involves more of economics than of science.

The modern brewery is especially designed for a particular set of operations. This is not well suited, of course, to other uses. Breweries require height out of proportion to floor area from the view-point of other industries. The foundations will seldom carry additional weight on the upper floors; for, with few exceptions, the heavy portions of a brewery's equipment are on the lower floors, if not indeed on the ground.

The power plant will probably require important additions for any new work, although this may be confined to the boiler-room. The refrigeration equipment may prove useful, while the bottling and labeling machinery will often remain unused.

A brewery is fortunate indeed if more than a portion of its building and mechanical equipment can be put to work on unfamiliar products, or if more than a limited amount of new apparatus is required. The ideal would be a profitable product to be made with little change in plant, by methods differing as little as possible from those already in vogue. This is seldom approached.

Brewers who have already embarked upon

IMMENSE STORAGE CASKS BUILT FOR AN AMERICAN BREWERY

(These casks cost \$5000 apiece when lumber was much cheaper than it is now. A large brewery had a hundred or more in its cellar)

new enterprises have, in a great many cases, stuck to the raw material with which they are most familiar—malt. Important malt products include malted milk, malt syrup, maltose and malt flour. A certain Colorado brewery installed dairy machinery and undertook the manufacture of malted milk, while a part of its capital was diverted to the ambitious task of developing a porcelain industry, which presently measured up to the best German standards. The dual experiment has been a pronounced success.

Malt syrup is being made by six or eight concerns formerly in the brewing and malting industry, and thus far the demand exceeds the supply. One producer makes 12,000,000 pounds a year, and is sold to capacity four months ahead. Success in manufacturing malt syrup and maltose, which is malt sugar, depends on the purity of the carbohydrate raw material, as well as care and control in filtering, clarifying, and concentrating operations. Much fine malt syrup is made from barley; corn-starch is the starting-point in other plants. The product competes with corn syrup and table syrup made from cane. It is considered one third sweeter than corn syrup, and has an advantage of not requiring the addition of cane syrup to make a high-grade product. It

can be made of good flour, has a distinctly pleasing taste, and is a valuable supplement to our sugar supply. It makes superior hard candy, is used in crackers, bread, etc., and enters into many foods. As an article for export it finds a ready market in England for the production of beer, etc.

Malt flour is thus far little known in the cereal market. As the name indicates, it is made by grinding malt between rolls and sieving the flour to remove any husks. Being very hygroscopic, malt flour presents some minor difficulties in package selection for storage and transport, so that it may be found better to extract it with cold water, and after filtering concentrate the solution to a paste.

According to C. A. Nowak, these malt products impart valuable characteristics to bread, especially those made from strong, harsh flours.

The flavor is improved, and the bread dries out much more slowly and is more easily digested. The malt also feeds the yeast, and so shortens the time required for fermentation. No doubt some educational work will have to be carried on to encourage a wider use of such malt products, but this is the case with every new material.

According to Mr. Howe an attractive field

for research and exploitation is offered by yeasts, with which brewers are already more or less familiar. Special yeasts might be developed as a source of valuable extracts for human food and also for use in the preparation of stock foods. Compressed yeast may also be made.

In dairy districts the brewery may become a factory for milk products, which are varied as well as numerous. They include lactose, casein, butter, and cream. There is always an opportunity for a distinctly flavored cheese, while many believe this war will establish dry milk in our list of foods, just as the Civil War entrenched condensed milk. Specially fermented milk beverages improving on buttermilk should also be considered.

Other interesting possibilities include the hydrogenation and the refining of oils, the dehydration of fruits and vegetables, the bottling of fruit juices, the manufacture of various soft drinks, canning, ice manufacture, and so forth.

A GOVERNMENT CORPORATION FOR AIR TRANSPORT

THE immediate future of aeronautics in America is giving a great many people serious concern. The opinion is widely and strongly expressed that the United States Government must find means of turning to account the immense amount of aeronautical material that it has acquired during the war and giving employment to the host of men that have lately been trained for flying and for the other activities connected with the use and manufacture of aircraft. The development of peacetime aeronautics is proceeding apace in Europe. Our authorities must act promptly if they are to keep alive the infant aircraft industry in this country and give our nation a respectable standing in the coming rivalry of the air.

According to Mr. Alan R. Hawley, president of the Aero Club of America, whose remarks are published in the *Aerial Age Weekly* (New York):

There are three leading aeronautic problems of national importance to be solved, as follows:

(1) The U. S. Army, according to the Senate report, spent in the last two years \$1,672,000,000 in aircraft, parts, aerodromes and aeronautic equipment of different kinds. The Navy spent approximately \$250,000,000 for aeronautics. Since these figures were made public the figures may have changed somewhat through cancellations of

orders. But it is a fact that the Army Air Service has thousands of aeroplanes, about 20,000 Liberty motors, about 7,000,000 yards of aeroplane linen, 30,000,000 feet of aeroplane spruce and general equipment and accessories for sale, for which the Government has paid about \$800,000,000. The Air Service has, besides, thirty aerodromes and aviation and balloon depots, two-thirds of which, according to reports, will have to be abandoned at a loss of tens of millions of dollars. The Navy, also, has a substantial lot of aeronautic equipment to dispose of.

(2) The Army and Navy have a total of about 30,000 aviators and balloon pilots in service, each of whom cost not less than \$10,000 to train, and about 300,000 motor and plane skilled mechanics and other trained assistants. A few thousands of the pilots have already been demobilized—and they are looking for positions. The first few thousand mechanics who were demobilized found positions elsewhere. The rest are also looking for positions. The Aero Club of America and the Aerial League of America and the aeronautic publications, *Flying*, *Aerial Age Weekly* and *Air Power* are flooded with applications for positions. The Peace Program of the Army and Navy plans to use less than 2,500 pilots and less than 15,000 men. The Army Bill, now before Congress, limits the Air Service to less than 2,000 commissioned officers. The Navy Bill, now before Congress, provides for the retention of only 350 aviators in the Navy, out of the present 10,000 aviators in service.

(3) Now that we have aeroplanes capable of carrying fifty passengers and dirigibles capable of carrying 80 tons of useful load, and it is a

NAVY DIRIGIBLE COMPLETING ITS 1500-MILE VOYAGE FROM NEW YORK TO KEY WEST

common occurrence for aircraft to fly 600 or 800 miles across country between sunrise and sunset, it is necessary to draft regulations to govern aerial navigation and air traffic.

The third problem is a complex one. A large body of laws and regulations, including international conventions, will need to be drawn up in the near future. In solving this problem all countries will profit by the suggestions set forth at length in the report of the Civil Transport Committee, recently established in England.

A plausible solution of the first and second problems, proposed by Mr. Hawley, would be

to organize a Government Aerial Transport Corporation, similar to the Grain Corporation, which shall take over and use for aerial transportation all the aeroplanes, motors and equipment not needed by the War and Navy Departments. The Grain Corporation, it will be recalled, was capitalized at \$50,000,000, all the stock being owned by the Government. It was operated by a civilian board of directors, who knew their business and were not hampered in any way by official red tape. This board purchased, distributed and transported all grain during the period of the war and was successful in every way and met with general approval.

This Aerial Transport Corporation would undertake to utilize the aeroplanes, motors, equipment and aerodromes to the best advantage and to the best interests of the Government.

There are 380 cities in the United States that have asked the cooperation of the Aero Club of America and the Aerial League of America to establish air lines to carry passengers, express and mail.

It would be a great advantage and would relieve railroad congestion, if all first-class mail could be carried by aeroplanes. The Post Office is ready to establish aerial mail lines throughout the country and needs hundreds of twin motored aeroplanes to carry this plan into effect.

Aerial ferries could be established on waterways throughout the United States. Aerial ferries across Long Island Sound, from Newport to Block Island, Cape Charles to Norfolk, Key West to Havana, across the Mississippi, etc., and air lines could, in fact, be established wherever there are waterways, as well as between cities on land. These lines would only be established where there are no such lines operated by private interests and, if it is thought best, the lines once in operation, or the equipment for operating the lines, can be sold to private interests. Likewise, the 30,000,000 feet of spruce and 7,000,000 yards of aeroplane linen, and the tons of castor beans could be sold when the opportunity occurs. It would be wiser to use this material rather than sell it at a fraction of its cost which would create industrial or labor problems by swamping the market.

To establish these air lines or to supply suitable planes to the Post Office, it would probably be necessary to get larger or special aeroplanes. These could be manufactured by established manufacturers, using the Liberty motors, the aeroplane spruce, wheels, wire, turnbuckles, instruments, etc., which the Government has on hand.

In other words, this corporation would be the clearing house in charge of utilizing the \$800,000-000 of idle aeronautic equipment to the best advantage and best interest to the country.

Mr. Hawley enumerates the many ambitious undertakings in commercial and civil aeronautics now in operation or projected.

A NEW GAS FOR BALLOONS AND AIRSHIPS

NO expositor of scientific truths has yet done justice to the romantic story of helium. Even the latest and, in some respects, most sensational chapter of this story has thus far been told but cursorily. Let us preface our quotation of the contemporary record with a brief retrospect.

The element helium was discovered in the sun before it was known to exist on earth, viz., during a total solar eclipse in 1868, when a conspicuous yellow line, at first supposed to be due to sodium, was observed in the solar spectrum. This line was soon recognized by spectroscopists to be that of a hitherto unknown substance. In the year 1895 William Ramsay, on examining the spectrum of the mineral cleveite, found the yellow line of helium, and thus proved that it occurs on our planet. Later it was found to be one of the rarer gases of the atmosphere, of which it constitutes about 0.0004 per cent. by volume at the earth's surface. One of the most remarkable facts about helium is that, although an "element," it is produced from the element radium and from the radioactive elements actinium and thorium. In 1909 Kammerlingh Onnes achieved the remarkable feat of liquifying helium. In order to become liquid, its temperature must be lowered to 268 degrees centigrade below the freezing point of water—only 5 degrees above "absolute zero." This is but a very fragmentary account of one of the most curious and mysterious substances known to science.

On the practical side helium has recently proved to be of immense interest by virtue of two qualities; lightness and non-inflammability. It is the lightest known substance except hydrogen, and, as it has no chemical affinity for any other element, it cannot be burned. How these qualities have been turned to account is thus reported by Baron Ladislas d'Orcy in the *Scientific American*:

Helium, an inert, non-inflammable gas, the second lightest known (the lightest being hydrogen), is relatively abundant in all minerals which contain radium, thorium, or uranium, such as thorianite, cleveite, etc., but the operation of separating helium from these minerals has involved such a great expense—from \$1500 to \$6000 per cubic foot—that its use as a hydrogen substitute was never seriously considered until the war. When it is considered that by next

spring helium will be produced in this country on an industrial basis and at a cost of approximately \$100 per 1000 cubic feet, the magnitude of the achievement will be fully realized.

Shortly before the Great War an investigation was made in this country to ascertain the composition of the natural gases which occur in large deposits in the Southwest, where they serve illuminating purposes. It was then found that the natural gases of Kansas, Oklahoma and Texas contain among other components about 1 per cent. helium. This discovery was not followed up, however. There was no demand that would have warranted the development of the necessary apparatus for drawing off helium, for the very good reason that this gas could have been used in large quantities only for filling airships—and there did not exist at the time a single American airship.

However, when the United States declared war on Germany, the British Air Board called the attention of the American Government to the fact that one of the important contributions this country could make toward winning the war would be the industrial production of helium. The problem was promptly taken up by the Bureau of Mines and the Aircraft Board, as a result of which an experimental plant was constructed on original lines, while each of two companies engaged in the production of liquid air was induced to build a plant to its own designs. All three plants are now in operation, but that developed by one of the air products companies has so far given the best results, and it is only fair to say that the solution of the whole problem is almost exclusively due to its efforts. A large production plant, to cost about \$2,000,000, is now being built for this concern at Fort Worth, Tex., by the Bureau of Steam Engineering and Yards and Docks of the Navy Department, and will be operated by that firm for the Navy, which alone uses airships in this country.

Helium is somewhat less buoyant than hydrogen, hitherto universally employed for filling balloons and airships. It will lift about 65 pounds per 1000 cubic feet, as against 70 pounds for commercial hydrogen. But

The existence, underneath hundreds of thousands of cubic feet of hydrogen, of internal combustion engines occasionally emitting flaming exhaust gases, not to speak of the presence of gasoline tanks, has ever been a source of worry to airship pilots—while it seemed a poor inducement to prospective aerial travelers, notwithstanding the comparatively safe record of the Zeppelin excursion line. Considerable progress has been made, it is true, in enclosing the engines and screening off the exhaust collectors, but the risk was still latent, because even the best balloon fabrics are not wholly gas-tight and a small quantity of leaking hydrogen would, under certain conditions, suffice to cause disaster.

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AN ARTIST'S CONCEPTION OF THE PASSENGER-CARRYING DIRIGIBLE OF THE NEAR FUTURE.
MAKING USE OF HELIUM GAS

A further element of danger was introduced in that rubberized fabric becomes self-electrified in dry air, and emits sparks when creased in any way—for instance, owing to a loss of tautness of the gas bags.

Moreover, hydrogen when mixed with a certain proportion of air is violently explosive, while helium, being chemically inert, is not explosive at all. The combined danger of fire and explosion limits the utility of the hydrogen-filled airship even in time of peace, while these dangers are, of course, greatly enhanced by the conditions of warfare.

The substitution of helium, by removing these disabilities, bids fair to revolutionize air navigation. The engines of the future airship can be safely placed inside the shell of the balloon, instead of being suspended underneath, and a much more efficient vessel will thus be produced. Baron d'Orcy declares that "the major, if not all problems, of aerial transport will in the near future be solved by the airship, and not by the airplane."

For commercial purposes the airship is superior to the airplane in the matter of security, reliability of the power plant, loading efficiency, comfort, prime cost per pound of load carried, and man-power required for operation. It is inferior to the airplane only with respect to speed.

While an airship can stay aloft regardless of engine stoppage (accidental or voluntary), a failure of the airplane's power plant necessitates an immediate descent in gliding flight. This feature furnishes one of the most serious objections to the use of the airplane as a passenger-carrier, for a forced landing is not very pleasant to visualize when occurring on vast stretches of

wooded or mountainous country, or the Northern Atlantic in mid-winter, for example. If a fog bank covers the aerodrome, an incoming airplane will have to fly round and round until the fog clears away—or the fuel supply gives out; under the same circumstances an airship will stop its engines and hover until a landing can safely be effected.

The superiority of the airship over the airplane in affording security to passengers under the most difficult operating conditions is thus manifest. A Zeppelin-type airship, in which flotation is secured by 20 or more separate gas-bags, is fully comparable as to safety to a steamer fitted with watertight compartments. Just as a steamer may spring a leak and have several watertight compartments flooded without sinking, so can a Zeppelin maintain its buoyancy even if several of its gas-bags should be pierced. Injury of this sort may, by the way, be mended in flight, because balloon fabrics can be patched like automobile tires; it follows that airships of the rigid type have little fear of accident on this score.

Not only is the question of weight of minor importance on airships; the whole architecture of these craft is more adaptable to comfort than even the large airplane. It is obvious that a hull some 700 feet in length affords a splendid opportunity for fitting cabins, dining rooms, lounges, etc., at such a distance from the propelling apparatus as to virtually suppress in the living quarters any noise caused by engines and airscrews; furthermore, the engines may be effectually silenced, and, as the number of exposed wires is almost nil on rigid airships, the monotonous whistling of the wind due to the vibration of wire stays—so notable on fast airplanes—is also done away with.

Then there is the possibility of having a spacious promenade deck atop of the hull, which should prove a great inducement for long distance trips. All this installation is difficult to conceive on airplanes, where noise, vibration and restricted space are prominent features.

SCANDINAVIA: A FUTURE HOME OF SCIENCE

AT last September's session of the Northern Interparliamentary Congress was delivered a long-heralded report by a committee formed to consider the question of Scandinavia as a center of scientific work in the future. The report, dealing with probabilities and practical means anent this eventuality, aroused widespread interest in Scandinavia. Prof. Svante Arrhenius, recipient of a Nobel prize and held to be the foremost physicist-astronomer of to-day, gives in the latest issue of the Christmas annual, *Julstämning*, his views on the matter.

In the light of what he calls the forthcoming "nationalization of science," the scientific institutions of Scandinavia will be called upon to perform a mission of universal moment.

The exceptional rôle of science during the war is far from being played out, though its direction will naturally shift to the production of instruments and goods essentially of peace, including, however, much of the raw materials consumed by the eager demands of warfare. The restoration of regions laid waste, the vast need everywhere for consumable necessities, and the simultaneous exigencies of economic readjustment and trade rivalry will crave the same efficiency, the same exploitation of scientific brains in the several countries recently at war, as during the conflict itself. Technical schools, too, will arise in growing numbers under government supervision and will thrive as never before.

It is almost unthinkable that the Scandinavian countries will keep out of this great movement, which constitutes a transfer of the war to the fields of industry and trade. But it will also present an opportunity to introduce a new and more idealistic direction in scientific work among the neutral states—unfortunately small and few. The rapid development of science during the last hundred years has depended on its international character. Whatever improvements or discoveries were made in one country were soon known to all the rest of the civilized world. This most advantageous work was accomplished by international technical journals, contributions from which were sent from all over the world. Still greater was the influence of those educational institutions whose doors were open to students of research from all lands. There one learned the most recent scientific tendencies of the day among all culture-lands and came to know the newest and best industrial methods applied there.

It is well known that Germany assumed leader-

ship in this sphere. And to Germany streamed crowds of studious youth from all over the globe, especially from Russia, the Balkan States, England, America, and Scandinavia. There most of the international organs were edited and published. Through the war a sudden break was made. And it will perhaps take decades before the stream of foreign students of science, which came for the most part from the Entente countries, gradually retraces its way to the abodes of science in Germany. It was an unusual thing to see a French student in Germany even forty years after the Franco-Prussian War. Besides, it is uncertain whether the German halls of learning and institutions of research will readily admit former enemies and present competitors. Moreover, the German journals will in all probability have to wait long for contribution from the countries which have been fighting Germany. Everything will be nationalized, even science.

This is where great new possibilities lie open to the neutral states. Their young scientists can get their training wherever they wish, and will be welcomed as the only mediators in behalf of science in a rivalizing world. After they have seen to their education in the best possible way they will come home and apply their experiences in our own and other neutral seats of learning and fields of research. There also young investigators from all countries will assemble to acquire knowledge of important innovations in many quarters, even those who come from formerly belligerent states. In this way the pick of the world's scientific youth will gravitate towards the learned institutions of the neutral countries.

Thus the neutrals will under the circumstances be given more than their proportionate share of scientific production and education, in a world where such production and education will for a long time to come be elevated in an unwonted degree. The work of Scandinavian scientists will likewise receive wider publication than has heretofore been the case.

Thereby their work will acquire that importance which is impossible of attainment without active collaboration with foreign scientists. Even purely material advantages will follow from this immigration of foreigners. They will come to know and esteem the country where they have enjoyed hospitality and gotten the knowledge necessary for their development. They will act as promoters of this country's interests and make its institutions and products known wherever they go. Gainful industrial and trade connections will also be established.

An active and well-organized coöperation between the Scandinavian countries will by all means contribute to a good result. We have every reason to hope that the authorities concerned will in all possible ways seek to promote

that international movement which through unavoidable necessity will drive seekers after knowledge to our shores. . . . If we in addition could establish some international journals in Scandinavia, it would be of the greatest benefit to research work here and to our scientific mission.

It is in any case certain that scientific research and assiduity in the Scandinavian countries will in time to come meet with vigorous prosperity, the possibilities of which will in all likelihood be utilized in a wise and far-sighted manner by our people.

SVANTE ARRHENIUS, MASTER THEORIST

PROFESSOR SVANTE ARRHENIUS was sixty years old on the nineteenth of February.

The great chemist and cosmologist was born near Upsala, Sweden, in 1859. His father was superintendent of parks in that city. He was precocious as a boy, especially in his mathematical, physical, and biological studies. In 1876 he entered the University of Upsala. In the years 1881-83 he collaborated with Professor Edlund in the study of the conductivity of electrolytes in various kinds of solutions. In 1884 he became instructor in physical chemistry at Upsala after receiving his doctorate in physics. His thesis comprised the results of his studies with Professor Edlund, and aroused widespread interest, especially in Germany.

The following years found him in Germany. Working at the laboratories of Kohlrausch, Boltzmann, Ostwald, and van't Hoff, he formulated the theory of electrolytic dissociation in 1887. In 1891, the young scientist received a call to the University of Giessen, consequent upon his rapid and unopposed success. He refused the offer, accepting instead a position as instructor in Stockholm College, where (largely through the influence of foreign scientists) he was appointed professor in 1895. In 1897 his colleagues elected him to the rectorship (presidency), which post he yet holds.

Becoming interested in the electro-chemical aspects of serotherapy, he spent the years 1902-3 at the serum institutes of Denmark and Prussia. Shortly thereafter, in 1903, he was awarded the Nobel prize in chemistry—being the first Swede to receive one of those prizes. In 1905 he became director of the Nobel Physical Institute.

Dr. Arrhenius is a man with a singular wealth of ideas and a remarkable capacity to apply himself to various branches of science. He has attained distinction not only as chemist and physicist, but also as geo- and astrophysicist, meteorologist, phys-

DR. SVANTE ARRHENIUS, THE GREAT SWEDISH SCIENTIST

icologist, etc.; directing his theories not into single, but many paths. He is in addition the author of several textbooks in those provinces of science wherein he has busied himself. Of late years he has adverted chiefly towards cosmology, as is evinced by the titles of his latest works: "Worlds in the Making," "The Life of the Universe as Conceived by Man from the Earliest Ages to the Present Time," and "The Destinies of the Stars."

He caused a sensation some years ago by his arguments over the nebular theory as applied to the Milky Way. He is also the foremost advocate of the theory of cosmic pan-spermatism, which holds that omnipresent spores, fully capable of survival in the intense cold of space, wander over immense distances under the pressure of light, and give rise, under favorable circumstances, to various forms of life on the planetary bodies intercepting them.

THE CRADLE OF THE WORLD?

ALL of us like to gratify our sense of curiosity, and now comes Dr. Joseph Beech, who offers us a peek into the backlands of China. He comes with strange tales and experiences covering a period of twenty years, and were it not for his reputation as a missionary perhaps one might be tempted to liken some of these mysterious stories to those of Jules Verne, or Sheherazade.

Having visited sections of western China where the foot of white man had never before trod, he told in New York, according to the *Sun*, how he had encountered in the foothills of the Himalayas forty or fifty different tribes; actually saw a race of white men who resembled Bohemians; found a race of four-foot dwarfs, and was amazed at the variety of peoples in this cradle of the world.

The fighting white men of Sung Pan, which is ten days' journey northwest of Chengtu, a distance of only 300 miles, are the people of greatest interest, and Dr. Beech goes on to say of them:

This tribe, resembling Anglo-Saxons, was described to me as consisting of large, furious men, whose bravery is considered somewhat of a marvel to the Chinese. "They never run away, any more than you [meaning Americans and Europeans] do," my Chinese friend told me. "They love to fight."

SURVIVAL OF CHIVALRY?

I was told the men often fight duels on horseback, which in some respects recall the duels of the Middle Ages. The duelists start the fight with a discharge of short blunderbusses. These are so heavy they have to rest them on a wooden cross attached to the saddle bow. I judged they were made by native workmen and rather inefficient weapons, hurling a handful of slugs.

The second stage of the duel is fought with stones, of which each has a bag. If the bags are exhausted without doing serious injury to either man, the duelists draw nearer and throw spears tied to the ends of ropes so they can be pulled back and thrown again. Meanwhile the two horsemen are circling around and constantly getting closer.

In the final stage the antagonists ride up to each other and fight hip to hip with great swords, after the fashion of Richard the Lion-Hearted. The duel always goes to a decision, my Chinese friend told me.

On the border between China and the country of this tribe Dr. Beech saw an enormous castle, built many centuries ago along medieval lines, and capable of holding thousands of soldiers, stretching over the hills for

some distance. The old flags on the four little turrets of each tower have now been supplanted by the Buddhist emblems of the Llamas. And in the hills nearby he passed numerous great battlefields of past centuries, marking with thousands of tombstones the graves of heroes long dead in the defense of the tribe domains against the Chinese.

One tribe looks like Tibetans, but speaks a different language and disclaims relationship. Another resembles the Chinese, but differs widely both in language and customs. In speaking with the tribesmen through interpreters, Dr. Beech learned that all of these tribes have traditions of greatness, and that they had once controlled a vast territory; were driven back to smaller domains; and finally beaten back again to the mountains.

A CONQUEROR'S BREED

It is interesting to speculate how much truth there is in these traditions. We know most of the races of Europe came in successive waves of migration out of the depths of Central Asia. It is natural to suppose that each migration would leave some of the same people behind and this remnant would flee into one of these mountain valleys if attacked by superior force. A little to the north of this country the greatest conqueror the world has known, Genghis Khan, arose, and other historic conquerors are believed to have originated hereabouts.

The total population of these tribes is unknown, but estimates run from 4,000,000 to 10,000,000 people. The signs of ancient civilization, as well as the people themselves, invite a good deal of speculation, and perhaps some traveler will find in them the Lost Tribes of Israel, for Dr. Beech says:

In some parts of the country I saw a style of architecture like that of Palestine, with flat roofs. The tiled roofs and other characteristics of Chinese architecture were entirely absent.

High on a mountain-top, surrounded by peaks ranging from 6000 to 18,000 feet high, and overlooking these valleys of the Kwan-lung Mountains, Dr. Beech once spent the night in a king's palace, which is in the heart of a country rich in undeveloped resources. Five men joining hands cannot span some of the trees in the immense forests. Who knows but that, in the great palace on the mountain top, even the Queen of Sheba may have reigned? Certainly there are evidences of a bygone splendor that would rival if not equal hers.

NEW LIGHT ON THE EARTH'S AGE

THE old estimate of 100,000,000 years for the age of the habitable earth was a compromise between the ten to twenty million years on the one hand allowed by Helmholtz's theory of the maintenance of the sun's life-giving radiation by contraction and condensation, and by Kelvin's deductions from the rate at which the temperature of the earth's crust increases toward the interior, and the far longer duration, on the other hand, inferred by geologists from rates of sedimentation, erosion, and other slow actions.

The discovery of radioactivity in terrestrial rocks, less than twenty years ago, presenting a source of energy fully sufficient to maintain the earth's interior temperature, not only rescued the problem of the age of the earth from one of the difficulties in its solution, but provided, also, a new time-scale for geologic history.

The rate at which uranium breaks up into helium and lead is now known within a few per cent. By measuring the quantity of these end products and comparing with the quantity of uranium still present in the same material, data are obtained for measuring the age of the mineral and with it the age of the rock-formation of which it is a part. This line of evidence and that furnished by the thickness and character of sediments lead to estimates that life started on the earth at least a billion years ago.

Since the inception of life there has been no interruption in its existence. Astronomers are thus faced with the problem of explaining how the sun, whose energy has alone made terrestrial life possible, can have maintained its radiation through this great length of time with very little variation from the present rate of outflow. Apparently all known sources of energy, even with the help of radioactivity, are woefully insufficient to prolong the solar radiation to meet geologic requirements.

Dr. Harlow Shapley, after discussing the present state of the problem, in the October, 1918, number of the *Publications of the Astronomical Society of the Pacific*, makes an interesting application of his recent studies of globular star clusters. Astronomers have come to believe that the spectrum of a star is an indication of its stage of development, and reasonable conclusions have been formed of the order in which a star passes through the spectral types.

The life of man and of his present astronomical records were recognized as too brief to prove directly the change in spectrum as stars grow old, but the continuous gradations from type to type, combined with extensive information as to motions and brightness and chemical nature, left little doubt that, given time enough, a typical star will progress through many of the spectral stages now observed as essentially static.

Eddington has computed that all known sources of energy will operate to make a gaseous giant star pass in 100,000 years through all stellar spectral types, from a state of highest rarefaction to a condition in which it can no longer be considered as a perfect gas. The evolution of far-advanced stars such as the sun would presumably proceed much more slowly. By several trustworthy lines of reasoning Shapley has found that the globular star clusters are enormously distant from us. For the six clusters selected, the distances from the earth are given in terms of the time required for the transmission of light across intervening space:

Cluster	Distance
Messier 22.....	25,000 years
Messier 13.....	35,000 "
Messier 5.....	40,000 "
Messier 3.....	45,000 "
Messier 15.....	50,000 "
N. G. G. 7006.....	220,000 "

Granting that it is highly improbable that the actual time of origin of these clusters is in any way dependent upon distance from the earth, we readily realize that, as seen from the earth, the first cluster in the list is twice as old as the fifth, and nearly 2000 centuries older than the last. If, as the theory which recognizes all known sources of energy predicts, the change from a giant red star into a giant yellow star takes but 25,000 years, we should find evidence of such changes in the study of these globular clusters. Counts of stars, however, show that all six clusters contain stars of the various colors in the same proportions.

This similarity of color in clusters of such different ages must apparently be taken as evidence of very slow evolution, giving comfort to the geologist and countenance to his assumption of very little change in the sun's radiation during the time required for a reasonable interpretation of geological record. The problem of the slow development of suns, of the storing up and releasing of their observed energies, still remains. We must seek new properties of matter.

CLEMENCEAU—LITTERATEUR

THE important part played by Georges Clemenceau in French political life has been accentuated by his activities in the great war. His indomitable energy—at an advanced age; he is seventy-eight—his ceaseless activity, his striking ability, have aroused a general, wondering admiration. That he should add to his shining qualities as statesman the literary gift and the gift of eloquence is certainly worthy of comment.

The *Revue* (Paris) contains an interesting characterization of the Premier's literary efforts, by N. Ségur. As illustrative of Clemenceau's style and mode of thought, he gives a number of quotations from his different productions.

The French Academy, says the writer, has consecrated the unanimous acclamation of the nation by electing as one of its members the man, perennially young, who above all others deserves well of his country. And since he occupies the academic chair not only as a contributor to victory but as a writer as well, it is worth casting a glance at his literary work and indicating its leading tendencies.

He has through a long life ardently run the gamut of human sensations, thrown himself heart and soul into the midst of every fray. In turn, doctor, journalist, dramatist, philosopher, politician, Cabinet minister, Northern by temperament, thoroughly Southern by his vivacity of thought, Clemenceau has excelled in every field of human endeavor.

Though a litterateur, Clemenceau is primarily a man of action; pen in hand, he continues to expend his energy, and the form and content of his writings show his ruling passion—to act, to combat, to assert himself. His style, rapid, nervous, at times negligent, but always racy, vibrant, imaginative, is another indication of his impassioned ardor.

It is ideas, to be sure, which interest him most; he is mainly concerned in discussing political and social problems. However, he does not disdain fiction or descriptive writing; in his two collections of tales we find picturesque and realistic scenic portrayals.

But he specially delights in depicting the simple life of the peasants of the Var and the Vendée.

As he is a born fighter, he excels, likewise, in social satire, where his impetuous temper, his distinctive talents—more vigorous than delicate—appear most marked. What specially characterizes him as a writer is his eloquence. He is eloquent everywhere and always. But it is of ideas that he is particularly enamored. It is his wide knowledge and interests which enable him to dis-

cuss with equal ability Mycenaean art, French Impressionism, Edmond de Joncourt, Tolstoi, or Shakespeare.

But in reality his true vocation is to fight in the political and social arena.

In his two works of synthetic history, *La Mêlée sociale* and *Le Grand Pan*, which are, after all, his most important works, he treats superficially it may be, some of the leading problems of our time. It is a lesson in Socialism, a lesson in fraternity, which concludes the introduction of *Le Grand Pan*.

PREMIER CLEMENCEAU,
WHOSE LITERARY WORK
IS HERE DISCUSSED

If in summing up we try to define the leading thought which has thus far animated M. Clemenceau's efforts, we find it is a thought, more generous than original, of individual activity and social fraternity. To act, to work, to fight in order to fulfil one's own destiny and aid one's brethren—that is, I believe, M. Clemenceau's creed.

His thought, too passionate, even somewhat utopian, is but a modern continuation of that of the eighteenth century philosophers, and seems to be based—as Taine said of the philosophy of Rousseau—upon the consideration of a theoretical and abstract being.

Yes, M. Clemenceau, as writer, belongs to the high-strung, mystically humanitarian line of the Encyclopedists, and while his acts as a statesman are marked by such a clear sense of reality, his writings, despite their scientific seeming, are a reproduction of the generous dreams of the eighteenth century.

And we may conclude by saying that more than any one the author of *Le Grand Pan* continues the French tradition. For, in fact, in pointing out in M. Clemenceau that union of exact action and idealist day-dreaming, we are but repeating, we may say, the definition of a Frenchman which he himself once formulated in dedicating the monument to Goblet.

THE NEW BOOKS

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

League of Nations: A Chapter in the History of the Movement. By Theodore Marburg. The Macmillan Company. 139 pp. 50 cents.

In the seething discussion of the several plans to achieve a League of Nations we should not lose sight of the fact that the movement to such an end in this and other countries had from the very outset the devoted service of a group of wise and highly trained leaders who had long been preparing for just this outcome. In America one of the initiators of the League to Enforce Peace was Mr. Theodore Marburg, of Baltimore, formerly our Minister to Belgium, who had been active in work for international peace for a number of years preceding the outbreak of the great war. In writing, as he does in this little volume, **MR. THEODORE MARBURG** of the developments with which he has been personally connected Mr. Marburg is giving an admirable summary of the trend of the League movement in the United States. His book is strongly commended by Ex-President Taft and by other active leaders in the agitation.

League of Nations: Its Principles Examined. Vol. II. By Theodore Marburg. The Macmillan Company. 137 pp., 60 cents.

Very recently there has appeared a second volume by Mr. Marburg which considers in more detail the basic elements and human motive, as well as the philosophy of the League movement as a whole. He also examines and explains the failure of past leagues and meets the principal criticisms that have been advanced against the present project.

A League to Enforce Peace. By Robert Goldsmith. Macmillan Company. 331 pp. \$1.50.

A popular exposition from the American standpoint of the principles on which the League to Enforce Peace has been organized. The discussion meets all of the familiar objections that have been urged by critics of the project, and while the working out of details is left to the Conference at Paris, the broader aspects of the scheme are clearly set forth. With its documentary material and bibliography and the intro-

ductory statement by President Lowell, of Harvard, the volume forms a most serviceable handbook for current use.

The League of Nations To-day and Tomorrow. By Horace M. Kallen. 181 pp. \$1.50.

A concise statement for the argument for international organization, with a concluding chapter written since the signing of the armistice. Dr. Kallen is the author of "The Structure of Lasting Peace," a book that has been widely recognized as a valuable contribution to current thinking.

A League of Nations. By Edith M. Phelps. The H. W. Wilson Company. 256 pp. \$1.50.

A selection of the most important articles and documents relating to the League of Nations. This is a volume in the "Handbook Series," and, in accord with the purpose of that series, it reflects, impartially, the development of the idea, and states the arguments both for and against it. An extended bibliography of the subject is included.

Experiments in International Administration. By Francis Bowes Sayre. Harper and Brothers. 200 pp. \$1.50.

A helpful record of the various attempts thus far made in the history of the world to secure international coöperation. The epoch-making treaties of the past—Munster, Utrecht, Vienna—are described, and reasons given for their failure. The author proceeds to outline three types of international executive organs, each of which is illustrated from history. From the records of these international agencies the author deduces conclusions regarding the chances of such organizations for ultimate success. The facts here presented have never before been brought together in a single volume. They have, of course, a direct and important bearing on the whole discussion of the League of Nations.

National Governments and the World War. By Frederic A. Ogg and Charles A. Beard. The Macmillan Company. 603 pp. \$2.50.

This book is not merely an addition to the already long list of treatises on the theory of government. It undertakes rather to show how the governments of the several groups of nations are organized and how they actually work. More than one-fourth of the volume is devoted to an account of the processes of government in the United States, and this is followed by informing chapters on the governments of the Allied nations, as well as of the Teutonic states—the latter, of course, representing conditions prior to the general collapse of 1918. The two concluding chapters deal with "American War Aims in Relation to Government" and "The Problem

of International Government." The authors are both specialists in political science—Professor Ogg at the University of Wisconsin and Dr. Beard as Director of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research.

The State. By Woodrow Wilson. D. C. Heath & Company. 554 pp. \$2.

Thirty years ago President Wilson, then a professor at Wesleyan University and lecturer at Johns Hopkins, prepared this statement of "The Elements of Historical and Practical Politics." For present-day use by students a revision has been made by Professor Edward Elliott, of the University of California. The chapters of a general character, dealing with the origin, nature, functions and objects of government and with the nature of law, are retained without change, as they are believed to represent substantially President Wilson's views to-day. New chapters on Italy, Belgium, Serbia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Turkey and Japan have been added, as has a chapter on "After the War."

World War Issues and Ideals. By Morris Edmund Speare and Edmund Blake Norris. Ginn and Company. 461 pp. \$1.40.

A book of selective readings in current history. The materials, consisting of excerpts from books, magazine articles, addresses and speeches, are grouped under the following headings: "The Issues of the World War"; "The Atmosphere of the World War"; "The Spirit of the Warring Nations"; "Democratic and Autocratic Ideals of Government"; "The New Europe and a Lasting Peace"; "Features of American Life and Character"; and "American Foreign Policy." Helpful references for collateral reading are supplied by the compilers.

The Great Peace. By H. H. Powers. The Macmillan Company. 333 pp. \$2.25.

This author's exceptional knowledge of European conditions, combined with a lively and forceful literary style, won for his earlier books, "The Things Men Fight For" and "America Among the Nations," a wide reading. Even those who disagreed with his conclusions were attracted by the brilliancy with which they were stated. The present volume, which was completed shortly before the signing of the armistice, is important as a statement of the terms of peace which the Congress at Paris has begun to work out. Mr. Powers bravely faces the difficulties that must be encountered in effecting the readjustments consequent on peace, and he makes no attempt to minimize them. The first half of the book is devoted to the general principles on which peace must be based and the second half to concrete problems.

The Only Possible Peace. By Frederic C. Howe. Charles Scribner's Sons. 265 pp. \$1.50.

Dr. Howe's book is remarkable for its insistence on the economic basis of peace. Differing from many writers on the Great War, he traces the beginnings of the conflict to the industrial rather than exclusively to the Junker class. Does the world want a durable peace? Then we must find a way to end the struggle for exclusive territories and the economic exploitation and con-

quests of weak peoples. International control of the Mediterranean, Balkan states, Turkey and Asia Minor will help to attain such a result.

A Peace Congress of Intrigue. Compiled by Frederick Freksa. Translated, with an Introduction and Notes by Harry Hansen. The Century Company. 448 pp. \$2.50.

It is frequently said that the origin of the Great War of 1914-18 dates back to the Congress of Vienna in 1815, for it was there that the Prussian autocracy made certain its domination of Germany, which one hundred years later was to disrupt the peace of the world. Any account of the Congress of Vienna becomes, from the standpoint of international justice, a vivid exposition of how not to do it. The present volume describes in detail the two forms of intrigue—social and political—by which the Congress of Vienna was manipulated from start to finish. Moreover, these details are no idle inventions of a later date. They are all related by the participants themselves in contemporary journals and correspondence.

The Chaos in Europe. By Frederick Moore. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 192 pp. \$1.50.

President Eliot commends this book to American readers who wish to understand the political and commercial situation in Russia, the Balkan states, and the Near and Far East. Mr. Moore, as a newspaper correspondent, has made repeated visits to Russia and Siberia, has lived for several years in China as an agent of the Associated Press, and has spent much time in the Balkan countries and Turkey, both before and during the war. Mr. Moore is an advocate of the League of Nations.

From Isolation to Leadership. By John Holladay Latané. Doubleday, Page & Company. 215 pp. \$1.

Professor Latané, of the Johns Hopkins University, gives in this little book an admirable résumé of American foreign policy from Washington to Wilson. Nothing could be more valuable in these days to the serious student of American history than the clear distinction which Dr. Latané draws between two intimately related phases of American diplomacy, the Monroe Doctrine and the policy of isolation. It is also highly important that Americans should have a definite knowledge of the actual achievements already reached in the field of international co-operation without the sanction of force. These are well stated by Professor Latané. His concluding chapter is an excellent summary of the war aims of the United States.

China and the World War. By W. Reginald Wheeler. The Macmillan Company. 263 pp. Ill. \$1.75.

More than one of the problems in statecraft which are about to challenge the attention of the world will center in China. The author of this book, who for the past three years has been a member of the faculty of Hangchow College, seeks to put before the American reader some of the questions that are now facing the new republic, and especially to show how these relate themselves to the issues of the Great War.

WAR EXPERIENCES

"With the Help of God and a Few Marines." By Brigadier-General A. W. Catlin. Doubleday, Page & Co. 425 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

General Catlin, who commanded the Sixth Regiment of U. S. Marines at Château-Thierry, is not only qualified in every way to tell the story of the brilliant exploit that caused the French to rename Belleau Wood as *La Bois de la Brigade de Marine*; he is also, as it happens, an officer whose service with the Marines antedates even the Spanish War and who had a great deal to do with training the new men for the work that won the admiration of the Allies in France last year. In this volume he gives a condensed history of the Corps.

The British Navy in Battle. By Arthur H. Pollen. Doubleday, Page & Company. 358 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

Mr. Pollen holds a very high place in England as a naval writer. The admiralty itself has such confidence in him that its records were placed at his disposal for the writing of this book, which is the first serious attempt to tell the story of Britain's naval activities in the great war. Besides giving much-desired information, the author makes clear to the lay reader many technical naval matters of great interest.

Naval Power in the War. By C. C. Gill. George H. Doran Company. 302 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

Commander Gill, in this revised and enlarged edition of "Naval Power in the War," brings the story of naval operations down to the signing of the armistice. Read in connection with Mr. Pollen's account of the British navy's exploits, this book is especially useful for its graphic story of the part played by the United States in the sea-fighting.

Hunting the German Shark. By Herman Whitaker. The Century Company. 310 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

What the American Navy did in the under-seas war, as related by a man who cruised for many months with our battleship fleet and himself took a voyage in a submarine. All the different methods and instrumentalities used against the German menace are described in detail.

Campaigning in the Balkans. By Lieutenant Harold Lake. Robert M. McBride Company. 229 pp. \$1.50.

A British officer's account of the Salonica expedition, with a brief survey of the part played by the Balkans in the Great War and in the events that led to the war.

Rumania, Yesterday and To-day. By Mrs. Will Gordon. John Lane Company. 270 pp. Ill. \$3.

In this volume Mrs. Gordon's account of Rumanian history, life, customs and literature is supplemented by an introduction and two chapters by Her Majesty Queen Marie, who gives a

pathetic account of the sufferings that her country has undergone.

A Poet of the Air. Edited by Sarah Greene Wise. Houghton, Mifflin. 246 pp. \$1.50.

In the phrase, "A Poet of the Air," Lieut. Jack Wright's mother, Mrs. Wise, has found perhaps the only title that would convey the living lyricism that breathes from the eloquent letters of this eighteen-year-old First Lieutenant Pilot-Aviator of the American Aviation. These letters have been brought together in the hope that they may give other boys something of his fine courage and spirit, and give to other mothers comfort and hope. Jack Wright was an American boy, born in New York City and educated in French schools. French was his language, which explains his great desire to serve France and his love for her people. He had graduated—although but eighteen—at l'Ecole Alsacienne at Paris and at Andover in America and had entered Harvard. He went over early in 1917 with the Phillips Academy Ambulance Unit, and soon went into training for the air service. He was typical of all that is finest and best of our young American manhood, one for whom we cannot mourn, so great was the gladness of his sacrifice.

Zigzagging. By Isabel Anderson. Houghton, Mifflin. 269 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

It is one thing to have had thrilling contacts with the war and another to be able to relate them in an agreeable manner. Isabel Anderson (Mrs. Larz Anderson) had the opportunity for amazing experiences in her work of running a Red Cross canteen on the Marne for eight months, and she has set down these experiences in graceful, flowing prose that not only vividly pictures war work at the front, but suggests the possibilities of woman's activity in the future in the field of organization. The book is lavishly illustrated and contains in an appendix several pages of general information for Canteen Workers of W. W. R. C. of A. R. C. in France.

Hospital Heroes. By Elizabeth Walker Black. Scribners. 222 pp. \$1.35.

In "Hospital Heroes," Miss Elizabeth Walker Black gives a vivid picture of her experiences in a front-line hospital on the Aisne for ten months before and during the great German drive one year ago. For her ability to "stick it," as she writes, she thanks the letters written to her by her mother and a Civil War Uncle, who believed that girls as well as boys should stand by the colors. Hospital life at the front from a nurse's point of view is well pictured in the narrative. Different treatments for wounds are explained, and the daily life of the wounded set down with rare skill. One interesting paragraph contains a comparison between the wounded of different nationalities. Miss Black writes: "English and American wounded are restless and their spirits require activity, but the Frenchman can lie in bed month after month discussing politics, reading, and writing letters. His stoicism under great pain is incredible."

ESSAYS ON RECONSTRUCTION AND LITERARY CRITICISM

DR. RALPH ADAMS CRAM

WITHIN the past three years we have had four books of profound scholarship from the pen of Dr. Ralph Adams Cram. They are all of deep significance to the builders of the new civilization who are now beginning their task. Whether we agree wholly, or in part, with Mr. Cram's conclusions, we cannot mistake his purpose, which is to awaken the American people to the serious work of reconstruction that lies before them. Of the first book, "The Substance of Gothic," Professor Richard Burton wrote: "For that combination of authoritative knowledge and accomplishment, with such power of statement as shall carry the message to large numbers, I should be inclined to give first place to Mr. Cram's 'The Substance of Gothic.' . . . It is a most eloquent book." Former Senator Albert J. Beveridge said of the second volume, "The Nemesis of Mediocrity": "I wish it might be in the hands of every man and woman, old and young, in the United States." (Both these books have been commented upon previously in the *Review of Reviews*.) The first of the two more recent books, "The Great Thousand Years," contains two essays. The title essay, written in 1908, and published in England in 1910, is a prophecy of the catastrophic breakdown of civilization, a breakdown foreseen by Dr. Cram when it was generally least foreseen. He prophesied what has since

happened by means of his interesting theory of the rhythm of history, a postulate, that so far back as we can measure, civilization's tides ebb and flow in periods of five hundred years. The second paper, "Ten Years After," discusses certain changes, moral and spiritual, that must be effected if we are to escape—in the author's opinion—a second era of Dark Ages. He writes that the world must be remade upon the basic idea of "Communal life conceived in the human scale." There must be a larger "unity without the surrender of independence and autonomy." "The Sins of the Fathers," published in January, 1919, continues the reconstructive thought that runs through the three previous volumes. Following the introduction, there are three papers. The first is on imperialism. He proposes a substitute for this reach toward world-dominion. Following a spiritual revolution in the minds of men, they must "return to the unit of the human scale. . . . small, compact, self-contained and autonomous states conceived in human scale." In the second paper, "The Quantitative Standard," he would substitute for this modern standard the passion for quality, for perfection and beauty. In the third discussion, which he calls "Materialism," he demands the intimate living union of matter and spirit as a fundamental condition necessary to the upbuilding of a civilization that shall safely evade the dangers of both imperialism and Bolshevism.

In these four books the reader will find a brilliant analysis of modern civilization, and, however much one may differ with certain conclusions, an eloquent appeal for true democracy and the blending of all existing civilizations in the future into one gracious and harmonious whole.

Mainly in the interest of reconstruction Mr. John Galsworthy has brought together a number of brilliant papers which are published under the title, "Another Sheaf."² All of the twelve discussions are characteristic of the novelist's intellectual-emotional manner of dealing with practical subjects. A few are bits of vivid impressionism, as "The Road" and "France 1916-17"; others deal with the restoration of the wounded soldier to his pre-war state of health and happiness, and with the fitting in of the returned soldier, with his enlarged point of view, into industry. Two chapters present the land question as it existed in England in 1917 and in 1918, and there is also a spirited contrast of the Englishman and the Russian; speculations as to the future; an essay on Anglo-American drama, and, "Grotesques," which records the official visit of an angel to England in the year 1947. In "American and Briton" Mr. Galsworthy writes of his hopes of the mutual understanding of America and Great Britain. On this understanding he feels the happiness of nations depends more than on any other world cause. He writes that the friendly union of these

¹The Sins of the Fathers. By Ralph Adams Cram. Marshall Jones. 114 pp. \$1.

²Another Sheaf. By John Galsworthy. Scribners. 336 pp. \$1.50.

¹The Great Thousand Years. By Ralph Adams Cram. Marshall Jones. 63 pp. \$1.

two great nations is the "ballast of the new order," that there is no bottom upon which to build unless we build upon the solidarity of the English-speaking races.

Mr. Wilson Follett's study of the purpose and meaning of fiction, "*The Modern Novel*," will convince any skeptic that splendid literary criticism is being written at the present time in this country. The chapters are mellow with finely ripened knowledge, fascinating with a deftly interwoven humor, and alight with spiritual understanding. There are only a few volumes touching on fiction that even approach this admirable outline of the development of the English novel during two centuries, none that come at once to mind which seriously rival it. The attention of all fiction-writers should be called to this helpful study.

"The poets whose profiles I shall attempt to etch," writes T. B. Rudmose-Brown in "*French Literary Studies*," "are alike in one thing only. They loved Art with a love as passionate as a lover's for his mistress or a mystic's for his God." In a moment of blazing inspiration, the author of these studies unfolds the inmost soul of the French nation. He has caught—as it were in instant vision—the profiles of certain poets of France, the outlines blending under his hand to a composite portrait of the undying individuality of the French race. Following the introduction, which records his own point of view regarding the art of the poet (one shared with James Elroy Flecker, that it is a matter of individual expression alone), are studies of Maurice Scève and the poetic school of Lyons, the stories of the love and art of the beautiful Pernet du Guillet and Louise Labé, la Belle Cordière; of the immortal Ronsard; of the poets of the Eighteenth Century; of Leconte de Lisle, Paul Verlaine, Stuart Merrill and Francis Vielé-Griffin. Many quotations from the verse of the various poets are given in translation.

Professor Otto Heller presents, in "*Prophets of*

Dissent," critical estimates of Tolstoy, Maeterlinck, Strindberg and Nietzsche. The papers have breadth, clarity, and a most admirable simplicity of style. There is in this group a certain unity, says the author. They are all radicals and reformers; they are all mystics by "original cast of mind," and in them the basic issues of the modern struggle for social transformation are sharply and clearly joined. Also, they all follow the introspective path toward their individual discoveries of the law of life. By the measure of recent world events, he endeavors to find whether Tolstoy's three articles of faith, viz., that true faith gives life, that man must live by labor, that evil must never be resisted, are sound doctrine; whether Nietzschean Superman conceptions have furnished a basis for world imperialism; and if Maeterlinck's stoic idealism will emerge untouched and untarnished from the emotions attendant on experiencing the harrowing circumstances connected with the war. Professor Heller occupies the recently created chair of Modern European Literature in Washington University, St. Louis.

Four books published in the Bobbs-Merrill series of "*Authors And How To Know Them*" include a fresh estimate of Matthew Arnold by that eminent critic, Professor Stuart P. Sherman, for which all lovers of Arnold's clear sanity and poise will be extremely grateful. In the same series is an eloquent study of Tennyson by Professor Raymond M. Alden,⁴ with many quotations and a closing chapter that discusses Tennyson's relation to modern thought, "*Tennyson, The Victorians and Ourselves*." Also a fascinating volume on Robert Burns,⁵ by William Allan Neilson, Professor of English in Harvard University, and an estimate of Nathaniel Hawthorne by George Edward Woodberry.⁶ For their particular purposes these volumes are unexcelled; they give all that is required by the student or person of culture in brief compact form, with ample quotation, and they are all—so far as the series has progressed—written by men of authority in the critical and literary world.

J. M. BARRIE: BRITISH DRAMATISTS: DRAMATIC CRITICISM

IT is to be regretted that the American people have not—like the French—cultivated the habit of reading fine plays as well as seeing them presented on the stage. If such were the case, it would not have been necessary to turn the

war plays of J. M. Barrie into a form of short story to insure their welcome. Four plays are published in a clipped, half play, half short-story, form under the title of "*Echoes of the War*." They are the well-known plays: "*The Old Lady Shows Her Medals*," "*The New Word*," "*Barbara's Wedding*," and "*A Well-Remembered Voice*." Even as they are, to read them is to enjoy a Barrie play all over again. Structurally, they follow the usual Barrie formula, viz: Take a basic fact of human experience; work out sentimental values and dramatize it as Fancy dramatizes the fulfillment of our wishes in day dreams. Give the drama a local habitation and a name, touch it with a breath of immortal youth from

¹*The Modern Novel*. By Wilson Follett. Knopf. 336 pp. \$2.

²*French Literary Studies*. By T. B. Rudmose-Brown. Lane. 829 pp. \$1.25.

³*Prophets of Dissent*. By Otto Heller. Knopf. 286 pp. \$1.50.

⁴*Matthew Arnold: How To Know Him*. By Stuart P. Sherman. Bobbs Merrill. 326 pp. \$1.50.

⁵*Alfred Tennyson: How To Know Him*. By Raymond M. Alden. Bobbs Merrill. 276 pp. \$1.50.

⁶*Robert Burns: How To Know Him*. By William Allan Neilson. Bobbs Merrill. 332 pp. \$1.50.

⁷*Nathaniel Hawthorne: How To Know Him*. By Edward Woodberry. Bobbs Merrill. 242 pp. \$1.50.

⁸*Echoes of the War*. By J. M. Barrie. Scribners. 188 pp. \$1.50.

among other plays, "The Sweeps of Ninety-eight," "The Tragedy of Pompey the Great," and those dramas that are particularly of England and phases of English life—"The Camden Wonder," "Mrs. Harrison," and his greatest play, "The Tragedy of Nan." In this work one feels the breadth of Masefield's genius, the power that later made itself felt in "Gallipoli," and "The Old Front Line," the poetic fervor that gave us, "Dauber," "The Everlasting Mercy," and "The Widow in Bye Street." Mr. Montrose Moses writes that there is in Masefield a "touch of Shropshire, of Devonshire, of Hertfordshire," and it follows that whenever he is closest to the soil of this England—so particularly his own—he is at his best.

The second volume of Arthur Wing Pinero's "Social Plays" contains "The Gay Lord Quex," (recently revived in New York with a notable cast), The character of "Iris," may be compared as the way of least resistance in life, which is adjudged the playwright's masterpiece. While "The Gay Lord Quex" is interesting as a technical achievement in play-making, which no student of dramatic art can ignore, it has small literary value. "Iris" presents the gradual disintegration of a woman of cultured tastes and luxurious habits, who has not sufficient intellectual fibre to face and conquer poverty. She is a slave to her esthetic sensibilities—not evil, rather the contrary. Mr. Hamilton sums up her character thus: "She is never vulgar; she ends in the gutter, but remains to the end the kind of woman one would like to dine with." The prefaces to the plays are to a high degree informative and exceedingly well written.

A unique volume of dramatic criticism, "European Theories of the Drama,"² places enthusiastic readers of the literature of plays and play-making still more deeply in the debt of Mr. Barrett Clark, to whose industry we owe many translations and much of our knowledge of Continental drama. It is—among the critical offerings—the most important dramatic publication of the year—one that cannot fail to prove fascinating as well as extremely useful, inasmuch as it is an anthology of theory and criticism of the drama from the time of Aristotle to the present day. To a series of selected texts Mr. Clark has added painstaking and invaluable commentary, bibliography and biography. The whole graphically pictures the stream of the drama through the civilizations of the world from the high mark of Greek culture onward, and offers much that is valuable to the poet concerning dramatic poetry. Mr. Clark subscribes to general opinion in conceding that there is little criticism to be found in this country. Admitting that Irving, Poe, Lowell, and many others more recently with us, wrote much that was excellent, he does not find that their comment shaped the native drama, or had effect thereon.

²The Social Plays of Arthur Wing Pinero. Edited by Clayton Hamilton. Dutton. 423 pp. \$2.

³European Theories of the Drama. By Barrett Clark. Stewart, Kidd. 503 pp. \$3.

WILLIAM VILLETTE AND HELEN HATES IN THE NEW PLAY, "DEAR BRUTUS"

the land of faery, give the Commonplace bright glittering fragile wings that sweep through the chambers of the mind leaving behind a trail of ethereal star-dust, and you have a Barrie play. A second volume in uniform edition, "Half Hours," contains "Pantaloone," "The Twelve-Pound Look," "Rosalind," and "The Will;" and a third brings together "What Every Woman Knows," "Quality Street," and "The Admirable Crichton."

The newest Barrie play, "Dear Brutus," which has been given a careful production and a particularly fine cast, is now playing at the Empire Theater in New York. It takes its name from Cassius's speech in the second scene of the first act of "Julius Caesar:"

"Men at some time are masters of their fates:
The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars,
But in ourselves, that we are underlings."

The play begins with speculations concerning a mysterious "wood" which appears every Midsummer Eve in a certain part of England. Everyone who goes into this wood has a "second chance" at life and love and ambition. The possibilities of this theme, under Barrie's whimsical treatment, are apparent to every one who knows his method and previous plays. This play will be published later.

With the possible exception of John Masefield's last collection of verse, which includes that memorable poem "August, 1914," one gains a much more satisfying conception of Masefield, the man, and of his life experiences from reading his plays than from his poems. Nine plays are now published in a single volume.¹ They include,

¹Collected Plays of John Masefield. Macmillan, 640 pp. \$2.75.

POETRY OF THE HOUR

JOHN MASEFIELD states in the preface to his collected poems¹ that the first months of the war marked the end of his verse-writing. "Perhaps," he says, "when the war is over and the mess of war is cleaned up and the world is at some sort of peace, there may be leisure and feeling for verse-making." And it is his hope that when that time comes he may see more and be able to tell more, and know in fuller measure what the poets of his race have known of the world of beauty, and the people existing forever over England, the images of what England and the English may become, or spiritually are. He says: "Chaucer and Shakespeare, some lines of Gray, of Keats, of Wordsworth, and of William Morris, the depth, force and tenderness of the English mind, are inspiration enough, and school enough and star enough to urge and guide in any night of the soul, however wayless from our blindness or black from our passions and our follies." This new volume contains "Salt-Water Ballads," "Miscellaneous Poems," "The Everlasting Mercy," "The Widow in Bye Street," "Dauber," "The Daffodil Fields," "Sonnets and Other Poems" (including "August, 1914"), "Lollington Downs and Other Poems," and "Rosas."

The war has had quite the opposite effect upon one of the younger English poets, Siegfried Sassoon. If one were venturing to name three English poets who saw the war as soldiers, and whose work will be judged in the future as incomparably the most vivid poetry that has come out of the ruck of war, one would name Gilbert Frankau, Robert Nichols, and Siegfried Sassoon. The introduction to "Counter Attack,"² Mr. Sassoon's second book, is by Mr. Nichols. He says of the poet's personal appearance: "He is tall, big-boned, loosely built. He is clean-shaven, pale, or with a flush; has a heavy jaw, wide mouth with the upper lip slightly protruding and the curve of it very pronounced, like that of a shriveled leaf. His nose is aquiline, the nostrils being wide and heavily arched. This characteristic and the fullness, depth and heat of his dark eyes give him the air of a sullen falcon." Before the war Sassoon loved hunting; it was a passion with him, and he wrote of the chase, of English sport and the beauty of the English fields. His early books were privately printed. In 1917, a collection of poems, "The Old Huntsman," won deep appreciation, particularly from the soldiers in France. In "Counter-Attack," the

SIEGFRIED SASSOON ~

English sportsman has disappeared; there emerges the indignant choking expression of one who feels himself and the world outraged by the crime of war. He has seen the war as Barbusse saw it. "Counter-Attack" was frankly written to help end war forever, but like many another man who hated war, Sassoon went on fighting in France and in Palestine. These poems should be read by everyone interested in peace. They are grim-visaged, merciless in their indictment, bitterness in quintessence, horror recoiling upon itself, yet never quite losing beauty from the images and tumbling words, or human compassion and love from the arraignment of the sinful.

A quotation from the Book of Job is used as the preface of the "Hymn Of Free Peoples Triumphant," by Hermann Hagedorn. The poem is one of praise and thanksgiving for deliverance from the "mad-eyed" terror of war, a work of inspiration that cries with Job: "I would seek unto God, and unto God would I commit my cause." There is in it the beauty of great art and the fervor of sorrow that is in the process of becoming joy:

"Under the beak of black hours ravenous,
God of free peoples, Thou hast been true to us,
Friend of the free, when man's weak barriers fall.
Thou art a wall, great Lord, Thou art a wall.

* * * * *

"Conqueror, we come,
Devouring fire, invincible light,
Builder of dawn on the ruins of night,
Builder with music of the crystal halls of day,
God, we are Thine, command and we obey."

In the enlarged edition of her anthology, "Christ in the Poetry of To-day,"³ Mrs. Martha Foote Crow presents a new biography of Jesus, each chapter of which is a poem written by a different author, the whole forming a lyrical expression of the reaction of our minds at the present time to the ideals exemplified in the Man Jesus. Mrs. Crow states that before 1910 she could find very few poems about Jesus, but that since that time they have been written in ever-increasing numbers, as if heralding a belief expressed in one of the Rev. Josiah Strong's treatises, that "the return of Christ is now taking place." A section, "Christ and the World War," has been added to the original volume, and a fine frontispiece, reproduced from the painting by Munkacsy of "Christ Before Pilate." The new poems are from well-known poets. There is a lyric on the selflessness of Christ by Mrs. Crow; others by the late Joyce Kilmer, by Hermann Hagedorn, Daniel Henderson, Amelia Josephine Burr, and Isabel Fiske Conant. Aside from its value as poetry, this volume will be sincerely appreciated for its "lifting up" of the Christ idea. It is a sign of the world's newly found religious mood, a prophecy that righteousness will be the foundation of the new world now in the making.

¹ Collected Poems of John Masefield. Macmillan 521 pp., \$2.75.

² "Counter-Attack." By Siegfried Sassoon. Introduction by Robert Nichols. Dutton. 64 pp. \$1.25.

³ Hymn of Free Peoples Triumphant. By Hermann Hagedorn. Macmillan. 49 pp. 75 cents.

"Christ in the Poetry of To-day." By Martha Foote Crow. Woman's Press (New York). 227 pp. \$2.

FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—BUSINESS AND ECONOMIC SITUATIONS THAT ARE CAUSING MOST CONCERN

THE inanimation that has characterized the financial markets for some time is symptomatic of the uncertain, one might say almost apprehensive, frame of mind of the business leaders of the country. The problems created by the cessation of hostilities have at no time been so thoroughly appreciated from the standpoint of their complexity as at present. It is not the magnitude of these problems that makes for hesitancy (the war has demonstrated our ability to undertake Herculean tasks successfully), but rather the delicate ramifications that lead us onto uncharted seas.

It is by far easier to create a pyramid of inflation than it is to level it without at the same time disturbing some of the foundations. This describes the present situation; yet while it is delicate in the extreme, circumstances are so shaping themselves that there is justification for the conviction that a rift is appearing in the clouds.

Before the nation can be restored to normal peace-time prosperity there are three fundamentals (eliminating from this discussion the vital factor of the settlements made at the peace conference) that must be satisfactorily adjusted. These are, in the order of their importance, the readjustment of labor and commodities; the banking and mechanical facilities for conducting our overseas commerce; and finally the railroad transportation problem at home.

Labor and commodities occupy the first rank because of the extraordinary degree to which they have been inflated. For example, in the cost of a ton of steel from the ore in the mine to the finished product, the labor item probably represents 75 per cent. Since the early months of 1916 the wage cost per ton of steel at the mills for the integrated and low-cost producers has increased from \$17 to about \$28. This, however, has not kept pace in full with wage increases because of improved methods of production and the fact of capacity output, which in itself has had a tendency to reduce costs. In the same period wages at the steel

mills have increased from 140 to 175 per cent. Where great skill is required the increases have been much greater. Common labor has increased from 22 to about 42 cents an hour, or nearly 100 per cent.

As a consequence of this the producer of steel cannot revise his price schedule materially downward until he has the assurance that the manufacturing cost will not be prohibitive, taking into account also large supplies on hand that were produced at the peak costs of the war period. And likewise the consumer of steel, whether interested in the construction of renting properties, factories, or ships, must govern his calculations by considerations altogether different from those that have obtained in the past three or four years of stimulated business and stimulated profits. He must compare the cost of his investment with the probable return on it under conditions that are more representative of normal. In other words, the world is no longer feeding an insatiable war machine; and while Europe will have its reconstruction requirements, some of them imperative, we are nevertheless entering an era where costs will take precedence over promptness in deliveries.

Labor Makes Production Costly

The principal obstacle to rapidly lowered costs is labor, which is confronted on the one side with a smaller amount of work to perform and on the other with an inordinately high scale of living costs. This explains, incidentally, why the steel mills are operating at 60 to 70 per cent of capacity and the copper mines and smelters at from 40 to 50 per cent. From the standpoint of the corporation manager only two alternatives present themselves, viz., voluntarily lower labor costs or curtailed production until a surplus of labor has been created of sufficient size to bring about the correction automatically.

And here is where the situation becomes so difficult. Until living costs are reduced, social tranquillity demands that the wage

scale remain commensurately high. The former is to an extent artificially retarded by the Government's guarantee of prices and its endeavor to stimulate production of certain foodstuffs to meet the great vacuum that exists the world over. But a genuinely favorable symptom is that while the reaction has been slow there is already a perceptible lowering of living costs. The same tendency is finding reflection also in some of the other commodities and basic materials. The probabilities are that a point of resistance will be reached in both materials and labor about mid-way between the high and low points of the war period. The sooner this materializes, the sooner will new life be injected into the industries.

Perils in Price Fluctuations

Reductions in commodity prices do not confine their effects to the labor market. While it is recognized that the greatest possible stimulant of domestic business would be in the form of lower material prices, the other factor to be encountered is that of the tremendous expansion of inventories in the past few years—although the situation is somewhat ameliorated by the fact that the Government will provide for most manufacturers whose output entered directly into the war program. A majority of the large corporations have been sufficiently far-sighted to carry their inventories at pre-war levels. Many others have not. And then there are thousands of small concerns spread out all over the United States to which a collapse in values might mean not only the elimination of all war profits, but bankruptcy as well.

A fairly accurate picture of conditions generally may be obtained in the fact that since the outbreak of the war the inventory account of seventy-five representative industrial corporations is shown by compilation to have increased \$700,000,000, or 85 per cent, whereas the working capital of the same concerns has increased \$850,000,000, or 70 per cent. The ratio of inventories to working capital stands at about 70 per cent, whereas in the early stages of the war it was close to 60 per cent. Expressed in another way, the major portion of the undisturbed profits of the war period are not represented by

cash, government obligations, or bills receivable—but by the highly fluctuating item of inventories.

Demoralization of Foreign Markets

Many of the illusions entertained at the time the armistice was signed have been shattered. One of these pertains to the magnitude of our foreign commerce in the articles of peace. On this score the following figures are valuable, particularly in view of our greatly increased manufacturing capacity, the expansion in the output of finished rolled steel, for instance, having been from 23,000,000 to 39,000,000 tons annually in the last five years:

		Exports	Imports
<i>Perils in Price Fluctuations</i>	1918 (June 30 fiscal year).....	\$5,928,000,000	\$2,946,000,000
	1917 " " " ".....	6,293,000,000	2,659,000,000
	1916 " " " ".....	4,333,000,000	2,197,000,000
	1915 " " " ".....	2,768,000,000	1,674,000,000
	Average	\$4,830,500,000	\$2,369,000,000
	1914 " " " ".....	2,364,000,000	1,893,000,000
	1913 " " " ".....	2,465,000,000	1,813,000,000
	1912 " " " ".....	2,204,000,000	1,563,000,000
	1911 " " " ".....	2,049,000,000	1,527,000,000
	Average	\$2,270,500,000	\$1,721,500,000

Compared with 1914, the 1918 fiscal year exports increased 155 per cent. This gain represents mainly the purchases of our Allies of materials the need for which decreased in large part with the defeat of the Central Empires, and does not include overseas shipments for the use of our own naval and military establishments. Europe bought because of insurmountable necessity and with almost complete disregard of all economic and financial laws. The result is that today she is impoverished and her purchasing power for the next few years will depend largely upon the degree of assistance we render through the extension of credits.

But that does not entirely solve the problem. The foreign exchanges have become so utterly deranged as almost to defy the best banking judgment. Thus far no satisfactory solution has been offered, though it is to be hoped and expected that the peace conference will evolve a plan that will enable this intricate machine again to function properly. One of the best suggestions yet made is for an international bond issue or similar obligation that could be used as a basis of credit between the nations. This, however, could be only a temporary expedient.

While gold is the international medium

of exchange, balances between nations are, in the final analysis, discouraged by the flow of commodities and manufactures. Therefore one of two things must happen—either we must advance Europe the means with which to continue her purchases here, or she will be forced to liquidate as rapidly as possible her debt to us through the single medium now available, namely, the sale to us of the necessities and luxuries which by reason of the tariff and lower costs she can place here cheaper than we can produce them. The most likely course is that the next year or two will witness large emissions here of foreign securities that will compete for a rather limited supply of capital, made so by reason of the next government loan, the unpaid balances on previous loans that are still being carried by the banks or the Federal Reserve institutions, and high income-taxes.

Improvement in the Railroad Outlook

All of which leads us to the very foundation of national economic and financial vigor. This is the railroad structure. The carriers

are the largest single peace-time customers of the mills and factories, and their purchases necessarily cannot be large if they are completely divested of their credit. When the Government took over the railroads they had lived off the final ounce of fat accumulated in the days of profitable business. Hence their present distressed condition—a condition that would mean prostration in every direction if they were returned at once to their private owners. But here is where another hopeful sign is to be seen. The Railroad Director is on record to the effect that relinquishment of control should not occur until the rails are adequately prepared for it. What is more, railroad executives who have been called to Washington for consultation are beginning to note beneath the surface an attitude of sympathy that contrasts most strikingly with that of the past. There seems to be a sincere effort to treat the subject intelligently and constructively. A half-dozen plans are under consideration, from which one should develop that will be satisfactory to all parties.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

STOCK QUOTATIONS EXPLAINED

I am enclosing several clippings from United States and foreign newspapers showing the usual tables of security quotations and would thank you to explain briefly the meaning of the various headings of these clippings.

In the clipping headed "New York Stock Sales," the columns headed "High," "Low" and "Close" record the highest, lowest and closing prices at which actual transactions were made on the New York Stock Exchange for the day in question. The column headed "Net Change" records the differences between the closing prices of the day in question and the closing prices of the previous day. We might add that the actual trading period on the New York Stock Exchange is between the hours of ten o'clock A. M. and three o'clock P. M., except on Saturday, when it is between the hours of ten o'clock A. M. and twelve o'clock noon. Prices on the New York Stock Exchange, moreover, represent dollars per share. To know their full significance, therefore, it is necessary for one to know the par values of the stocks that are quoted. Some issues are made without any par value at all. In the cases of others, par values range all the way from \$1 per share to \$100 a share. Take, for example, some of the issues listed in the enclosed clipping to which we are referring: Alaska Gold Mining and Alaska Juneau stocks quoted, respectively, at $1\frac{3}{4}$ and $1\frac{1}{2}$, have a par value of \$10 per share; American Zinc & Lead, quoted at $13\frac{1}{2}$, has a par value of \$25 per share; Cerro De Pasco Copper, quoted at $31\frac{1}{2}$, has no par value. Most of the other stocks have a par value of \$100 per share.

Quotations in the other two clippings from American newspapers also represent dollars per share. In clipping headed "Local Bid and Asked," the quotations are what are called "Nominal Quotations," which means that they do not represent prices at which actual transactions were made. The column headed "Bid" records the prices which buyers are prepared to pay, and the column headed "Ask" records the prices which sellers are willing to take. These quotations as you will note, are of the same character as those indicated in pounds, shillings and pence in the records of the Brisbane market, shown on still another one of your clippings.

In the market for stocks where the bid and asked prices are recorded, it is not always necessary for buyers to pay all that the sellers ask. Bargaining enters into these transactions, and depending upon the strength of the supply or the demand for the stocks, transactions are made accordingly. For example, take a stock like Buffalo & Susquehanna preferred, quoted in the clippings at 59 bid, 61 asked: It is altogether probable that a buyer under normal conditions would find it possible to bargain with the seller for the stock at an average price of 60. If there was a considerable amount of the stock for sale it might even happen that the buyer would be able to get what he wanted by bidding just a little over 59. That in a rough way is how the market operates. It is possible nowadays for one to buy even a single share of standard stocks, although the unit of transactions on the New York Stock Exchange, where the basic prices are established, is a hundred shares.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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THE PEACE CONFERENCE COMMISSION WHICH FRAMED THE PROPOSED COVENANT OF A LEAGUE OF NATIONS

1, Viscount Chinda, Japan; 2, Baron Makino, Japan; 3, Leon Bourgeois, France; 4, Lord Robert Cecil, Great Britain; 5, Premier Orlando, Italy; 6, M. Kramarz, Czechoslovakia; 7, Premier Venizelos, Greece; 8, Colonel House, United States; 9, M. Dmowski, Poland; 10, M. Vesnitch, Serbia; 11, Gen. Smuts, Great Britain; 12, President Wilson, chairman; 13, M. Diamandi, Rumania; 14, M. Hymans, Belgium; 15, Wellington Koo, China; 16, Senhor Reis, Portugal; 17, Signor Scialoja, Italy; 18, M. Larnaude, France.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 4

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Our Great
Armies Still
in Europe*

Although welcome troop ships are arriving almost every day with young Americans eager to be at home after their part in the World War, it must be remembered that we are still represented abroad by more than a million and a half of our men in army uniform. Many topics are occupying the skilful headline writers and are agitating the minds of those people to whom all public matters appear in a controversial aspect. But it is well to keep in mind the central fact, and to bring the various topics of the day into some relationship to the situation as a whole.

*The Bills
Have to be
Paid*

For example, the United States Treasury is occupied with collecting the largest tax bill ever imposed upon any nation. The mechanism established under Mr. Roper, as the supreme tax-gatherer of all historic time, is to transfer twenty million dollars a day for a year to come from current production to the public purse. The country is about to subscribe to another colossal loan, and the new Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Glass, is doing everything in his power to awaken a spirit of confidence throughout the American business community, while also invoking the spirit of thanksgiving that will express itself anew, in the immediate future, with the actual signing of the peace treaty. These tax and loan operations, which, taken together, involve the absorption from private resources of \$12,000,000,000, are to remind us that the burdens of war do not cease when the guns stop firing. The United States, Great Britain, France, and Italy are still on a war basis. All of these countries are now spending more per month for military purposes than they were in the earlier periods of actual war. After another year the financial burdens ought to show rapid reduction; but immense public debts will remain, and it will

require an appreciable part of the productive energy of the world, for a generation to come, to amortize the accumulated costs of this desperate contest, that has compelled America to intervene in Europe in order to have security at home.

*The
Value of
Organization*

War taxes for a long time to come will warn us of the perils that beset a disorganized world. We have forty-eight States in our Union, not one of which is tempted to encroach upon the territory of one of the others. The only recent controversy of any importance between our States was a legacy of war time, and it has been settled after the lapse of fifty years. West Virginia was held by the North, and was detached from the seceded part of Virginia early in the war period. It remained a separate State, and there subsequently arose the question in what proportion West Virginia ought to share that pre-war indebtedness for which the State in its original extent was justly responsible. The Supreme Court of the United States imposes upon West Virginia a somewhat heavier burden than the people of that State have thought to be equitable, but it will be borne loyally, and there will be no need of threat to put force behind the mandate of the court. A due regard for our institutions, a proper sense of the value of law and order, and a respect for the opinion of forty-seven sister States will all have dictated to West Virginia the one possible course of proceeding. Whether West Virginia is to pay some twelve million dollars, or nothing at all, is a small matter to the quiet and peaceable citizen of that State as compared with the cost of denying the claim and subjecting the issue to the test of force. The citizen of West Virginia knows to-day that what he must pay as a result of this Supreme Court decision is a mere bagatelle in comparison with what he must pay as

a consequence of the *lack* of a supreme court for the settlement of disputes in Europe. If The Hague Tribunal had possessed a mere fraction of the standing and authority of our Supreme Court, the quarrel between Austria and Serbia would not have precipitated a war that will burden every American taxpayer for a generation.

*What Union
has Meant to
America*

The creation of the federal Union, with its working methods for maintaining harmony among the States, was a movement vital to the interests of the common American citizen. This federalizing project that has worked so well for us in the United States was bitterly opposed when under debate previous to its adoption by many public men and politicians who were so-called "leaders" in their respective States. They were fierce in their opposition to the curtailments of State sovereignty that were called for in the draft of the federal Constitution. But the plain people were wiser than these leaders. They had been through a good many years of war, and they wanted peace and security. They knew that a strong Union would keep the peace as among the big States and little States of the association itself, while also providing a wise plan for the bringing in at later times, in groups or singly, of the new States that were to grow up with the settling of the Western lands. They knew, furthermore, that the Union, while affording the best means of keeping peace here in America, was the only agency through which we could deal with Europe and the rest of the world.

*Security the
Great
Demand*

Obviously, then, in the war-stricken periods of modern history, the common man has wanted security above all other public blessings, and has wished to have those political powers which we call "sovereignty" so distributed as to contribute most to the freedom and safety which were the supreme desideratum. The people themselves were the final authority; and if they took some power away from the States and centered it in a federal government, they were not losing anything of their own, but were merely improving the agencies through which popular government could secure the objects that it sought. The ordinary citizen was exercising much of his actual power of self-government through the authority that he conferred upon his town, village, city, or county. He chose to give authority to his State government to keep the

local sub-divisions operating peaceably within their jurisdictions under general rules. He found it beneficial to give control of foreign affairs to a higher federal government. And since all these agencies were his own—set up for purposes of the general security and well-being—the plain citizen was giving up nothing of his inherent political power, but was exercising it all for his own best interests.

*An Example
to be
Followed*

In creating this permanent association of States for harmony and security, we were providing the world with an example that in some measure it was bound to imitate sooner or later. The causes and consequences of our Civil War merely illustrated the value and need of the kind of union that Washington, Hamilton, and Madison advocated, and that Marshall, Andrew Jackson, Webster, Clay—and afterwards Lincoln—tried to develop and maintain. There were no questions at issue which could not have been worked out better by peaceable means, with the unwavering acceptance of the Union that had been formed, than by the appeal to force. Ours was a bitter and terrible experience and the lesson has sunk deep. The ordinary citizen knows the value of the Union for his best welfare, and he makes whatever sacrifices may be called for in the spirit of loyalty. This plain citizen has now made sacrifices beyond calculation; and he is not likely to forget that the only fitting compensation lies in some arrangement to prevent future outbreaks that would involve America.

*The Vision
of
Jefferson*

It ought to be understood that some of the statesmen who had most to do with securing our independence and creating our transcontinental republic believed thoroughly in still larger associations of races, peoples, and nations. Mr. Jefferson's idea of federal union was very large and inclusive. He confidently believed that some form of federal association could sweep over the whole of North and South America, so that we in the Western Hemisphere might be secure against the evils of war that were so destructive in Europe. More than any other individual, Jefferson himself was responsible for the phrasing and announcement of the Monroe Doctrine. He hoped to see associated States living harmoniously throughout North and South America. Canada has formed a group of organized States, and they live in good neighborhood with our federated republic. Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies will in due time come completely under the sway of our system, not through force or conquest, but through the mutual agreements of neighbors by means of which all differences will be amicably settled without war, just as the Supreme Court at Washington settles the differences among our States or between citizens of different commonwealths. South America, furthermore, is making practical as well as theoretical progress in the direction of the substitution of legal and orderly peace-keeping methods for the barbarism of war. Everything beneficent of this kind in the Western Hemisphere has been in harmony with the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine.

*Peace Leagues
and
Democracy*

When we were creating our individual States and limiting their sovereignty by federating them under a central government, our statesmen were feeling the influence of doctrines then very familiar among political philosophers everywhere. The apostles of freedom in Europe whose teachings had resulted in the French Revolution were advocating not only the inherent rights of man and the gospel of democracy, with national self-determination, but they were also proclaiming the Federation of Europe and the abolition of war. The reaction following the Napoleonic Wars defeated the program of the thinkers and philosophers. Autocracy asserted itself, and the democratic wave was checked. The peace league that was to have been built upon the foundation of European democracy could not be consummated. Instead of that we saw

the peace compact of emperors known as the "Holy Alliance." Meanwhile, however, the leaders in North America were not only creating commonwealths, but were federating them into a League of Peace that grew into our American Union.

*Monroe
Doctrine a
Mile-stone*

While in form we observed neutrality when the Latin-American countries were breaking away from Spain, we were quick to recognize their independence, and anxious to construct some kind of Pan-Americanism that should secure peace and harmony in the western world while helping to defend America against the colony-grabbing, empire-building policies of Europe. This larger concept that lay in the minds of our early statesmen must be understood, in order to appreciate the nature and bearing of many of the particular facts of history. It is not at all true that the fathers of the republic regarded American isolation as a policy to control future generations without limit. Under Washington's advice we have gone forward until we have attained a mature strength that the leaders of the early period clearly foresaw. They were confident that a time would come when democracy would also prevail in Europe, and when some form of association of nations would put an end to the European militaristic system. Everything in the spirit of the large-visioned founders of our republic would support the view that, when in the course of time Europe should become democratic and should seek to insure world-peace by forming a peace-keeping association, it would be our privilege to join in this extension of the principle of the Monroe Doctrine to the other continents. The Monroe Doctrine was merely a mile-stone on the road to world-wide democracy and peace.

*A League for
Peace in Ameri-
can Doctrine*

Precisely as our Civil War confirmed the need and value of our federal Union of States, so the World War has illustrated and confirmed the need of a union of nations with a mechanism for preventing war. Furthermore, the effort now to consummate such a league or association of peoples ought not to obscure the fact that through our entire history we have been working toward precisely such a consummation. We have always and everywhere proclaimed the rights of peoples to govern themselves, and the need of settling differences without war. Our Monroe Doctrine was not primarily an assertion of our

leadership in America; it was rather an appeal to the world to recognize, generously and justly, the inherent rights of the peoples of the Western World to create their own institutions without interference. It was never possible to expound the Monroe Doctrine without making it plain that we believed also in the ultimate right of the common people in Germany or Russia or elsewhere to govern themselves, and to be secure against militaristic assault from without.

*Defensive
Attitudes*

Along with the Monroe Doctrine we have been building up a somewhat related though quite distinct theory called "Pan-Americanism." The political dogmas named for Monroe have been fairly well accepted for a good while. Europe, however, in this commercial age has made enormous investments in the Western Hemisphere, and there has grown up in Latin America the doctrine that European naval power should not be invoked to insure private undertakings. The Monroe Doctrine and the Pan-American attitude have a purely protective character. We had expressed the opinion that American territory ought not to be seized by European empire builders. If that opinion now becomes universally accepted, the Monroe Doctrine can hardly be said to be in danger. That we in the United States have any continuing mission of guardianship over South America as against the preferences of the South American people themselves is not a necessary inference from the Monroe Doctrine, although some men have thus interpreted it. We shall, naturally, maintain as much of the defensive attitude as circumstances may require.

*Some
Natural
Groupings*

In the earlier stages of the attempts to organize world peace, as, for example, in The Hague Conferences, when certain forms of general arbitration courts were proposed, we thought it well to reserve the right to have strictly American questions arbitrated in America rather than to have them adjudicated at The Hague. There were ample grounds twenty years ago for the reservation that the United States made in adhering to The Hague Treaties. The conditions are greatly changed; but there is no reason why American questions should in future go to Europe for settlement under a League of Nations project if Americans prefer to settle them on this side of the Atlantic. "Europe" and "America" suggest some groupings to be rec-

ognized in the League plans. The important thing for the world is the substitution of law and justice for the rule of force and the terror of war. The whole history of the United States has been that of an effort to secure peace with justice; and our Supreme Court has given the most conspicuous example. Our Monroe Doctrine has been one phase of an endeavor to secure for the whole Western Hemisphere something of the same kind of rule of right and reason that our own League of States gives us under the federal Constitution. With the growth of popular self-government in the world, we see the corresponding tendency to create international order, and it is a beneficent movement.

*We Must
Uphold Our
Principles*

We went into The Hague Conferences to persuade the nations to improve international rules and methods and to give up military imperialism in favor of a world of law. If our example and our opinions could have prevailed in those conferences, there would have been no World War. We have shown our own disposition toward the world in repeated proposals to sign arbitration treaties; and indeed, we have many such treaties in existence to-day. In the very nature of our political structure we have always stood in the world for the extension of peace and for the creation of tribunals to settle differences between sovereignties. At Paris the nations of Europe are trying to obtain for themselves the every-day security that Americans possess by reason of the political order that prevails throughout North America, and we must be ready to give aid and encouragement.

*Europe Must
Accept
Facts*

It was, however, a very exceptional emergency that compelled the United States to send great armies to fight on European soil. The European nations ought long ago to have suppressed their rivalries and to have surrendered enough of their individual sovereignty to have created a European association which would have protected the Balkan States and curbed such autocracies as Germany, Russia, and Austria have been in recent times. It might be well to allow the Western Hemisphere to proceed with its internal development of order and to create its own tribunals for strictly American questions. It might also be well for the European nations—absorbing the lessons derived from their own experiences—to accept the simple truth that they have to live as contiguous peoples on

their own continent. We should not wish to avoid membership in an association of the nations of the world, but such a league should perhaps recognize the fact that Europe constitutes one group and that America constitutes another. The new map of Europe must be accepted by European nations in good faith, precisely as New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio accept in good faith the map of the United States; and it is to be no ordinary future concern of ours to protect European peoples from one another.

*We Are
Already
Committed*

Repeatedly in these pages we have emphasized the fact that America had already joined a league of nations to enforce world peace, and had accepted the sacrifices of a great war to accomplish a supreme end. Without the formalities of a treaty of alliance or any other form of general agreement, we sent two millions of our men to fight in Europe; advanced money and supplies to our associates on a scale that bewilders the imagination; made common cause in a variety of ways; secured universal assent to certain principles, a number of which were mentioned in what are known as President Wilson's "Fourteen Points." The fourteenth point reads as follows:

A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In one of his speeches, President Wilson, referring to the objects of the war and the settlement that must be made declared that it could all be put in a single sentence, as follows:

What we seek is the reign of law based upon the consent of the governed, and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind.

President Wilson's generalized statements have been of great value, because they have been made familiar to the intelligent people of every nation in Europe, and have been accepted almost universally by the public (as distinguished from the diplomats and political leaders). These principles are those for which America has always stood. Their acceptance was implied by the European Allies when they asked us to send great armies to Europe. What we have already done, therefore, has been to exemplify in the fullest measure all the doctrines and principles of a League of Nations. The sufficient answer to

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VETERANS OF THE WORLD WAR FROM THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, PARADING IN WASHINGTON

(This celebration at the nation's capital is being repeated in countless cities throughout the land, as a tribute to local units before their demobilization. In the foreground of the picture may be seen a group of veterans of the Civil War)

those who are now warning us that a league to prevent war may involve us in future wars, is to be found in the hard facts as they stand. It was the *lack* of a league which precipitated the war into which we were drawn. It was to create a league and to establish peace that we went to war. European powers must now, without selfish reservations, live up to their actual or their implied promises made when we went to their assistance on the large scale, turning the tide and enabling them to secure complete victory.

*Organization
Is Already
a Fact*

It was never practicable, after our Revolutionary War, for the States to pull apart. They were living in a world that made it necessary for them to coöperate. Nevertheless, such coöperation was far more efficient with a good kind of Constitution than with an inferior kind. In a general way, the same thing is true of the large association of nations. We are already involved so deeply in the business of maintaining world peace that we cannot possibly withdraw. The world is to-day actually proceeding on an organized basis.

We have made a hundred years of history in the last twenty-four months. We cannot tolerate the modern kind of warfare, with its use of new and deadly methods which tend to embroil the whole planet. We are now inevitably associated with the justice-loving democracies of the earth to check aggressive warfare before it is fairly begun. Those who think otherwise cannot comprehend the altered facts. They have somehow ceased to see things as they are, and are looking inward at their own mental processes. They have lost the power to see simply what it means to have a million and a half of our American boys at this very moment organized as great armies in Europe, a large part of them on German soil, while Europe is in the seething processes of democratic reconstruction. To raise the question now whether or not the United States ought to be associated with the European powers in plans to secure permanent peace is to debate the thing after it has happened. The action that we have already taken goes far beyond any future form of words. Nothing can ever confront us under any draft of a League of Nations that could involve us as deeply in the future as we are at this moment involved in the settlement of world issues.

*Definite
Arrangements
Desirable*

We are, then, beyond escape, associated with the other free nations in the commendable purpose of preventing aggressive and unjust attacks by one nation upon another. Experience and common sense, however, would show us that it is better to have some formal methods for maintaining this unified influence for good, rather than to do without such definite arrangements. It is obvious, furthermore, that no mechanism for preventing war and upholding justice and freedom could possibly be devised without frank and ample discussion. There is no impropriety in analyzing in the most unreserved fashion every paragraph, clause and phrase. Any proposed treaty or agreement providing for the continued efforts of the countries which have already joined their resources in ending a colossal war must be scrutinized and debated. But the general idea must be accepted. Any arrangement whatsoever for compelling Austria to stay her hand when it was lifted against Serbia, would have made it practically impossible for Germany to strike. It is heartbreaking to think what the world might have been spared if the nations had been leagued together five years ago. The

opportunity has now come to readjust the European situation, and thereby to strengthen almost immeasurably the security of both North America and South America. There is nothing that the United States professes to desire for herself and her neighbors that will not be the better safeguarded if world peace is maintained by a League of Nations. What we might seem to contribute to the league would be given back to us in double measure.

*Criticism
Should Be
Unsparring*

For a few days there was an intense agitation, if newspaper headlines are taken into account, over the criticisms of many Republican Senators and a few of their Democratic colleagues, directed against the tentative draft of the so-called "covenant" of the League of Nations as presented in the Peace Conference by President Wilson on February 14. Under the leadership of Senator Lodge, some thirty-five Republican Senators joined in a statement that amounted to a threat that the peace treaty would not be ratified if there was associated with it the league arrangement that had been agreed upon at Paris. The criticism will be valuable, and the threat will be abandoned. Back of any league there must

HON. HENRY C. LODGE, OF MASSACHUSETTS
(Who will be leader of the Republican majority
in the Senate)



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PHILANDER C. KNOX

WILLIAM E. BORAH

MILES POINDEXTER

JAMES A. REED

FOUR SENATORS WHO HAVE BEEN CONSPICUOUS IN OPPOSING OR CRITICIZING THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AS PROJECTED AT PARIS

always be the physical and moral power of nations and peoples. America has shown that her power is already available for the securing of justice and peace. We must not be parties, therefore, to any agreement that would lessen our ability to protect ourselves or to secure our aims and objects. If the draft of the league as published in February is unwise or unsuited to our position in the world, now is the time for the most unsparing discussion. We do not happen to share the apprehension of some of the Republican Senators, but we agree that the League draft might be much improved in various ways.

*Americans
Generally
Favorable*

Americans in general probably hold to the view that the League mechanism can hardly be otherwise than beneficial to peacekeeping nations. The explicit recognition of the Monroe Doctrine that some of the Senators call for may be found less necessary after more careful study. There is a widespread opinion that it would have been better if President Wilson had kept in closer touch with the Senate. If Mr. Lodge, Mr. Knox, Mr. Hitchcock, or some other member or members of the Senate had been in Paris with the American delegates, there would have been some clear advantages. Nevertheless, there are also some advantages in the fact that no question of senatorial courtesy is involved. The Senate is a part of the treaty-making power, and it will have to deal responsibly with the peace treaty and the league project when these great matters are submitted to it.

*A Great
Debate is
Pending*

If there was over-emphasis in some of the attacks, such as those made by Senators Poindexter and Borah, we must remember that this is a large and busy country and that it takes bold methods to bring an important matter under full discussion. The tour of Ex-President Taft with Dr. Lowell of Harvard and Mr. Morgenthau of New York, advocating the League of Nations, was rendered much more useful by reason of the criticisms of Borah, Poindexter, Lodge, and Knox. President Wilson had come home from Paris to spend a very few days at the close of the Congressional session. On landing, he had spoken in Boston; and, on the eve of his sailing again for France, March 5, he had addressed an audience in New York. His appeal was on broad grounds and he did not argue details. Seemingly the vigorous attack of the Republican Senators has been useful at Paris and has helped, rather than hurt, the position of the United States in the Peace Conference. The great debate here in America will in all probability contribute not a little to the perfecting of arrangements at Paris.

*Germany
to be
Disarmed*

The best hope for peace, after all, is to be found, not in the verbal forms of the League of Nations, but in the actual settlement of European problems including the abolition of what we may term the internal militaristic system. France must be relieved of the henceforth intolerable burden of immense standing armies for defense; and the only way to accomplish

*Fixing Other
Peace
Conditions*

It is further decided that Berlin will lose political control over the German provinces west of the Rhine, at least for some time to come. France, Belgium, Holland, and Denmark are entitled to permanent relief from the overshadowing danger of a militant Germany; and it would be a very illogical peace treaty that should fail to deprive Germany of the power to attack or to bully her neighbors. The peace treaty, as we have explained in previous numbers of the REVIEW, had in all its parts been in steady process of development at the hands of a series of committees for many weeks past; and by the middle of March it was approaching the stage which would permit the presence of the German delegates at Versailles. Unquestionably the military and territorial conditions as determined by the victorious Allies will have to be accepted without much parley. The Germans will probably make more urgent appeal on the question of the amount of money to be paid for reparation. It was reported last month that the total bill would probably be something like \$35,000,000,000. It is not, of course, a question of abstract right or justice, but of what can be done under the conditions. The idea of collecting anything for war expenditures seems to have been given up; but Germany will have to pay for damages in Belgium and France, for shipping sunk, and so on. With normal business conditions restored, it ought to be possible for Germany to pay off her war obligations within a period of not more than twenty-five years. This is upon the assumption that after a reasonable period there will be relative industrial and economic freedom throughout the world, so that Germany may have an opportunity to earn the money which she must have if she is to meet her bills.

*Regulation
of the
New States*

The newer nations that are arising from the break-up of European Empires are indebted for their new liberties to the victory that was expressed in the armistice of November 11; and in like manner their future welfare requires freedom from militarism and membership in a League of Nations of some kind. There should be no delicacy, therefore, at Paris about subjecting them to reasonable conditions. They should accept boundaries as fixed, in good faith. They should not menace any of their neighbors through use of force. They should not fortify their frontiers. There should, in short, exist throughout Europe a

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HON. WILLIAM H. TAFT—FROM A PHOTOGRAPH
TAKEN IN SAN FRANCISCO

(Mr. Taft, who had made a series of addresses across the country advocating a League of Nations, spoke on the platform with President Wilson in the Metropolitan Opera House, New York, March 4 on the eve of Mr. Wilson's return to France)

this is to disarm the enemy promptly and completely. The best news, therefore, of last month was contained in the preliminary account of the military features of the peace treaty. According to the reports, Germany must give up her conscription system and be limited to a volunteer army of 100,000 men, with twelve-year enlistment terms. Germany's fortifications along the frontier must be abolished. There must be an end to the great business of munition-making. In short, the peace treaty will require Germany to abandon entirely the notion of domination in Central Europe, or of leadership through superior military strength. It is evident that Germany must be allowed a small army for the maintenance of civil order for some time to come. The whole world will welcome this wise decision at Paris, as representing the only possible beginning of a general reduction of military burdens. The German people themselves will experience relief, inasmuch as militarism victimized them while it menaced their neighbors. Mr. Simonds in this issue tells our readers of the French alarm in February over Germany's apparent resurgence. But France is now reassured and hopeful.

congeries of democratic states obliged to live peaceably with one another.

*German
Ships and
Food Relief*

There was regrettable delay for a number of weeks in making arrangements by means of which a great deal of idle German ship tonnage could be made available for moving troops and food. Most of the American soldiers now in Europe have been detained for lack of means to bring them home. A large part of our continued burden of taxation is due to the expense of feeding this vast idle army, that cannot be demobilized until landed on our own shores. Perhaps we should have been more peremptory in our demand for the use of German ships. The delay was due in part to arguments over the extent to which food might be taken to Germany on the return trips. The deadlock was broken by the eloquence of Mr. Lloyd George in the Peace Conference on March 8th, when he read a letter from an English General emphasizing the point that his (British) soldiers in German territory were protesting against the sight of women and children in a state of starvation. It had been thought at Paris that if Germany were allowed to pay directly for the food she needed, her ability to pay damages would be reduced by so much. It finally appeared, however, that unless Germany were allowed to buy food, she might be so prostrated by hunger and so paralyzed by the chaos of Bolshevism and of civil disorder that the prospect of her paying anything at all might speedily vanish.

*Europe's
Hope of
Abundance*

Meanwhile, what it has been costing us to postpone the use of the ships would go far toward feeding Germany and would also pay for a good deal of restoration work in Belgium. There had been far too much delay at Paris in finding practical solutions for such questions as transportation and food. After August, the food problems of Europe will be less urgent. This year's crop will be grown for the benefit of civil populations, and not for the abnormal demands of war. Authentic reports indicate that many parts of Germany had reached the stage of serious undernourishment at the beginning of March. It would probably be best for the Allies, as well as for the Germans themselves, to have the peace treaty signed at the earliest possible moment and the dangerous conditions of enforced idleness removed through the supply of cotton, metals and other raw materials to German industrial communities. Large

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MR. HERBERT C. HOOVER, HEAD OF THE INTER-ALLIED FOOD COMMISSION

(Mr. Hoover is at the head of an organization that is now controlling transportation in Austria, and is to be charged with executing the new plans for food relief in Germany. He announces his retirement from public work in the near future)

powers were recently conferred upon Mr. Hoover as head of the Allied Food Commission to distribute supplies in Austria. Italy was induced also to relax certain regulations which had made it difficult to send American relief into Czechoslovakia and the South Slav districts. Mr. Hoover's revised estimates of supply and demand led him to announce last month that wheat prices would remain normally high, and that the United States Government was not likely to incur the estimated loss of a billion dollars—nor indeed any loss at all—by reason of its guarantee of \$2.26 per bushel for the American wheat output of 1919. There will be a desperate effort during the growing season, that begins with the present month of April in the north temperate zone, to raise food enough to relieve the famished world. Europe hopes for abundance, with a good crop year.

*The
"Resurgence"
Illusion*

In February the alert and brilliant writers of leading articles in the French newspapers, who are guided by the controlling statesmanship of the day, were proclaiming (as telegraphed

implements of peace, will far better serve the interests of European civilization than a Germany destroyed by the plague of red socialism and civil strife. The thing most likely to save Germany from this fate will be a supply of food and the materials with which to resume industry. Meanwhile, the great menace to Europe is not German or Austrian militarism, because these are destroyed. The menace lies in the social maladies of Russia, which have a tendency to break through the moral and political quarantines and infect mankind at large. There is some ground for hope that the more normal elements, which probably now control much more than two-thirds of the area and perhaps also more than two-thirds of the population of Russia, may during the course of the present year restore order and sane authority. After such an orgy of violent radicalism, there is always danger of a reaction to the other extreme of military autocracy. Russia's misfortunes are chiefly due to the ignorance of more than nine-tenths of the population. Many millions of these Russian people will have died as a result of the hard experiences of a brief five-year period, culminating in the winter now ending.

Testimony
at
Washington

Senator Overman's Committee at Washington, which has been investigating the influence of Bolshevism in America, has taken testimony of very wide range. One of the most important witnesses has been Ambassador David R. Francis, who has recently returned to America after experiences in Russia and Siberia that have illustrated his strong and sterling qualities as a typical American and a man of force and courage. Mr. Raymond Robins has had much experience in Russia, including acquaintance with the Bolshevik leaders; and he is one of the witnesses who hold to the view that the course of things in Russia might have been changed, and that the Brest-Litovsk Treaty between Germany and the Bolshevik Government might have been obviated, if the Allies had taken good advice and supported Russia more promptly and cordially. There is so much conflict of opinion and testimony regarding the course of affairs in Russia that any of us may think it permissible to say that we hold judgment in suspense. It was well known to the military and civil leaders of the Allies last September that a terrible famine must overtake large parts of Russia before another summer. There was no way to send relief, and it was

HON. DAVID R. FRANCIS, AMBASSADOR TO RUSSIA

(Mr. Francis had left Petrograd early last year, and had spent a considerable period in northern Russia and Siberia before returning to the United States. He testified last month before a Senate committee on conditions in Russia)

to America and to the ends of the earth) the "amazing resurgence of Germany." It looked, indeed, as if Germany, having been quite at the mercy of the victors in November, had been making a swift recovery and was assuming an attitude that might mean trouble again in the near future. The convention that met at Weimar had been surprisingly unanimous in its support of Ebert, and in its immediate acceptance of the provisional constitution; and the inciters of revolutionary disorder had seemed to be entirely suppressed. But disorder broke out again all over Germany, and the French press in due time recovered its poise. The "resurgence" was illusory. There is much more danger that Germany will go completely to pieces in the social and economic reactions following her defeat, than that she will recover strength and offer combat to her recent foes.

The
Russian
Menace

The German people have had enough of war, and Europe has had enough already of Bolshevism. A well-ordered Germany, with the weapons of war beaten into plowshares and

thought best to allow the Germans to bear the odium for a situation they had produced. It is a sad and awful story, and in due time we shall understand it in more detail.

*End of the
Sixty-Fifth
Congress*

At the end of February and in the opening days of March there was extraordinary excitement in Government circles at Washington. The Democratic Congress was to expire at noon of Tuesday, the 4th. A number of the great appropriation bills, which were to provide funds for the carrying on of Government departments during the year beginning July 1st, were piled up as unfinished business in the Senate, some of them still in the hands of committees. The Democrats hoped that business could be sufficiently cleared away so that there would be no need of the convening of the new Congress before the regular date which falls on the first day of next December. President Wilson had calmly announced that he was going to sail for France on Wednesday, the 5th, remaining there until the Peace Conference had finished its work, and that he would not call an extra session until he came back. The Republicans insisted that more time was necessary for the proper consideration of measures appropriating a number of billions of dollars, and carrying a great deal of vital legislation as "riders," and they loudly demanded an immediate extra session. The progress of fiscal measures, moreover, was delayed by debates in the Senate upon the League of Nations, the railroad situation, and other matters of great moment.

*The
President
on the Scene*

President Wilson had landed at Boston on February 24th. He had spoken there in defense of the League of Nations under the auspices of the Governor of Massachusetts and the Mayor of the city. He had then hastened to Washington and had entertained the members of the Committees on Foreign Affairs of both Houses as his guests, so that he might answer their questions about the League of Nations project. He had sent a request from Paris to Congress to await his coming before debating the League; but the remaining days of the session were so few that several of the senators made their speeches before Mr. Wilson's arrival. His return, instead of expediting the passage of the appropriation bills, seemed to have the opposite effect. On the final Monday and Tuesday Senators Sherman, of Illinois, and La Follette, of Wisconsin, took the responsibility for a "filibuster"

PRESIDENT AND MRS. WILSON LANDING AT
BOSTON, FEBRUARY 24

which prevented the passage even of the two or three measures which had been slated for adoption by common consent. Perhaps never before in the history of the country has there been so conspicuous a failure to pass appropriation bills. There had been serious question for a time about the passage of the Tax Bill; but, as we explained last month, it had finally been adopted.

*Measures
That
Failed*

Among the appropriation bills which failed were those for the Army and Navy and District of Columbia, the General Deficiency Bill, the Sundry Civil, the Agricultural, the Indian, and the special Soldier Settlement measure. There was a Public Buildings measure that failed; and the Water Power and Coal and Oil Land Leasing bills and the Immigration bill all went over. With the President's arrival in France on March 13th, the news from Paris encouraged the belief that the work of the Conference is to be speeded up and the most essential matters agreed upon in the immediate future. It is believed that President Wilson will call a special session of the new Congress to meet in May, even though he may not return to Washington until the first week of June. If the President should modify his intentions as expressed in the first days of March and should fix the date for the special session early in May the country would be gratified. There is such a

vast amount of pending legislative business that the public interest will be better served if Congress can be set at work promptly.

*Republicans
Now
Responsible*

The new House will be under Republican control, with the Hon. Frederick Gillett, of Massachusetts, as speaker. Mr. Gillett has had a long and creditable record at Washington and his choice is approved very generally. Mr. James R. Mann, of Illinois, did not desire to continue as Republican floor leader, and his place is to be taken by Mr. Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming. Under the present rules of the House, Mr. Mondell's position carries more actual power than Mr. Gillett's. Some of the newspapers have made haste in advance to praise or to disparage the new leaders, judging them by the application of arbitrary standards to their past records. The country, however, will give each of them the benefit of the doubt, and will wait to see if their statesmanship is of a quality to match the stupendous issues that are before us. These are no times for selfish intrigues or petty methods in public business. To be explicit, the new leaders in both House and Senate are likely to be judged quite promptly by the way in which they deal with the unfinished measures that would have been placed on the statute books but for Republican obstruction. It may be true that the recent Democratic leaders did not manage their legislative program with efficiency. Nevertheless, a majority has responsibilities; and the delays due to minority obstruction can only be justified by a very broad and wise course of action when the minority, as now, has itself become the majority.

*Prompt
Action
Needed*

Thus the bill providing for the improvement and settlement of lands for the benefit of returning soldiers ought to be made a law in the opening days of the new session. Provisions for the leasing of oil and coal lands ought to be delayed no longer. It is obvious that the great appropriation bills will have to be passed in order that the public services may not be embarrassed. It may be found advantageous to subdivide some of the pending bills so that general legislation may be dealt with on its merits, and not swept through as appended to appropriation bills. The railroad appropriation of \$750,000,000 went through the House as a distinct matter, while in the Senate it was consolidated with a general deficiency bill carrying a total of \$842,000,000.

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HON. FRANK W. MONDELL, OF WYOMING
(Who will be floor leader of the Republican majority)

It ought to have remained a separate measure and passed by unanimous consent. The Navy bill, totalling in round figures \$825,000,000, included a new and important program of construction looking several years ahead, and it conferred power upon the President to suspend the building of some of the big ships at his discretion. It might be wiser to divide the Navy bill, passing appropriations as part of the annual budget, while dealing separately with naval policy and construction plans.

*Historic Deeds
of the
"Sixty-fifth"*

The Sixty-fifth Congress, which on the 4th of March, in newspaper parlance, "passed into history," did not make its exit in the midst of plaudits and acclaim. The Democratic journals have not been at much pains to single out the leaders of the recent Congress for special tributes. Nevertheless, this body will be honorably associated on the scrolls of fame with the two-year period that must claim for its records the largest space of any like period in all our national annals. This was the Congress that began its active work with a declaration of war against Germany. Under its authority the peaceful, unprepared American nation, in a brief period of months, became intensively militarized. This late Congress ordained the raising and training of great armies. It levied war taxes to the

extent of ten billion dollars. It authorized the Executive to borrow money to the extent of twenty-two billions. It commandeered the basic industries, and it provided for the making of war material on an unprecedented scale. It recognized the world-danger caused by Germany's submarine campaign against ocean traffic, and it granted nearly three billion dollars for the construction of an American merchant marine. It decided upon the war-time control of all the railroads of the country by the Government, and their unified administration. Later, it granted authority to operate the telegraph and telephone systems as an adjunct of the postal administration. It created the American aeronautical industry, which is destined to have profound future consequences.

*The Draft Law
and the
Nation's Morals*

The Selective Draft Law enacted by this recent Congress demonstrated, as nothing had ever done before in all our history, the essential unity of the American people and their capacity for self-government. There existed no military power capable of forcing this measure upon the people. It was accepted in good faith, in every county of every State, because of the high average of popular intelligence, and because of the moral capacity of Americans to lay aside their private interests in the face of a public emergency. No autocracy could ever have developed such colossal military strength in so brief a period. We have completely vindicated the superiority of the democratic system, and autocracy is everywhere doomed. We have also shown the difference between a real democracy based upon intelligence and training for popular government and the wild kind of mob rule that is the denial of democracy, such as prevails where there is ignorance and lack of popular training in self-government, as in Russia and in some other parts of Europe.

*American Life
Changed by
War Taxation*

One of the most profound changes that has come about in American life through the action of the recent Congress consists in the mode of taxation that has been adopted, and that will not be given up, although it may be somewhat modified. Since the Government required unprecedented sums of money, it did not hesitate to take what was most available. It appropriated the excess earnings of war-time industry, and it laid its hand upon

a large percentage of the incomes of wealthy citizens. While thus taxing the profits of capital and the current incomes of the privileged and the wealthy, it did everything possible to stimulate the prosperity of the wage-earning classes. Through its power of control over industry in war-time, the Government fixed new standards of high wages, and accepted in full measure the views and doctrines of the social reformers regarding the conditions under which men and women should live and work. Thus it will be seen that the Sixty-fifth Congress brought about a marked shifting in the proportions of wealth distribution. The new standards, both for taxation and for minimum wage payments, must, to a great extent, have become crystallized in social habit. Thus economic changes are impending

that ought to be guided and controlled by the most thoughtful and intelligent leadership.

*The New
Economic
Situation*

Speaking in a rough way—and regarding rent, interest, dividends and the rewards of management as all going to the economic element which we call Capital—we may think of the total annual wealth production as now divided among three main interests, Capital, Labor, and Government. As a result of the war period, Capital retains relatively less, while Labor and Government each secures a larger percentage. This may involve some

TWO FORMER SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE

(Mr. Champ Clark, who retires from the Speakership after four terms in that position, remains a member of the House. The same is true of the veteran Joseph G. Cannon, who had also been Speaker for eight years and is a member of the new Congress)

transitional inconveniences, but it ought to be beneficial in the long run. Higher wages mean, in actual results, better food, housing, and clothing for the entire nation. In order that there may be profitable employment, however, to furnish the higher wages, there must be fresh supplies of capital to use in the expansion of productive industry. New capital can only be secured as a result of thrift; that is, of saving for investment. The chief advantage of the system—now disappearing—under which Capital had a very high reward, lay in the fact that the capitalist could not waste much of his gains in riotous living, and was practically obliged to use most of his acquisitions as new capital for the promotion of further production. Where the gross income of the nation's joint efforts is more widely diffused, in the form of high average wages, the tendency is to spend it rather than to save a part of it for investment. It is plain to thoughtful people that thrift and economy are virtues which are not yet to be discarded. On the other hand, the ideal of high wages for the sake of decent living standards is also to be supported to the utmost.

*The Share
That Goes to
Government*

When we come to the proportion of current national income that goes to Government through the taxing process, it is extremely important that public expenditure should be both intelligent and thrifty. A moderate expenditure for military and naval development a few years ago would have saved us the terrible burdens of military expenditure that we are now bearing. An intelligent use of public money for bringing under cultivation our waste lands would add to the public wealth and in the end would benefit all elements at the expense of none. The unifying and improvement of means of transit and communication, while promoting the best ends of civilized life, may also aid in the processes of production and distribution and thus repay the pecuniary costs. The financial and industrial system of a great country is a very elaborate and delicate mechanism; and society is in danger when this mechanism is not running smoothly. Government must, therefore, do what it can to lessen the evils and dangers of strikes, and to assist in the distributing of surplus labor and the lubricating of all the wheels of the economic machinery. It is evident that the thing most needed in Europe is the full resumption of normal industry and business.

*Control of the
Railroad
System*

The American railroad system, obviously, is one of the most vital parts of the business structure of the nation. There was a period during which the system suffered as a result of the mismanagement of those who controlled it. Government then tried to regulate it in the public interest; and again the system suffered through clumsy and stupid forms of Government restraint, and through shortsighted and narrow policies. When the war broke out two years ago, the railroad system was found to have been held down to a point where it was not equal even to the normal demands of our commerce. It proved wholly inadequate for the abnormal emergency of war. The Government took control of the system, partly as a method of getting rid of the incubus of regulation at the hands of forty-nine different railroad commissions. War taxation afforded funds with which to buy equipment and operate the roads, while passenger and freight rates were radically increased. But a generous Government also increased the wages of railroad employees to such an extent that it seemed impossible to make the system self-sustaining unless the property of railway bondholders and shareholders was to be confiscated. Half a billion dollars was appropriated to enable the roads to make betterments and meet obligations. This being spent, a further sum of three-quarters of a billion would have been appropriated but for the filibuster in the Senate at the end of the session.

*The Puzzle
Awaiting
Solution*

There are many aspects of the railroad question which are puzzling, and some that are rather alarming. It is plain that the country's economic life as a whole requires a good system of transportation which can be expanded to meet our further natural growth. People who have capital to invest are now afraid of putting money into railroads. They were victimized at one time by the railroad managers, and then almost as badly by the governmental methods of regulation. There is alarm in some quarters lest the Government should hand the roads back to their owners abruptly, with the result of bankruptcy and the collapse of investments. Mr. McAdoo, as Director General of the roads, advocated their retention by the Government for five years while the puzzle of their future was being solved. Mr. Walker D. Hines, who has succeeded Mr. McAdoo, and who is a railroad authority of great repute,

has expressed similar views. The public is open-minded about the future of the railroads, and merely awaits a definite, workable plan. The demand is for good service, and there is willingness to pay a fair price for transportation. President Wilson should encourage Mr. Hines to aid Congress in working out a scheme that would combine the advantages of public oversight and private initiative. Creating great highways is a national function; but carrying passengers and freight is a business undertaking. The Government should create the system and protect the investment; while the business forces of the country should operate the lines on commercial principles.

*Protecting
Private
Property*

It is agreed by nearly all who have any pretense to be heard that the Government should keep control of the roads until an entirely new method of combining public oversight with private operation has been worked out. Any measure of confiscation, under the pretext that railroad stocks had been watered at some time in the Nineteenth Century, would be a permanent blot upon the country's honor. The rights of railway investors are as defensible as are the property rights of landowners. America rejects the fallacy that land ought to be confiscated on the argument that value in private property consists of little else except "unearned increment." There is a sense in which all values are the result of social effort and social order. Nevertheless, we have not given up the institution of private property. What we have always proclaimed in the United States is the equal right of all law-abiding citizens to acquire and hold property without undue obstruction; and we have also deemed it sound public policy to promote the prosperity of the largest number rather than to pursue those Mexican and Russian methods that produced extremes of wealth and poverty.

*"Government
Ownership"
in Politics*

It has been asserted that the question of "government ownership" may become the leading issue in the presidential campaign of next year. Those who take this view assume that the Republicans, as a party, will favor the prompt return of the railroads and the wire services to their owners for non-governmental operation. It is also assumed that the Republicans will not support the idea of the operation of a vast mercantile marine as a governmental function. It is not clear,

Apr.—2

NEW CHAIRMAN OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

(Mr. Cummings has taken the field with great vigor in support of President Wilson and in criticism of Republican leaders who now come into control of the Senate and House at Washington)

on the other hand, that there is any natural cleavage between Republicans and Democrats on questions of this kind. Still less safely can it be assumed that "Capital" is in the Republican camp, and "Labor" in the Democratic. Public opinion at the present time does not show these lines of cleavage. It remains to be seen to what extent political exigencies may tempt party leaders or managers to adopt one side or the other of these business issues. Thoughtful citizens will prefer a very careful study of the problems of railroad management, shipping, and the wire services, purely on their merits as questions of practical policy, rather than to have these things made bones of contention in a political campaign.

*Looking to
Next Year's
Campaign*

There will be constant temptation, in the extra session of the new Congress as well as in the regular session that begins with the first of December, to consider party advantage. Everybody senses the approach of another trial of strength in a presidential campaign, and this is as it ought to be. We must not think that statesmanship in other countries is less subject to partisan pressure than here. There are times when the parliamentary elec-

tions in England involve as much as one of our presidential contests; and at such seasons the British party feeling runs deeper, and party bitterness is much more undiluted than in the United States. We are to choose at the polls on a single day in November of next year the presidential electors in all the States, members of the House of Representatives at Washington from every Congressional district, and thirty-two United States Senators, not to mention governors and members of Legislatures in many of the States. The Presidency is incomparably the most powerful position in the world; and with the disappearance of the Czar and the Teutonic Kaisers, this American office gains in its exceptional aspects of personal authority.

*How to Hurt
Your Party*

So much is at stake, therefore, in a presidential election; that there is every reason for having the political situation seriously in mind. The elections next year will have a critical bearing upon the policies of the country as regards a great number of vital problems. But, if the Republicans in Congress deem it important that their party should prevail at the polls in 1920, they must not try to put party labels upon positions or measures that should be treated broadly rather than in a partisan spirit. The new Republican chairman, Mr. Hays, is always preaching the gospel of patriotism rather than partisanship; and it is quite true that parties can be saved only by rising above mere party considerations. But the theory is easy, and the practice is sometimes hard. Mr. Wilson helped the Democrats lose the elections last fall by making an untimely demand upon the constituencies to put Democrats and no others on guard. His major policies had been so well supported, by Republican Congressmen and by private Republican voters alike, that his party appeal was naturally resented, although it was probably a mere mistake of campaign tactics.

*Better to
Coöperate*

The Republican Congressmen will create good will for the Republican party during the coming two years by working with the Wilson Administration, insofar as they can possibly make such coöperation a good thing for the country. Unfair attacks upon the President will inevitably react in his favor. The huge pending appropriation bills do not represent Democratic extravagance, but represent the cost of national undertakings which Republi-

cans and Democrats alike have supported. Doubtless these bills can be improved in many respects; but changes should not be made for merely partisan reasons. The largest thing that faces us is the Peace Treaty and the withdrawal of our forces from Europe. Republican leaders will do well to be very moderate and careful in their expressions of antagonism to the course of proceedings in the Paris Conference. Upon the whole, the work of the Conference thus far has been encouraging beyond all that was expected.

*The Country
Will Support
Paris*

Mr. Simoñs, in his extended article sent by cable from Paris for this number of the REVIEW, gives an excellent summary of the work thus far accomplished. It all seems to be in the interest of justice, freedom and permanent peace. The people of France are quite as willing to have the United States continue to exercise guardianship in the Western Hemisphere, under the Monroe Doctrine, as the people of America are willing and glad to have France protected by the thorough disarmament of Germany. Careful discussion by all competent citizens, whether in the Senate, in the press, or elsewhere, is timely and proper. But the continued grouping together for defense, and for the keeping of world order, of the nations which have won the victory is the essential thing and it will not be denied. The exact phrasing of the draft of a League of Nations Treaty is a different matter, and doubtless it can be improved in a variety of ways after it has been subjected to minute analysis. The Republicans should discuss the Peace Conference responsibly, and avoid false emphasis. This country will do its share, with the rest, to have a standing combination for peace.

*America to be
Kept Efficient*

There is no prospect that the whole world will settle down to a condition of order and stability within a year or a decade. America is not under suspicion, and will not have to answer to Europe for keeping herself strong and capable. The best help we can give the League of Nations is to join it most cordially while not allowing our military and naval strength to disintegrate. There are Americans who should serve on Committees for the reorganization of Turkey under the auspices of the League of Nations; but no American armies will be needed, since an ample constabulary can be recruited in Armenia and elsewhere which will require

only such training as can be readily given by groups of American, British, and French officers, soon to be replaced by Greeks and Armenians. The new Congress will have to deal with such domestic problems as immigration, and we shall not turn over any of our internal problems to the management of an international league. But there are phases of population movement throughout the world that standing committees of a League of Nations can study to great advantage. We shall not permit a League of Nations to adjust our policies as regards tariffs and trade and commercial shipping; but we shall doubtless be influenced by the future inquiries of League Committees in these fields of commerce and exchange.

"Jumping On" the President Under our political system we take private citizens who are perhaps no better fitted than many others, and we invest them for brief periods with power to represent us in transactions of stupendous importance. Having done this, we invariably grumble and find fault. President Wilson was as roundly abused last month by many of his fellow citizens as if he had committed every offense listed in the criminal code. We might feel disheartened in finding that we had made so unworthy a selection for the Presidency. The more experienced, however, remember that President Taft a few years ago was even more bitterly execrated, while the abuse that was heaped upon President Roosevelt in 1907 and 1908 makes the criticisms of Taft and Wilson seem mild, and compels us to go back to the fierce attacks upon President Cleveland or President McKinley for anything half as severe. We are then reminded by the students of political history that even Lincoln and Washington were more angrily disparaged by opponents than any of the later Presidents. Jefferson and Madison, Jackson and Van Buren—every president, in fact, was belittled by contemporary critics.

Presidents Usually "Win Out" The obvious fact is that no mortal man is equal to the tasks of the presidency; and the only wonder is that, with almost no exceptions, our Presidents have been so uplifted by the requirements of the great office that they have come through the ordeal with honor rather than in disgrace. No succession of men occupying the chief seat of authority in any country has ever made anything like so good a record as the Presidents of the United

PRESIDENT HARRY PRATT JUDSON, OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

(Dr. Judson has recently returned from Persia, Turkey, and the Paris Conference, and supports the League of Nations, while also recognizing the need of lending American aid to the Allies in working out the problems of Eastern Asia. See his article on page 383)

States. The policies which seem to be directed by a man who holds office are not infrequently the result of irresistible social forces. It was inevitable that Germany should be defeated, and that the world should endeavor to organize itself for avoiding future wars. President Wilson will be given his meed of credit, and in due time he will be neither unduly lauded nor unjustly blamed.

Federal Finance and the People The popular aspects of national finance will have been illustrated this spring as never before in our history. March 15 was the last date for the filing of income-tax returns and the making of the first payment. It was estimated that as many as four million separate returns would be made. Unmarried persons were required to report and to pay the normal tax of six per cent, if they had incomes in excess of the exemption limit of one thousand dollars. The exemption for married persons is two thousand dollars, with additional exemptions of two hundred dollars each for children and dependents. It will be remembered that about twenty-one million people subscribed for the last Liberty Loan. It is hoped by Secretary Glass that there may be an equally

widespread support of the new loan that is to be offered in the brief campaign beginning April 21. It is expected that this campaign will market for the Government five-year notes in a maximum volume of from five billion to seven billion dollars. The greater the number of people who pay direct taxes, the more likely we are to have careful scrutiny of public expenditure. And the greater the number of people who subscribe for Government loans, the stronger the public sentiment in favor of maintaining national solvency and sound public credit.

*Future
Popular
Financing*

We may be approaching a time when the financial problem of the railroads might be solved by the consolidation under government guaranty of a large issue of railroad bonds to replace the mass of outstanding railway securities, and to be taken as safe investments by twenty million citizens. The Soldiers' Insurance and War Risk experiments are further popularizing the financial operations of the national government. All these matters call for the education of every young citizen in the elements of taxation, finance and public expenditure. We are fortunate in having at the head of financial operations such men as Secretary Glass, Commissioner Roper of the Revenue Bureau, Director-General Hines of the Railways, and Col. Lindsley of the

War Risk Bureau. These immense agencies are all conducted with scrupulous integrity and with full regard for the interests alike of the government and the public.

*Dr. Farrand
and the
Red Cross*

The humanitarian work of the American Red Cross Society, which was of no slight importance in the years before the recent war period, is to be continued on a greatly expanded scale in the immediate future. Red Cross activities during the War were under the direction of a special War Council appointed by the President, of which Mr. Henry P. Davison was Chairman. The permanent Central Committee of the Red Cross had for some years been under the Chairmanship of Hon.* William Howard Taft. The War Council, appointed in May, 1917, retired from office on the first day of March; and the control of the Red Cross now goes back to the Central Committee as in times of peace. As head of this Central Committee, Dr. Livingston Farrand now takes the place formerly held by Mr. Taft. Dr. Farrand's aims for the peace-time work of the Red Cross are set forth in an article written by him for this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS—this being his first article written since assuming his new functions. During the war period, Dr. Farrand had been in France as Director of

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DR. LIVINGSTON FARRAND, OF COLORADO, NEW HEAD
OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

the important work for the relief of tuberculosis carried on by the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation.

*The
Problems of
Living*

Dr. Farrand is a psychologist and medical authority of international fame. He has been president of the University of Colorado for the past five years. Previously, he was professor of anthropology at Columbia University, New York. He has long been prominent in public health work, and especially active in the study of the tuberculosis problem. Under his leadership it is hoped that the large popular membership of the American Red Cross may be maintained; and that this agency, of which the President of the United States is the honorary head, may carry on an incessant campaign for public health and social welfare with a more systematic organization than ever before. Dr. Farrand sailed for Europe as his article for the REVIEW was written last month, and he will be a leader in the convention of all the Red Cross Societies of the world at Geneva, to be held soon. Child welfare, public health, and "the fundamental problems of living" are to be the main features of Dr. Farrand's program for the Red Cross.

HON. DANIEL C. ROPER, OF SOUTH CAROLINA, COM-
MISSIONER OF INTERNAL REVENUE

*For the
Better
Country!*

As we entered the fifth month of the transition period following the Armistice of November 11th, there was everywhere a quickened eagerness to have the war technically ended and to turn full energy to the problems of peace. Gradually the new map of Europe was emerging and the war settlements were taking shape. Social and industrial problems were absorbing the attention of England, with coal mines and railroads likely to be nationalized at the demand of labor. In our own country, the great problems of railroad control, immigration, and readjustments of labor to peace conditions, remain to be met in the near future. There is need, above all else, of public spirit, unselfishness, and generous desire to see that the benefits of education and of high living standards are widely diffused. An article in this number of the REVIEW by Professor Haynes on negro labor and conditions contains much wisdom that could be applied to other elements of the population. A recent conference of Southern churches held at Atlanta expressed the present mission of the religious bodies towards American life with a clearness of vision that could not well be improved. May such sentiments be translated into practical deeds!

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From February 15 to March 15, 1919)

THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT PARIS

February 16.—A renewal of the armistice is signed at Treves, the German commission accepting revised conditions under protest.

February 18.—The Italian delegation declines to accept the Yugoslav proposal for arbitrating rival claims to the Dalmatian coast.

March 1.—Marshal Foch presents to the Supreme Council the military terms recommended for incorporation in the peace treaty; they would reduce the German Army to 200,000 men, restrict manufacture of military supplies, and limit the use of airplanes.

March 3.—A Paris news agency declares that \$120,000,000,000 has been fixed by the Committee on Reparation as the amount which enemy countries ought to pay to the Allies.

March 7.—It is reported that the American delegation has informed the Allies that the reparation demands of the United States will be covered by the moneys already collected by the Alien Property Custodian (\$750,000,000).

March 10.—The Supreme War Council agrees upon the military terms of German disarmament—reported to limit the army to 100,000, with a twelve-year enlistment to prevent intensive training of large numbers.

March 11.—At a dinner in honor of the American peace delegation, Secretary Lansing speaks in appreciation of France's suffering and of inherent American friendship; he gives warning that too harsh treatment of Germany economically will result in the spread of Bolshevism and anarchy.

March 14.—With the arrival of President Wilson, after an absence of a month, the Peace Conference begins consideration of recommendations by various committees.

March 15.—President Wilson authorizes the statement that there has been no change in the plan to include a League of Nations in the peace treaty.

The French Foreign Minister, Stephen Pichon, suggests that the peace treaty state the principles of a League of Nations, leaving the details for later consideration.

Delegates at Brussels reach an agreement on the problem of feeding Germany until the harvest; 370,000 tons of foodstuffs are to be sent monthly in exchange for the use of German ships of approximately 3,500,000 tonnage.

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

February 18.—The House passes the Army Appropriation bill (\$1,170,000), limiting enlistment to one year, eliminating the committee's proposal of a temporary army of 500,000, and providing for one of 175,000.

February 19.—In the Senate, Mr. Poindexter (Rep., Wash.) severely criticizes the proposed constitution of the League of Nations, as surrendering high functions of sovereignty.

February 22.—In the Senate, Mr. Reed (Dem., Mo.) denounces the project of a League of Nations as abrogating the Monroe Doctrine, involving the United States in entangling alliances, and surrendering in part our sovereignty.

The House adopts the bill providing \$1,000,000,000 to sustain the Government's guarantee of \$2.26 a bushel for wheat; the Ways and Means Committee reports legislation for the Victory Liberty Loan, a note issue with varying interest rates and exemption provisions to be determined by the Secretary of the Treasury.

February 24.—In the Senate, Mr. Lewis (Dem., Ill.) replies to critics of the proposed League of Nations.

February 26.—In the Senate, Mr. Owen (Dem., Okla.) opposes the plan of a League of Nations and Mr. Cummins (Rep., Iowa) condemns it.

The House passes the Victory Liberty Loan bill, retaining the provision continuing the War Finance Corporation, with new authority to make loans to those exporting domestic products.

February 27.—The Senate adopts the Administration's wheat-guarantee bill.

February 28.—In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.), who will be chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in the next session, declares that the proposed League of Nations will of itself produce controversies and misunderstandings.

March 1.—In the Senate, Mr. Knox (Rep., Pa.), former Secretary of State, assails the covenant of the League of Nations as loosely drawn and as promising future world wars.

March 2.—The Senate, after an all-night session, adopts the Administration measure providing for the Victory Liberty Loan.

March 3.—In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) offers a resolution recommending the rejection of the proposed constitution of the League of Nations, and reads the names of thirty-seven Republican Senators in the next Congress who have signed the resolution.

March 4.—In the Senate, a filibuster conducted principally by Mr. Sherman (Rep., Illinois), defeats appropriations for financing railroads and constructing ships; the annual appropriation bills for the Army and Navy also fail of passage.

The Sixty-fifth Congress comes to an end, with many important legislative measures remaining without final vote.

March 6.—The Senate Committee investigating Bolshevism continues its hearings; Raymond Robins, head of the American Red Cross Mission to Russia, although widely reported as favoring the Bolsheviks, denounces the movement as a menace, economically impossible and morally wrong.

March 8.—The Senate committee investigating Bolshevism hears David R. Francis, recently returned Ambassador to Russia, who declares that slaughter will follow the withdrawal of the Allies.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

February 15.—President Wilson, on his departure from France, requests the members of the Senate and House Committees on Foreign Relations to defer debate on the drafted constitution for the League of Nations until his arrival at Washington.

The President nominates Hugh C. Wallace, of Tacoma, to be American Ambassador to France.

February 17.—The Secretary of War announces that American and Allied troops will be withdrawn from northern Russia when spring weather conditions permit.

February 20.—Congressman-elect Victor L. Berger, of Milwaukee, is sentenced to twenty years imprisonment for violation of the Espionage law and conspiracy to obstruct the war.

February 21.—In the Senate, Mr. Borah (Rep., Idaho) attacks the proposed League of Nations, on the ground that a supernational tribunal cannot take care of this republic as well as its one hundred million people.

February 23.—The Secretary of Commerce, Mr. Redfield, makes public a plan for coöperation by Government, Capital, and Labor—through an Industrial Board—to deal with vital questions facing American industry.

February 24.—President Wilson's ship arrives at Boston; the President delivers an address on the League of Nations, and leaves for Washington.

February 25.—The President signs the Revenue bill, many increased taxes going into effect immediately.

The Pennsylvania Legislature becomes the forty-fifth to ratify the Prohibition Amendment.

February 26.—The President discusses the covenant of the League of Nations, at the White House, with the members of the Senate and House committees on Foreign Relations.

Homer S. Cummings, of Connecticut, is elected chairman of the Democratic National Committee.

February 27.—The President nominates A. Mitchell Palmer, of Pennsylvania, to be Attorney General, succeeding Mr. Gregory, who resigned on March 4 (see page 374).

At a caucus of Republican members of the next (Sixty-sixth) Congress, Mr. Frederick H. Gillett of Massachusetts is chosen Speaker, defeating Mr. Mann of Illinois.

February 28.—The Director General of Railroads announces, after conference with the President, that the railroad systems will not be returned to private management until Congress meets again and has further opportunity to frame a constructive program.

At a caucus of Republican members of the House, the seniority rule in selection of chairmanships is retained after bitter debate.

March 1.—The Porto Rico legislature expresses itself in favor of Statehood or else complete independence.

March 2.—Herbert Hoover is appointed by the President to be director general of American relief among the populations of Europe.

March 3.—Governors of States and mayors of cities meet at the White House, upon invitation of the Secretary of Labor, to discuss vital ques-

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HON. HUGH C. WALLACE, NEW AMERICAN
• AMBASSADOR TO FRANCE

(Mr. Wallace has important business interests in the State of Washington, but has spent a large part of the war period at the national capital. He is known to have acted for the President on several diplomatic missions of a confidential nature. The new Ambassador was born in Missouri, fifty-six years ago, but moved to Tacoma while still a young man. He has been active in Democratic national politics.)

tions affecting business and labor; President Wilson addresses the gathering.

March 4.—President Wilson and ex-President Taft address a large audience in New York, interpreting the plan of a League of Nations.

March 5.—President Wilson sails from New York for a second period of participation in the sessions of the Peace Conference at Paris.

March 6.—The Tariff Commission recommends that Congress provide for additional duties (to be imposed at the discretion of the President) in order to secure fair reciprocal treatment from foreign countries.

March 7.—An address by the chairman of the Republican National Committee, Will H. Hays, at Minneapolis, is understood to fix the keynote of the 1920 campaign on a platform of nationalism rather than "indefinite internationalism."

March 8.—The American War Department states that 1,390,000 American troops came into action against the enemy, out of 2,000,000 sent overseas.

March 10.—The Secretary of the Navy orders suspension of work on six battle cruisers, pending a new study of the best type.

J. S. Plamenatz (former Foreign Minister and ex-president of the Chamber of Deputies) as Premier.

February 19.—Premier Clemenceau of France (chairman of the Peace Conference) is shot by a French anarchist, the bullet penetrating the left shoulder and lung.

February 21.—Kurt Eisner, revolutionist and Independent Socialist Premier of Bavaria, is assassinated by an army officer in Munich; Eisner had recently placed the blame for the war on Germany and Austria.

March 1.—The Danish Cabinet under Premier Zahle resigns upon the failure of its financial program.

March 3.—A general strike in Berlin and continued disorder in Munich add to fear of complete collapse in Germany.

March 7.—The budget committee of the French Chamber of Deputies estimates that the after-war budget will be eighteen million francs and the

revenue thirteen million; an internal loan is declared impossible, and financial aid of the League of Nations is urged.

March 9.—A revised estimate of French war losses places the total dead at 1,600,000, of whom 300,000 were colonials.

March 12.—Korean nationalists issue a declaration of independence and voice their readiness to "fight to the last drop of blood."

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PROMINENT AVIATION OFFICERS RETURNED FROM OVERSEAS

(From left to right are: Capt. Roscoe Fawcett, of Portland, Ore.; Capt. James Norman Hall, of Colfax, Iowa; Major Kenneth P. Littauer, of Washington, D. C.; Lieut-Col. H. E. Hartney, of Washington, D. C.; and Capt. Benjamin P. Harwood, of Billings, Mont. Captain Hall won world-wide fame before being brought down behind the German lines, a prisoner)

March 11.—Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming, is chosen floor leader of the Republican majority in the next House.

March 12.—The Secretary of the Treasury announces that the campaign for the Victory Liberty Loan will run from April 21 to May 10.

March 13.—President Wilson arrives at Brest, and leaves immediately for Paris.

March 14.—The new chairman of the Democratic National Committee, Homer S. Cummings, speaking in New York, declares that Republican opposition to the League of Nations has presented the Democrats with the election of 1920.

March 15.—The Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Daniels, sails from New York to study naval and aviation problems in Europe.

Army demobilization reaches a total of 1,419,386, according to the War Department.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

February 15.—The German Minister of Finance informs the National Assembly that war expenditures were 7,500,000,000 marks in 1914, 23,000,000,000 in 1915, 26,600,000,000 in 1917, 39,500,000,000 in 1918, and 48,800,000,000 in 1919; including treasury bonds and loans to allies, the war cost Germany nearly 161,000,000,000 marks (approximately \$40,000,000,000).

February 17.—A new Montegrin cabinet is formed, with

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THE TYPE OF NEGRO OFFICER DEVELOPED BY THE WAR

(These men all were in action against the Germans, with the 366th Infantry. From left to right, are: Lieut. C. L. Abbott, South Dakota; Capt. Joseph L. Lowe, California; Lieut. A. R. Fisher, Indiana, winner of the Distinguished Service Cross, and Capt. E. White, Arkansas)

March 13.—It is reported from Berlin that more than 200 workmen have been executed, by machine-gun fire, for having been found with arms during recent rioting in the streets.

March 14.—Emile Cottin, who attempted to assassinate Premier Clemenceau, is sentenced to death by a court-martial.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

February 16.—Ukrainian forces resume their attack against the Poles, occupying the oil region near Lemberg, Galicia.

February 23.—Poles and Ukrainians reach an agreement for temporary cessation of hostilities, pending consideration of territorial claims by an inter-Allied commission.

March 12.—American soldiers clash with Japanese soldiers in Tientsin, China.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

February 15.—Official statistics published at Washington show that the battle death rate in the American expeditionary forces was 57 per thousand per year, compared with 33 in the Civil War; the disease death rate was 17 per thousand, compared with 65 in the Civil War.

February 22.—The centenary of the birth of James Russell Lowell is widely observed.

March 1.—It is estimated by the American War Department that the war caused the death of 7,354,000 soldiers, killed in action or died from wounds—62% of the loss being among the Allies.

March 3.—The money cost of the war to belligerents is estimated by the American War Department at \$197,000,000,000 direct expenditures.

March 4.—Harbor traffic at the port of New York is paralyzed by a strike of union marine workers, who refuse to accept the result of arbitration which they had themselves demanded.

March 9.—Shipyard strikers in Seattle vote to return to their jobs under conditions and wages prevailing when the strike was called in January.

OBITUARY

February 16.—Sir Rodolphe Forget, a prominent Canadian banker, 57.

February 17.—Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Premier of Canada 1896-1911, 77. . . . George Edward Drummond, the Canadian iron merchant, 60. . . . Right Rev. Robert A. Gibson, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Virginia, 73.

February 19.—General Baron Yasuama Fukushima, a distinguished Japanese commander, 65.

February 21.—William Patterson Borland, Representative in Congress from Missouri,

SIR WILFRID LAURIER

HILARY A. HERBERT

GEORGE F. EDMUNDS

VETERAN STATESMEN WHO DIED RECENTLY

(Sir Wilfrid Laurier was born in Quebec, in 1841. He was the only French-Canadian ever chosen Premier of the Dominion, an office which he held from 1896 to 1911. Mr. Herbert was born in South Carolina, in 1834. He served as Confederate officer, Member of Congress, and Secretary of the Navy under President Cleveland. Mr. Edmunds was born in Vermont, in 1828. He was a member of the United States Senate at the age of thirty-eight, and remained there for twenty-five years, retiring in 1891. He was a distinguished legal authority, credited with having written the Sherman Anti-Trust Law)

51. . . . Dr. Mary Walker, army surgeon during the Civil War and noted as an advocate of male attire for women, 87.

February 27.—George F. Edmunds, United States Senator from Vermont 1866-1891 and a distinguished legal adviser, 91.

February 28.—Daniel Russell Brown, Governor of Rhode Island 1892-1895, 70. . . . Col. Clark E. Carr, of Illinois, formerly United States Minister to Denmark, 82.

March 2.—Charles E. Van Loan, widely known as a writer of short stories, 42.

March 3.—Harvey Helm, Member of Congress from Kentucky, 53. . . . Thomas Moore Johnson, of Missouri, a distinguished student of philosophy, 67.

March 4.—Henry R. Mallory, prominent in the development of American steamship lines, 70. . . . Walter M. Brackett, of Boston, painter of portraits and game fish, 95.

March 6.—Hilary A. Herbert, Secretary of the Navy in President Cleveland's second Cabinet, 85. . . . William H. Holt, former United States District Judge in Porto Rico, 76.

March 8.—LaMarcus Adna Thompson, inventor of scenic and switchback railways, 71.

March 10.—Mrs. Amelia E. Barr, author of seventy books of fiction, 88. . . . Edward Francis Kearney, president of the Wabash Railroad, 54.

March 12.—Douglas Hamilton Thomas, a prominent Baltimore banker, 72.

March 14.—Gen. Roger A. Pryor, a famous Confederate veteran and later a Justice of the New York Supreme Court, 90.

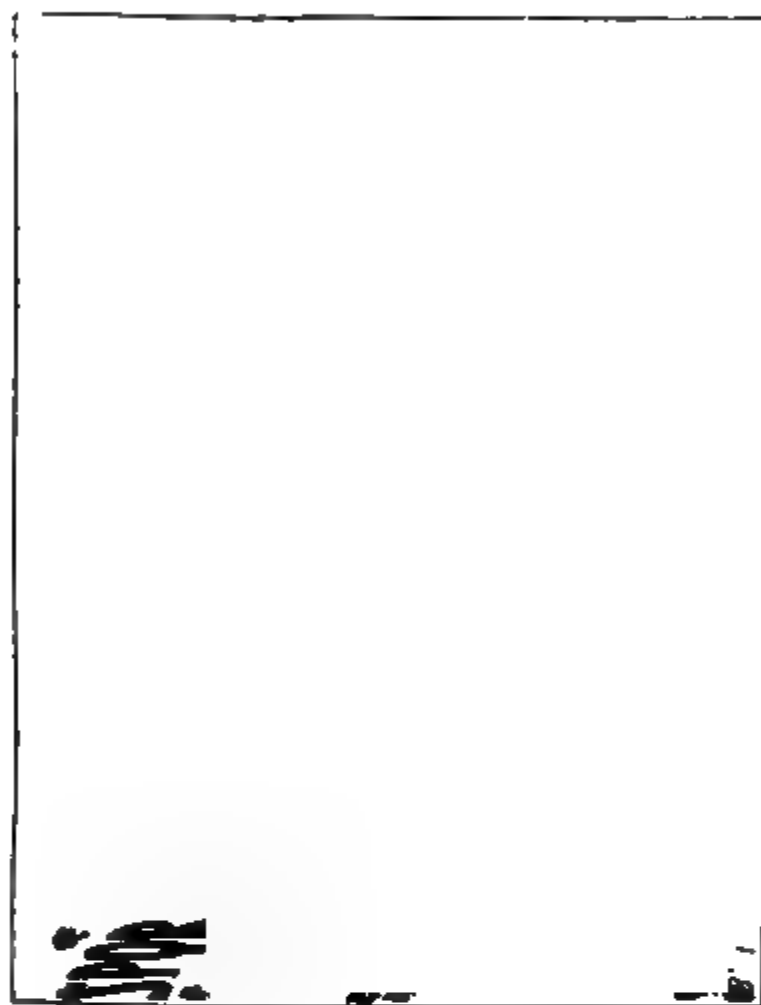
March 15.—Nathan C. Schaeffer, superintendent of public instruction in Pennsylvania and former president of the National Educational Association, 70. . . . Rev. John Rumsey Davies, D.D., president of the Presbyterian Board of Ministerial Relief, 63.

AS EUROPEAN CARTOONISTS SEE PRESIDENT WILSON

THE ANIMAL TAMER

"Gentlemen, the first part of the program is past. The Victor's Spring was a success. Now follows the chief feature of the performance. The bloodthirsty beasts must suck the milk of my pious fancies."

From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich, Switzerland)



ROME'S YOUNGEST EMPEROR

From the *Nieuwe Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

"THE THINKER"—AFTER RODIN'S FAMOUS FIGURE
From *Le Cri de Paris* (Paris)

"DRY" HUMOR
PRESIDENT WILSON: "Our future lies upon the water!"
BRITANNIA: "Alluding, I presume, to your prohibition movement."
From *Punch* (London)

MOTHER HEN (Wilson): "Chuck! Chuck! Children, up to the League of Nations! Father Chantecler (Clemenceau) proclaims peace."
 From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

IT IS in the caricature journals of neutral Europe that one finds the greatest freedom of expression, for the topic of supreme interest is the work of the Peace Conference at Paris. In decisions reached there, all the Allied countries are equally to be commend-

ed or criticized; and the cartoonist's hand is for that reason somewhat restrained.

In the collection of pen-characterizations here reproduced, we find the American President—then and now in Europe—portrayed in various roles. On the first page we

AT THE CONGRESS OF PEACE

WILSON (to Imperialism): "It's no place for you, here. Even though disarmed, you look like militarism."

From *L'Asino* (Rome, Italy)

WILSON DIVIDES THE EUROPEAN CAKE

BELGIUM: "Mr. Wilson, give me a nice piece of Limburg, please."

From *Kotensbraker* (Amsterdam, Holland)

[A Dutch cartoonist's ironical reference to Belgium's demand for revision of the treaty now famous as "a scrap of paper," and reconsideration of the Holland boundary as then fixed by the Powers.]

SYMBOLS OF HOPE

From the *Westminster Gazette* (London)

DR. WILSON: "IT'S HIGH TIME I CAME TO EUROPE"

(In the refuse bin are Rights of Small Nations, Self-Determination, No Annexations, and Permanent Peace)

From *Notenkraaker* (Amsterdam, Holland)

see him as a tamer of ferocious animals, as a proud Roman Emperor, as a deep thinker, and as an international debater. On the second page we find the President "mothering" the small nations of Europe and carv-

THE RELEASE OF THE BUTTERFLY

(But when is the *dove* coming out of the Ark?)

From *John Bull* (London)

ing-out their territorial limitations. And on this third page of the department President Wilson is the chief cook in the Peace Conference kitchen, the dapper salesman, the physician, and the Dove of Peace itself!

THE PEOPLE: "LET'S HOPE THERE ARE NOT TOO MANY COOKS"

From *Il 420* (Florence, Italy)

SELLING HIM A PUP

From the *Passing Show* (London)

TOPICS OF THE HOUR IN CARTOONS

EVERYBODY DIG!

From the Journal (Jersey City, N. J.)

VICTORY LOAN AND INCOME TAX AGAIN TEST OUR PATRIOTISM

"BY GUM, WOODROW, YOU HAVE GROWN!"

(Uncle Sam's enthusiastic greeting.)

From the Citizen (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

**AND HE SAYS THE PRESIDENT IS NEGLECTING
HIS DUTY!**

From the Star (St. Louis, Mo.)

**STILL HOPING!**

From the *Mess-Kit* (Camp Merritt, N. J.)

"WE'RE LICKED!"

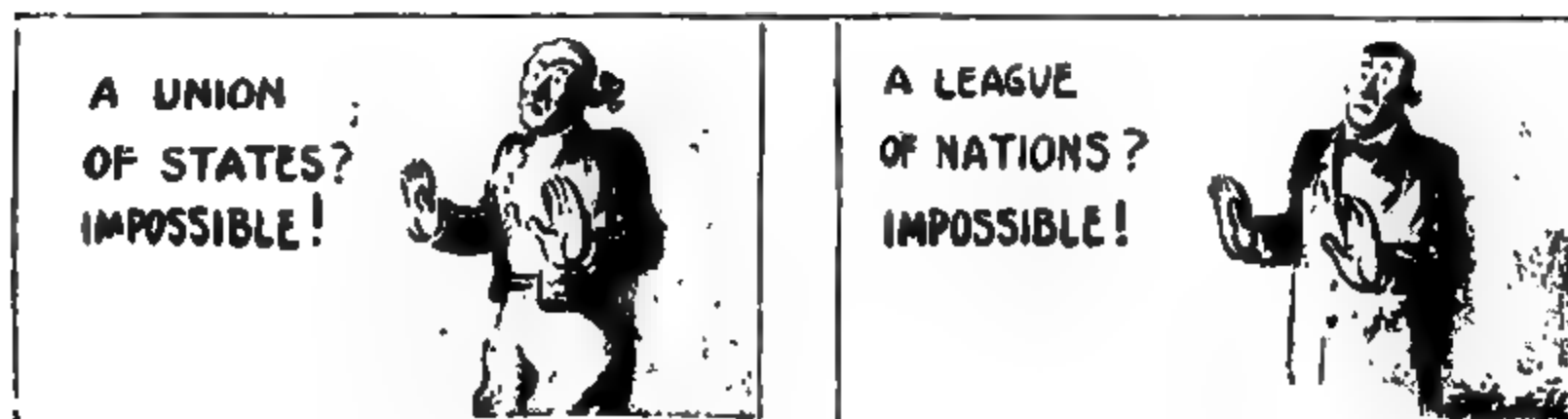
From the *Evening World* (New York)

THE CHILD

From the *Advertiser* (Montgomery, Ala.)

"THE GREAT TIDES OF THE WORLD . . . RISE . . . AND THOSE WHO STAND IN THEIR WAY ARE OVERWHELMED."—President Wilson.

From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, Mo.)



THERE WERE UNBELIEVERS THEN—THERE ARE UNBELIEVERS NOW

From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, Mo.)



UNDER THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS
From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, Mo.)

NURSE'S AFTERNOON OUT

"Now, children, you must all be good till I come back."

From the *Passing Show* (London)

Even those cartoons intended to represent skepticism regarding the project are good-humored, almost without exception.

Two propositions the American cartoonists very generally accept—that a League of Nations will prevent war and that opposition can only delay, but not defeat the aims of President Wilson.

Those who continue to declare a League "impossible" are gently ridiculed by Fitzpatrick of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

HACKING AWAY AT IT
From the *World* (New York)

THE NEW BROOM
From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus)

From the *Daily News* (Chicago)



THE PROGRESSIVE WEIGHT-LIFTER
From *Punch* (London)

"THE CAT CAME BACK!"
From the *Republic* (St. Louis, Mo.)

THE MEANING OF THE VICTORY LIBERTY LOAN

A LETTER FROM SECRETARY GLASS TO THE EDITOR OF THE
REVIEW OF REVIEWS

DEAR DR. SHAW:

You and I are newspaper men and I am inclined to think that in that vocation we now will find our greatest usefulness. It sometimes seems to me that the heavy pressure of our routine lives distracts our minds and inclines us too slightly to pass over the opportunities and responsibilities of those who present the written word to their fellows.

We are in a crucial era, at a turning where the unschooled or unfaithful guide can lead us far astray. It becomes our special province to take heed that there be no stumbling. It is our responsibility wisely to shape our courses, and our privilege to give to the needs of the nation and of the world that publicity without which they will remain unknown or be misunderstood.

We can show the American nation what it has done in bringing low the Prussian power which so short a time ago threatened the very foundations of our liberties. We can show in its true proportions the magnitude of the achievement by which a nation of husbandmen and earnest toilers, engrossed in their own worthy tasks, turned aside at the beckoning of the ideal called Right and forfeited their personal gains that Justice again might dwell among their imperiled brothers. The opportunity is given us to bring among all citizens of the United States a true understanding of where the tasks of the future lie, to show what must be done to rebuild a new and finer world on the outworn basis of yesterday.

We can show them the meaning of the Victory Liberty Loan and how its purpose is to keep fair the honor of the country and enable our Government to finish its job. We can remind them that those who say it is impossible for the Treasury to float a great popular loan at this time are heedless of the nation's records; have forgotten the momentous success of the four preceding issues; are unmindful of the manner in which every obstacle presented to our army and navy was overcome, despite the craven misgivings of ubiquitous pessimists. We can tell them with the inexorable force of truth that the success of the Victory Liberty Loan means the quick resumption of our normal and pleasant course of life and the dissipation of the shadowy menace of Bolshevism.

It is our duty, if we can, to show that this is a time, such as no other we have seen, in which the whole theory of democracy is in the balance. It is a time when cross-purposes and counter-courses in a democracy invite disaster. It is a time when the special sovereignty of every citizen must be realized and exercised. If, in these days, a man says "I will wait for my neighbor to start his old-time industry. I will pause until I am sure what trend affairs will take. I will let others finance the Government meantime," he casts aside the responsibilities which free government has placed upon him and betrays Democracy's trust. This is America's day and every man who boasts American citizenship must step briskly forth and address the task before him with a high spirit and a firm determination to press forward.

This is the remedy for any ills which may threaten the state, for where all are willed to progress, dismal uncertainties are banished. Let us do what small part we can in the completion of this task and be thankful that we can aid. Let every man put his strength into finishing this job so that when the other peoples of the world look to see how America has come out of the war they will find her shining and her people blithely marching onward to such mansions as are prepared for them.

Cordially yours,

CARTER GLASS,
Secretary of the Treasury.

WASHINGTON, March 12, 1919.
Apr.—3

THE MAN WHO TOOK McADOO'S PLACE

BY HOMER JOSEPH DODGE

IT was the special ambition of Erasmus to become a scholar in the Latin language. Books in his part of the world were few and schools fewer. By the exercise of that untiring diligence which the Scripture tells us will enable a man to stand before kings, he mastered enough of the tongue to gain him admission to the University of Louvain. Later he studied at Paris and in England. Throughout this studious toiling, he thought with deep yearning of the superior advantages of those who could study in the schools of the Vatican, in the great Tuscan universities or, in fact, almost anywhere on the sacred soil of Italy. At length the great opportunity dawned for him. He was enabled to go to Rome. Throughout the stages of that medieval journey he was consumed by misgivings as to whether he was sufficiently far advanced in his subjects to be even admitted as a pupil among the great Latin scholars of the Holy City. Erasmus had scarcely been in Italy a month before he was hailed in the Vatican itself as the foremost master of the Latin language of the age. The Pope himself said that the northern scholar possessed a finer Latinity than Saint Jerome.

When Carter Glass, the editor of a small-town newspaper, was elected to Congress his ambition to become a master of finance had crystallized. By profession a printer and newspaper man, he had no basis in finance excepting a sound understanding of certain elemental principles of trade, gained by a not too affluent youth. But he applied himself to the study of the subject. He did not stop with superficial reading of a few treatises on Wall Street and its methods or a bird's eye view of the financial systems of the principal European nations. He delved into the very vitals of the subject. He studied with enthusiasm the money systems of the North American Indians, of the Aztecs, of the classic eastern nations and Greece, of medieval Europe—in short, he began his in-

vestigations with the beginning of money and traced the history of monetary proceedings, processes and developments down through the ages in all parts of the world.

He hoped that the time would come when he might attain sufficient knowledge on this subject to take his place with some of the masters of the trade and perform some service for his country in connection with national financial matters. Upon his appointment as Secretary of the Treasury he confessed to friends and, in confidence, to a few newspaper men that he approached his new chair with timidity and hoped that by some good fortune he would be able to hold down the job. To-day, he is hailed as a master of finance, more intimate with the inner workings of the mystery than the masters of Wall Street.

A Printer's Devil

SIXTH DISTRICT—Counties, Bedford, Campbell, etc.: CARTER GLASS, Democrat, of Lynchburg, was born in that city, educated in private and public schools and in the newspaper business; . . .

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY.

Carter Glass is in every sense a Virginian. Born January 4, 1858, his lifetime covers the period of the Civil War and therefore he is an inheritor of the Old Virginia tradition. Alive to the modern world and an actor in the largest affairs of the whole nation, he further represents the new order of things. Members of Congress write their own biographies for the Congressional Directory and therefore when that book says of Mr. Glass that he was "educated in private and public schools and in the newspaper business," an insight is given as to the estimate he places upon the advantages of the journalistic profession. Further, it gives an index to his method of pursuing any vocation. He makes of it not a job but an education. He determines to do the job well and knows that to do so, he must fully inform himself upon its requirements, and this process inevitably

brings him the education. If it were not for the fact that Mr. Glass has especial cognizance of the dignity of the national legislature and would say nothing publicly about it which might sound flippant, he undoubtedly would have added to the tale of his schooling "and in the Congress of the United States."

Carter Glass entered the newspaper business in the first grade. It may sound a little too much like a "movie" story to be believed, but it is true that his first job was that of printer's devil. And there is something about his twinkling eyes and the almost roguish cock of his head to make one believe that he was indeed a printer's "devil"—in fact, that he would have been a grocer's devil or an undertaker's devil or the bright particular imp of almost any profession which he might have entered.

For eight years he worked as a printer, mastering the intricacies of that mystery with the same persistence which characterized his later endeavors. The teller of anecdotes unconsciously thinks of that period of Carter Glass' life with a certain gleam in his eye. He is convinced that if occasion but offered, a wealth of stories of the Mark Twain school could be unearthed, and is tempted to run down to Lynchburg sometime to find out if there are not some survivors of an earlier generation who might spend a morning of Virginia sunshine in a reminiscent mood.

Newspaper Owner and Editor

... owns the *Daily News*, the morning paper of the city, and the *Daily Advance*, the afternoon paper; member of Virginia State Senate 1899-1903 and Virginia Constitutional Convention in 1901-2; eight years member of Board of Visitors University of Virginia . . .
CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY.

Undoubtedly the foreman of the printing shop in which the young Glass worked predicted with periodical regularity that "that boy would come to no good end" because that is the way with printing-office foremen and their devils. But it is not hard to realize that before long that foreman was beginning to believe that "that boy Carter would get somewheres." In the South many newspaper men are produced from the printing shop. Carter Glass was not long in observing that his education would have a freer play in the editorial offices of a Lynchburg newspaper and he followed that gleam with his characteristic persistence. That he would be successful in his ambition to make this

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HON CARTER GLASS, OF VIRGINIA, SECRETARY OF
THE TREASURY

change was inevitable and no less so that from reporter and editor he should become owner.

Now in the South the editor and owner of a daily newspaper wields a mighty power, especially if he be equipped to take advantage of his position. Within a brief space, the force of Mr. Glass' pen began to make itself felt in the Old Dominion. He was well along on his *cursus honorum*. As rivers run to the sea, he became a representative of his community in the Senate of Virginia,

bringing to Richmond the personality which had enabled him to make his way in the lesser metropolis of Lynchburg.

The phrase in the Directory biography, "eight years member of Board of Visitors University of Virginia," may not mean a great deal to people who do not know Virginia and the South. In those States south of the Mason and Dixon Line, education and seats and institutions of learning have an old-time glamor about them which it is not always easy to find in some of the hustling centers in other sections of the country. To the Virginian the University of Virginia is all that Oxford is to the county family in England, if not more. No Virginian forgets for a moment that Thomas Jefferson founded the institution and fostered it, dwelling in fact within its view, and designing its buildings as well as its curriculum. No Virginian forgets the long and glorious history of the university nor its roll of famous alumni. To the Virginian the Board of Visitors is as notable a body as the American peace delegation at Paris is to the average United States citizen. Mr. Glass was well along when the responsibility of a visitor was placed with him.

Sixteen Years in Congress

... was elected to the Fifty-seventh and all succeeding Congresses, including the Sixty-fifth Congress.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY.

In 1902 Carter Glass was returned to the Congress to fill out the unexpired term of P. J. Otey, and in Congress he remained until last December, when the resignation from the Treasury portfolio of William G. McAdoo was followed by his elevation to the President's cabinet. During that period he had served as Democratic National Committeeman for Virginia and as Secretary of the Committee. This latter honor he relinquished upon his appointment as Secretary.

If it were possible to turn back the calendar so that we might be living in the first years of Mr. Glass' membership in Congress, we would probably not be conscious that he was a member of that body. The daily newspapers have given the American people reason to think that all members of Congress live in one joyous round of speech-making—many oratorical efforts being simultaneous. There are notable exceptions to this perhaps general rule. The Directory says that Mr. Glass went to Congress in 1902. It is a

matter of history that nearly ten years expired before he took the floor to deliver a major speech before the House of Representatives. When he did, he prefaced his remarks by a request that he be allowed to address the House without interruption. He did so. He delivered fifteen thousand words, revealing a finished style of eloquence and an easy intimacy with his subject—the monetary and banking system of the United States.

Twice more he spoke before the House. Once, to deliver a stinging denunciation of the proposal that Americans be warned from traveling at sea under their own flag and, if they persisted, assume all the responsibility for any German piracy which might result; and once, to defend Secretary of War Baker's record as head of the American War Ministry in the conduct of the war. It is superfluous to say that on these three occasions Mr. Glass had the absorbed attention of almost all the members. It is not difficult to visualize the members tip-toeing into the chamber and to their chairs after the word had gone round that Carter Glass was addressing the House. It was an event!

If there is no other reason for it, ten years' silence in the House of Representatives bequeaths an oracular reputation. In Carter Glass' case there were other reasons.

From Federal Reserve Act to Victory Loan

Mr. Glass did not entertain this wilful stillness with any purpose other than the purpose to equip himself fully for the task which he had undertaken. His committee work—largely in the House Committee on Banking and Currency, of which he long was a member and, upon the Democratic succession, chairman—was indefatigable. After Woodrow Wilson's election and before his inauguration Mr. Glass visited him at his home and talked to him about the necessity for revision of the American banking system. When that interview was finished, Mr. Wilson was amazed at Mr. Glass' command of his subject and convinced that his contentions were sound and his plan good.

The result of this claustral study is the Federal Reserve Act, the measure which a majority of bankers of the country declare saved the United States from probably a half-dozen financial panics between 1914 and the present day. Mr. Glass had the benefit of exceedingly valuable assistance from other students, notably Dr. H. Parker Willis, first Secretary of the Federal Reserve Board,

but he was the leader in putting the legislation through Congress.

It is habitual for the Fate which brings nations to emergencies to produce men to meet them; and it appears that Carter Glass is the man produced in this instance to meet the very genuine financial emergency which faces the United States to-day. Perhaps his greatest qualification for the position of Secretary of the Treasury at a time when a great popular loan must be floated to enable America to finish her job in maintaining democratic law and order in the world, is his almost fanatical belief in the perennial triumph of the American people over difficulties which appear insuperable. It is not too much, perhaps, to say that Mr. Glass is the only man in the United States who from the first was absolutely certain of the success of the Victory Liberty Loan. This certainty he did not derive from his studies of finance; he derived it from his knowledge of America, a knowledge which is not empirical. But his sound basis in finance and economics has stood him in good stead.

Mr. Glass knows that the Victory Liberty Loan must be a success. He knows that America's job in the war will not be finished unless the sum required is subscribed by the people. He is certain that American citizens are too jealous of the credit of their nation, which is their own personal credit in no small

degree, to permit failure to attend any of their undertakings.

Carter Glass undoubtedly has one or more personal hobbies of the usual intimate nature. Another one which he consistently practises is the overcoming of obstacles. At first glance, one would not suspect that a persistent driving power existed in that small man—for Mr. Glass is small in stature. One day, before Mr. McAdoo had relinquished his office finally and had Mr. Glass there instructing him in departmental routine, the two happened to be standing together. The tall, lanky Tennessean looked down from his height on the diminutive, red-haired Virginian and said: "Mr. Secretary, I am forcibly reminded of Mutt and Jeff." The remark was so apt that it was almost embarrassing.

But Mr. Glass' small stature does not impair his ability to overcome obstacles or diminish his appetite for them. His tremendous tenacity enables him to carry through almost any undertaking. Back in Lynchburg, as a young man, he knew a certain other man. This other went to New York and became rich and powerful. There was a time in Mr. Glass' career when the rich New Yorker could have been of assistance to him but Mr. Glass did not apply. There came a later time when Mr. Glass could be of assistance to the rich New Yorker, who did apply. Mr. Glass flatly refused to have anything to do with him because he remembered certain methods and motives of this man in distant days and knew that there had been no change in them. In fair circumstances or adverse, he steered a straight course and now stands at the head of the nation's finances, setting forth to accomplish the greatest financing task ever presented to any statesman or financier.

A popular loan for a large sum has been declared impossible to Mr. Glass so many times that he is in his very element, demonstrating that the thing can be done. Addressing the Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce recently he said: "Impossibilities are constantly made possible; and when I am told of the difficulties which will beset the Victory Liberty Loan, I refuse to lose faith in the enduring patriotism of the American people; I decline to believe that the fathers and mothers who gave four million sons to die, if need be, that liberty must survive, will now haggle over the material cost of saving the very soul of civilization from the perdition of Prussian tyranny."

A BIT DRY?

(From the *Evening Telegram*, New York)

THE NEW ATTORNEY GENERAL

BY ARTHUR WALLACE DUNN

AS President Wilson was departing for Europe on his second trip to attend the peace conference he named A. Mitchell Palmer, of Pennsylvania, as Attorney General to succeed Thomas W. Gregory, of Texas, who had resigned. The appointment was generally commended without regard to party affiliations by those who have become acquainted with Mr. Palmer in his somewhat brief public career. It was just ten years from the time that he first made his appearance as a member of the House of Representatives that he became the head of the Department of Justice. Previous to that time he was known only as a successful lawyer whose practise spread over a considerable portion of central Pennsylvania. He had been quite prominent in local politics, but he had declined to consider a nomination to Congress because the district in which he lived had adopted the system of rotation in office and elected a man for only a single term. Mr. Palmer decided to be a candidate in 1908, but announced that he would not conform to the rotation plan and would seek reelection if he desired. He broke the rotation spell and was elected for several successive terms.

By reason of his pleasing personality, his ability, and natural inclination to leadership—together with his oratorical talents and commanding figure, he soon attracted attention in the House of Representatives. When the Democrats came into power after the elec-

tion of 1910 and the House itself chose its own committees Mr. Palmer was elected a member of the Ways and Means Committee—an unusual compliment for a member with a service of only one term.

At that time he had attained prominence in the politics of Pennsylvania and was the recognized leader of the progressive element which became dominant in 1912. In that year he early espoused the cause of Gov. Woodrow Wilson as the Democratic candidate for President and at the Baltimore convention had 72 of Pennsylvania's 76 delegates, whom he held solidly for the New Jersey Governor through all the tedious ballots. Like other Wilson leaders at Baltimore, Palmer was offered almost anything within the gift of an administration in an effort to tempt him to leave Wilson and with his block of delegates go to another candidate; but he stood firm to the last and when the convention closed was not only the recognized

Democratic leader of Pennsylvania, but also one of the leaders of the party in the nation. He became a member of the National Committee and was again elected in 1916.

When President Wilson was selecting his first cabinet it was generally understood that A. Mitchell Palmer would be one of the new President's official family. It turned out, however, that the only position which Mr. Wilson could offer him was Secretary of War. But Mr. Palmer is a Quaker, and he did not feel that he could accept a war

HON. A. MITCHELL PALMER, OF PENNSYLVANIA

(Born in Pennsylvania, 1872; graduated Swarthmore College, 1891; practiced law, Stroudsburg; Member of Congress, 1909-'15; Alien Property Custodian, 1917-'19; Attorney General, March 4, 1919)

portfolio. So he continued in the House of Representatives. As a member of the Ways and Means Committee he helped to frame the first Democratic tariff measure enacted since 1894.

At the earnest request of President Wilson Mr. Palmer gave up his seat in the House of Representatives in order to become a candidate for the Senate at the fall election in 1914. After his defeat that year he returned to private life, although he was offered a number of important positions connected with the administration. Mr. Palmer resumed the practise of law, but he was no longer a local attorney of Pennsylvania. His reputation and prominence extended his field to other States and he was connected with a number of important cases.

After the United States entered the war Congress passed a law known as the "Trading With the Enemy Act," authorizing the Government to take control of and administer the property of citizens of Germany and her allies in this country. President Wilson appointed Mr. Palmer Alien Property Custodian, which position he held when appointed Attorney General. As Alien Property Custodian Mr. Palmer has handled an immense business. When he retired from that position the office was administering 32,296 separate trusts with an aggregate value of \$502,945,724. It has been the policy of Mr. Palmer to Americanize the foreign-named concerns as far as possible. His investigations of the various business concerns owned by aliens proved of immense value to the Department of Justice during the war when it was seeking information concerning those who were aiding the enemy while still residing in the United States. It is expected that the business of the Alien Property Custodian will at some time in the future come under the Department of Justice.

Mr. Palmer assumes his new duties at a time when there are many legal problems of great importance pending and others to follow when peace is concluded. The administration of legislation growing out of the war is still an important function of the Department of Justice, while the legal problems that will have to be solved in view of the probable peace pact are sure to be of far-reaching consequence. Mr. Palmer has announced that he will not make any change in the policy of the department, which is natural in view of the fact that Attorney General Gregory's resignation was not in

consequence of any disagreement with the President over the conduct of the office. One of the important questions is the disposition of dangerous alien enemies now interned in this country. The question whether the department will order their deportation through the machinery of the Department of Labor or await legislative action by Congress will come before Attorney General Palmer for decision. The administration of the espionage laws and other restrictive measures which remain in force until peace is proclaimed, although conditions were changed by the signing of the armistice, creates problems of great moment in the Department of Justice.

There have been pending before the Supreme Court for a long period the anti-trust cases, the determination of which is expected to be conclusive as settling the contentions between the Government and the great corporations—questions that have been agitating the country for so many years. These include suits against railroads, the Steel Corporation, and other combinations.

Twice since the United States entered the war, at the request of the Department of Justice, the Supreme Court has postponed consideration of these cases and it is scarcely probable that they will be taken up before the court ends its present session in June. The Attorney General must determine whether to prosecute these cases or to await legislation regarding railroads and corporations which has been discussed at various times and which war conditions have made imperatively necessary. This legislation upon which the Attorney General will give his advice must cover not only the railroad problems, but also the Sherman Anti-Trust Law as it affects corporations and freedom of trade under the conditions that have been so materially changed by the great war.

The Attorney General is a comparatively young man, only forty-six years of age. He is active and energetic, an orator of fine attainments, very pleasing in his manner and effective in his arguments. He was educated in the schools of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania, where he was born, and at the Moravian parochial school at Bethlehem, Pa., and graduated from Swarthmore College. Mr. Palmer is one of the few cabinet officers who is an expert shorthand writer. He was once a court reporter, and has kept up his shorthand, making many of his notes in "pothooks and hangers."

PEACE SETTLEMENT NEAR

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

(By Special Cablegram to the AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS from Paris)

I. TERMS IMPOSED UPON GERMANY

THE present dispatch represents two distinct periods:

(1) The period before President Wilson left for America, marked by the completion of the League of Nations Covenant and by certain temporary misunderstandings between the French and American representatives.

(2) The period following President Wilson's return to America and extending until his second arrival in France, during which the main lines of the preliminary Treaty of Peace took form, and the substantial outlines of a definitive peace with Germany were drawn. I shall, then, undertake in this article to deal with two things: first, Outlines of Approaching Peace with Germany, and second, European Views of the Value of the League of Nations for the Future.

Germany's New Frontiers

As to preliminary peace with Germany, which will in every essential detail represent terms of ultimate settlement, the larger provisions are now virtually decided upon. First, the Western frontier of Germany will stop at the Rhine; and the territory between the Rhine, Belgium, Luxemburg, and the old frontier of Alsace-Lorraine, with the exception of the Saar coal district, will probably be erected into a Rhenish Republic totally distinct from Germany. This separation from Germany will last during the time that the armies of occupation remain in this area, and these armies will remain until Germany has discharged all her obligations, financial and otherwise, to her conquerors. At the close of that period, it will be for the people of the Rhenish Republic to decide whether they will continue as a separate republic or rejoin Germany. The Saar coal district is to be annexed by France as partial compensation for the destruction of the French industrial regions during the war.

These provisions insure to France as well as to Belgium that guarantee against future

aggression by Germany which is right as well as necessary for France; and the fact that America has sympathetically listened to these demands has contributed toward removing the misunderstandings of the earlier period.

The Eastern frontier of Germany will in the main coincide with the Eastern frontier of Prussia prior to the first partition of Poland in 1772. The Prussian provinces of Posen, and the larger part of West Prussia on the left bank of the Vistula River and including the city of Danzig will be Polish. It remains to be decided whether the German-speaking areas of East and West Prussia beyond the Vistula will be included in the new Poland or erected into an independent republic.

In addition, the Danish-speaking region of Schleswig, after the formality of a plebiscite to demonstrate the principle of "self-determination," will be restored to Denmark.

As against these losses in territory and in population, Germany will undoubtedly annex the German-speaking provinces of the old Hapsburg monarchy. Germany will thus be deprived of between 12,000,000 and 13,000,000 people by the shrinkage of her frontiers; and this loss will be offset in part by the acquisition of 7,000,000 Austrian Germans. She can, however, look forward to a possible regaining of the Rhenish Republic in the future. In sum, the New Germany will end at the Rhine and will not reach to the Vistula.

Disarmament

The second important decision as to Germany concerns the military service. Here Lloyd George has effected a far-reaching transformation. Germany in the future can have an army not to exceed 100,000 men, to be raised, not by conscription, but by enlistment for long periods of service. The size of her staff is fixed; the numbers and quantities of her military supplies are to be regulated; the number of aeroplanes is to be rigidly restricted.

In fact, Germany is to have a regular

army like that of England or the United States, for the present, and the old conscription system is thrown into the discard. This means not alone the ending of conscription in Germany, but in all Europe. It is a very long step towards general disarmament. The whole naval fleet of Germany, with the exception of a few insignificant units, disappears from harbors and high seas; and as a naval power Germany will sink to the level of Spain, or even lower. She will be forbidden to build submarines and compelled to destroy her yards and her machinery where submarines could be built.

In a word, she will be as effectively disarmed by sea as by land; and after this disarmament of Germany there will follow in due time the disarmament of the world.

Compensation

Main outlines of the third division of the Preliminary Peace Terms with Germany are not as yet clearly established. This division deals with the financial adjustments and other compensations which Germany is to make in payment for her wanton destruction during the war. There is substantial agreement that Germany shall be compelled to pay for her crimes up to the last dollar possible. The method of payment, the amounts which may be possible, and the guarantees which must be taken for payment—all these remain to be solved, and may be fixed only provisionally in the preliminary peace, with the details left to Commissions. But the preliminary Treaty of Peace will establish the responsibility of Germany, and will assert the necessity for Germany to pay.

Early in April the German representatives will be invited to sign these preliminary terms without discussion or amendment. Then we shall in fact have made peace with Germany. If Germany refuses to sign these terms, then all possibility of carrying out the Allies' plans for feeding Germany will come to an end; and famine, if nothing else, will shortly bring the Germans to reason.

Now, aside from these German phases of its work, the Conference of Paris has practically completed the construction of the Polish, Czechoslovak, Rumanian, Hungarian, and Jugo-Slav boundaries. Also, the new boundary lines of Greece in Europe are approaching settlement.

Other Peace Problems

There remain certain minor disputes, and one large question respecting the Eastern

frontier of Poland. Other disputes—of which that between the Italians and Jugo-Slavs is the only serious one—will be ironed out in a brief period of time.

Thus, to all intents and purposes, New Middle Europe is practically completed. In place of the old Hapsburg Empire and Russian Poland, we shall have four considerable countries, with a combined population of approximately 50,000,000, erected on the basis of self-determination, and possessing the necessary resources of intelligent national existence. And it is to be confidently hoped that these four countries will have their immediate future assured by guarantees of the League of Nations.

As to the German colonies in various parts of the world, they will be divided between the several Allied countries, who will hold them under the mandatory system.

It is only with respect to the old Turkish Empire that no important decision has been taken; and, in a sense, the whole question of Turkey waits on the decision of America. The Conference asks, first, whether the United States will accept a mandate to supervise Armenia, and second, whether the United States would be willing to assume responsibility at Constantinople. Unquestionably the Turkish problem will be postponed until the last moment. Fortunately, it is the one problem that can thus be postponed safely.

II. EUROPE, AMERICA AND THE LEAGUE

In a few brief paragraphs I may be able to set forth the view of Europe towards President Wilson, America, and the League of Nations. First of all, the wonderful welcome Mr. Wilson had in Europe when he came first was a tribute to his country even more than to himself; and it was the first expression of the desire, ever-present here, to show by every act the sense of gratitude for the American share in the victory.

Now that the League of Nations Covenant has taken form, and there has developed in America strong political opposition, there is confusion and some dismay in Paris. The exact terms of the League of Nations Covenant matter little here, and reservations as to the Monroe Doctrine and as to immigration are unimportant. The outstanding fact is that exhausted, war-worn Europe makes but a single appeal to the American people. It is the appeal that America shall share with

her Allies of the war struggle some of the responsibility for the reconstruction of the world. Europe asks that America, out of her enormous potential strength, shall supply some of the guarantees without which future peace is doubtful.

Millions of men and women in Great Britain, France, and Italy, amidst the ruins of their lives, and in devastated regions of the European continent, amidst the wreckage of their homes and their factories, are looking to America to supply the element of hope necessary for them if they are to undertake the great task of reconstruction.

America Means Hope

What Europe believes—what millions of Europeans personally believe—is that if America gives her assent to the Treaty of Peace here framed, and lends her guarantee to the preservation of that peace until such time as the little peoples shall achieve their own stable existence, then—and only then—there can be promise of real peace for the future. I do not think anyone can exaggerate the tragic intensity of the emotion of Poles, Rumanians, Czechoslovaks, Jugo-Slavs, and Greeks, as they hear growing rumors that America may go home and quit the job, and leave Europe amidst its ashes while they themselves are surrounded by hostility and danger as they begin their new national life.

America in Europe to-day supplies the element of hope. The thing that Europe asks incessantly is that America shall, on terms which have some promise of endurance, give her mighty strength to the preservation of the new order of things which has been created. If America does this, Europe will disarm, and even the Germans will perceive the uselessness of new aggression. The habit of peace will succeed the habit of militarism, and Europe will go back to work; and, with the return to work, Bolshevism will disappear.

Disastrous to Withdraw

But, if America now goes home leaving Europe to face the task alone, no man can be certain that Bolshevism will not pass the Rhine, or even the Channel; or that the German Revolution will not overrun Europe with doctrines submersive of all our Western democracy, and with armies trained in the school which devastated Northern France only four years ago.

It is to America that Europe is now appealing. American political conditions have not

been and are not yet understood. President Wilson was accepted, honored and followed, because of the value Europe attached to America. He will unquestionably continue to speak in Europe with the voice of America, but I am satisfied that if circumstances of domestic politics lead to rejection by America, not of specific provisions of President Wilson's Covenant, but of the idea of American participation in the responsibility of guaranteeing the peace of the world, the consequence will be disastrous, and the element of hope will be fatally diminished in Western Europe.

III. FRENCH FEELING IN FEBRUARY

Looking back over the passage of events, it should be recorded that we had in the course of the month two striking changes in the European situation, one within and one without the walls of the Paris Conference. These changes were represented (1) by a considerable—though happily a temporary—misunderstanding between France and the United States and (2) by what seemed to be an amazing resurgence of Germany, which as Paris thought for the moment had become almost exactly the menace that it was for two decades before the outbreak of the world war. These two subjects absorbed the attention in Paris in February, with the single addition of the successful achievement of the first draft of the League of Nations, and it is these three points which I shall try to recall as they appeared a few weeks ago.

I. AMERICA AND FRANCE. I pointed out in my article in last month's REVIEW that Mr. Wilson had been welcomed by the people of Europe, and particularly by the French people, in a manner unprecedented in history. He was hailed as a deliverer come from another world rather than from a different hemisphere. During the early part of his stay he successfully retained the enthusiasm and the admiration of the French masses—the "little people" who welcomed him from their hearts.

But, unfortunately, there seemed from the outset some degree of failure of understanding on both sides, and this led to the development of a situation which in February was viewed with regret and alarm, although there is no longer any reason to exaggerate it or to fear that it may lead to permanently grave consequences. It is largely forgotten already; yet it is to be recorded as illustrat-

ing the difficult course of negotiations even between the most friendly countries.

The causes of the misapprehension were patent. Mr. Wilson had come to Europe resolved, during the something less than three months that he had available, to obtain a Constitution of the League of Nations, which seemed to him the all-important thing in the Paris Conference. To this from start to finish he was prepared to subordinate everything else in his own activities, and he actually procured a subordination of much in the activities of the other nations. Moreover, while Commissions were appointed to examine all the other problems, these Commissions necessarily worked in secret and without publicity. Thus for two months the Conference at Paris gave the impression of being entirely consumed by discussions of the League of Nations.

What France Expected

Now, as I pointed out in the previous article, for France the first and all essential requirement in the Peace Treaty was that it should provide guarantees against another coming of the Germans, and against a repetition of the disasters and devastations which had gravely if not mortally wounded France.

In exactly the same sense, the French conception of the League of Nations was that it should be an international organization with teeth and muscles, capable immediately—in case of an aggression upon one of the nations of the League by any great Power—of putting strength into the field to suppress that attack.

In other words, the French thought of the League of Nations as an international society for the preservation of peace, for the protection of France, and for the expansion of noble and generous ideas; but they also thought of it as an association which, had it been in existence on the 1st of August, 1914, would have been sufficiently powerful to put into the field armies large enough to stop the German invasion at the French and Belgian frontiers.

The point is capital. It is essential, if one is to understand the situation here in Paris, to recognize that the whole French conception of the League of Nations was that of an organization which, until such time as there was no longer any doubt of Germany's abandonment of her old purpose, should be able to protect France, Belgium and all the string of peoples to be freed by the Paris

Treaty from the peril which overtook them in August, 1914.

The Wilson Ideal

So far as one could judge, Mr. Wilson could not have had exactly such a purpose in mind for his League of Nations, since obviously he had not the power to commit the United States to a League which should be in fact an alliance—if only a defensive alliance—carrying with it the necessity of maintaining troops in Europe indefinitely, to associate itself with France and with England and with Italy in a military program, providing an international police force capable of restraining Germany if she started on a new campaign for world supremacy.

Now this difference in point of view, which would inevitably have produced some disagreement, was materially affected by the circumstances which I am going to discuss in a moment, namely, what appeared to be the sudden resurgence of Germany herself, seeking to follow old pathways and unhesitatingly throwing herself into the arms of the Prussian leaders who had directed German policies in all the brutal and terrible years of the war.

II. MISUNDERSTANDINGS. So far as one can judge, the President of the United States and those associated with him recognized from the outset that they were unable to commit the United States to the kind of League of Nations which would satisfy French demands. In the same way they would not commit their country to a League of Nations which fulfilled British aspirations, for the British were as keen to have America undertake the administration of various places in the world as the French were that America should maintain an army in Europe. Recognizing this they concentrated their attention on the creation of a document, which should do by moral influence something which no one of the nations which has fought Germany with the possible exception of the United States was ready to believe could be achieved by moral influence alone.

Disappointment Regarding America

We had then, day by day, a growing French anxiety, apprehension and disappointment. It seemed to become clearer that America was not going to recognize European facts as they had been developed by centuries. Above all it appeared that America was going to accept, as real and final, a German revolution which day by day was

more clearly revealing itself as mere stage shifting, and which had for its ultimate consequences not the abolition but the intensification of the old German imperialistic ambitions.

Napoleon coming back from Elba to face Europe in arms, and appealing to the French legislative body, remarked: "I asked them for men and munitions and they talked to me about the rights of man." France with fifty years of vivid memories of German menace, with four and a half years of recent agony, seeing Germany resurgent but not repentant, appealed to Mr. Wilson for guarantees against the future. But France seemed to receive from Mr. Wilson only an insistent declaration that the words of the covenant of the League of Nations were a sufficient guarantee against eighty million of Germans.

The result was unfortunate but inevitable. Not the politicians and the Government, but all France, the little people who had fought the war as well as the statesmen, felt instantly that they were being abandoned. France as a result of the Treaty of Peace would once more be left single-handed to bear the first shock of German attack, as she had been left in 1914. And I do not think that anybody can exaggerate the emotion created by that suspicion, which developed into a conviction.

Clemenceau the Central Figure

In all this time M. Clemenceau, and those about him, struggled to establish in the American mind the peculiar situation of France. Italy had the Alps, England the Channel, America the Atlantic, but France would have nothing but an imaginary line placed between herself and eighty millions of Germans.

In response to this, there seemed to be an unmistakable American feeling that the inability of France to believe in the adequacy of the covenant of the League of Nations as a guarantee for the future was a proof of a lack of French sympathy with the great and noble conception of the League of Nations itself. The French demands for military guarantees along the Rhine, it was hinted, were only repetitions of the old Napoleonic ambitions and the familiar imperialistic appetite of later times. Moreover, French demands for reparation and French insistence that the blockade should be maintained until French industry could in some measure recover from the destruction wantonly per-

petrated by the Germans to abolish French competition, were interpreted as further indications of a French purpose to destroy Germany.

III. CLEMENCEAU. This was the situation existing when Mr. Wilson left for America carrying with him a covenant of the League of Nations. Every Frenchman thought it a document hopelessly deficient in the matters which were questions of life and death to France. And in this tense moment M. Clemenceau was struck down by an assassin.

What might have been the course of French politics had the great premier escaped this attack may be problematical. I do not think anyone will argue that French affairs were handled with supreme skill and judgment, since a misunderstanding of French purpose was permitted to grow up. That France might have selected some other man to replace one who must remain for her a symbol of her military victory is conceivable, although I do not think very likely. But when Clemenceau was struck down—at a time when all France knew that he was fighting to obtain for her guarantees which no Frenchman and no political party regarded as other than essential—there was an instant and a unanimous rally about the President of the Council.

It was a mistake to suppose that the French feeling of February was based upon imperialism, territorial appetite, or the natural human desire for revenge. It was nothing else than a conviction that the decisions of the Paris Conference must be for France either a guarantee of continuing national existence or a sentence of death.

And if the League of Nations in its final form was not destined to carry with it the agreement of the United States—in association with France, Great Britain, and Italy—to maintain troops in France until it was known what the German meant to do, it was felt by the French that the League would be a dead letter, a supreme and tragic failure.

What Britain Expected

If, furthermore, the League should not be accompanied by an agreement that America would undertake certain duties, such as that of a mandatory for Armenia and other specific responsibilities in the world, it would be regarded by the British also as something like a monumental failure. British policy, from start to finish, had been predicated on the idea that to preserve peace and order in the

world there must be actual association between the American and British nations, in the task of administering the affairs of helpless and suffering populations.

I wish that it lay in my power to make a clearer exposition of this only superficially dissimilar point of view of the British and French publics as to America. Both see the presence of America at Paris as the promise that our great nation, which has made the least sacrifice in the preservation of civilization against the German attack, will continue hereafter to contribute out of its great resources, human as well as material, for the reshaping and perpetuation of world order. Neither the one nor the other has the smallest faith in the covenant of the League of Nations as being in itself a guarantee against war. Neither the one nor the other has the least notion that such restricted elements of moral force as are therein provided for, will be of the least avail if they are not fortified by force until such time as their full and sympathetic acceptance by Germany is established.

IV. GERMANY AS SEEN AT PARIS SIX WEEKS AGO

In the first week of November Germany was helpless, incapable of defending herself by arms and torn by internal disorders which seemed to threaten a repetition of events in Russia. Germany was stricken and for the moment hopeless, and when Mr. Wilson came to Paris and even when the Conference itself assembled, there was no feeling that the great enemy was longer anything but a miserable and contemptible object.

Two months later Paris saw—or thought it saw—something like this: First of all, the elements of disorder had been repressed; the revolution as a combat was over. Second, a general election had provided a national assembly sitting in Weimar, assured of the support of the whole nation with every separatist tendency abolished, and apparently functioning with as perfect control of its country as British Parliament or American Congress. Third, this national assembly was completely under the control of those men who were associated most unpleasantly in the world's mind with German imperialism during the whole period of the war. In a word, the old gang was back in the stall. Fourth, to this Germany thus resurgent there was being added by their own will seven millions of Austrians, German by race, inhabiting a large and fertile area in Central Europe and bring-

ing to Germany an accession of military and material resources exceeding those of Belgium for example.

Thus, as the first consequence of an unsuccessful war, Germany was adding an area and a population larger than Prussia had ever gained in any one of her successful predatory wars. Finally, this Germany, having passed out from the shadow of defeat, had begun to reassert German claims to Alsace-Lorraine, and to mobilize armies to extinguish the hope of Polish liberation and reintegration—two of the things expressly guaranteed in Mr. Wilson's fourteen points, which had been the basis of the armistice.

Was Germany So Soon Recovered?

Nor was this all. Germany having thus achieved strength, found herself surrounded by half a dozen smaller peoples—the Poles, the Bohemians, the inhabitants of the Balkan Provinces, and more remotely the Southern Slavs and the Rumanians—individually and collectively incapable of blocking her pathway to the East or South. Provided only that national existence and security should not be guaranteed to these peoples, Germany found herself assured of the economic and political mastery of Russia, with a better chance to reach the Golden Horn than she had in 1914.

In addition, she found herself with her factories undisturbed, and her farms, her fields and her herds in existence. She was therefore certain to be better placed in the competition of world trade in the future, provided only she could escape payment for the destruction she had wrought in the economic machinery and the financial resources of the great powers with whom she had fought.

And in this Germany, this new Germany, unfolding herself before us daily, there was not the slightest indication of a change of heart. No sign was to be found even at Berne, where German Socialists confronted their brethren of the rest of the world with precisely the same spirit which they had manifested throughout the war. Nor was it unnoticed that the one German voice raised at Berne denouncing his country's guilt and asserting its responsibility for the war was silenced by an assassin's bullet fired by a representative of reactionary Germany a few days thereafter.

What Every Frenchman Believed

It should be made clear to American readers how deep was the conviction of Paris in February that Germany might win this war

after all. Unless the League of Nations should give us real guarantees of a consolidated mutual readiness to meet a new German attack, and unless the costs of the war to the last dollar possible were to be placed upon the shoulders of the Germans, everything seemed to have been lost. I know that in America these demands were sure to be interpreted as expressing Allied appetite alike for plunder and for revenge. Yet in Europe, radical thought, perhaps even more than conservative—demanded these guarantees for the future. And radical thought, equally with conservative, recognized that the German Revolution had not changed the German spirit, and that we were still in the presence of the old enemy, led by the old generals, on the political if not on the military side.

This, then, was what Paris saw, till the clouds began to lift in March: Eighty millions of Germans, escaping from the cloud of defeat, united, were occupying Central Europe. They were surrounded by states incapable even collectively of blocking their pathway if they began another war. Conscious of the same thing, these states were all looking to the United States, champion of the League of Nations, and to President Wilson as its greatest proponent, to clothe the League's constitution with vitality and force.

V. WILSON'S SECOND COMING

Returning to Paris from America, Mr. Wilson could not expect that same spontaneous outburst which greeted him on his first coming. But this was due solely to the fact that such an ovation in the very nature of things could not be repeated. By contrast, however, there was no reason to suppose that the President would not be welcomed exactly as heartily as if there had been no domestic disturbance in America. In fact, in a certain sense the President's welcome was the warmer because his whole mission had undergone a sea change. He came to France first as the representative of America in Europe, but now, to a very considerable extent, his speeches in America recently have made him seem to be the representative of Europe in America.

To suppose that the representatives of the various governments in Europe would have changed their attitude towards the President of the United States because of the opposition manifested to him by the Republican leaders in the Senate was to make a mistake. It was to misunderstand the political situation in

Europe itself. Were the leaders of the various governments in Europe to change their attitude and their treatment of Mr. Wilson, he would immediately become the spokesman for the respective minorities in France, in England, and in Italy.

Accordingly, Mr. Wilson on his return was welcomed heartily by the governments as well as the people. His speeches in America had been widely approved in Europe; and the possibility that Lloyd George and Clemenceau would turn from Wilson to the Republican Senate did not exist. Moreover—and this thing should be recognized in America, whatever the fact may be—there was a profound conviction in Paris that Mr. Wilson had already won his fight in the United States. In a real sense he comes back to France as a victor. How accurate or mistaken this conclusion is will be better realized at home than here in Paris, where all our information is fragmentary and unsatisfactory.

But having said that Mr. Wilson would be welcomed heartily, would preserve his prestige, would doubtless remain the most conspicuous figure in Paris to the end, it is essential to indicate that there has been a profound change in certain directions which will be felt in the immediate future. When Mr. Wilson first came to Europe, the world waited upon him and his wishes with respect to the League of Nations. When Mr. Wilson arrived in Europe this time he found the conference at Paris in the act of completing a preliminary peace, which in all the larger aspects will be a final peace.

Sometime within the next month the conference at Paris is going to say to the Germans who will be invited to come to Versailles: "You will sign the following peace terms. These terms will fix the frontiers of Germany, they will regulate the future size of the German army and navy, they will dispose of the surplus armament, they will fix a price in warships and merchant marine to be paid, and in all important respects they will decide the conditions under which Germany must hereafter live."

These terms they will be invited to sign. If they refuse, as is possible, the Allies can put on the blockade and Germany will face the situation that her own food supply approaches its end. If the Germans sign, there will be later another occasion on which, as in the case of the Treaty of Frankfurt, they will be permitted to put their names to a definitive document; but this will be only in minor detail a modification of the preliminary peace.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND UNDEVELOPED STATES

BY HARRY PRATT JUDSON

(President of the University of Chicago)

[Returning recently from an important relief mission to Persia, Dr. Judson, of Chicago, and his colleagues made a report at Paris to the American Peace Delegation. The article printed herewith may be regarded as embodying the suggestions made by Dr. Judson at Paris. For many years he has been recognized as an authority in the field of American history and politics and he is one of the foremost Republicans of the Middle West. In advocating our adherence to the League of Nations for the sake of helping to guard the development of backward states and regions, Dr. Judson has no thought of any weakening of America's sovereignty at home or any lessening of America's rightful influence within those spheres that have chiefly concerned us hitherto.—THE EDITOR.]

A FRUITFUL cause of international difficulties in the past has been the fact that considerable areas of the world and considerable populations have not shared, for one reason or another, in the general progress which has marked the last century. The universal prevalence of order, justice and enlightened law for the benefit of all, the development of natural resources in every land for the primary benefit of the dwellers in those lands, fair arrangements for the interchange of commodities throughout the world so that artificial monopolies and unjust privilege shall be avoided, would undoubtedly go far towards securing peace and prosperity everywhere.

In the lack of any organization of progressive nations to secure united action for these purposes, it has of necessity been left to individual states to do what has seemed desirable and practicable to secure the spread of civilization. In this way the Americas were settled by European immigrants and their vast resources utilized for the support in the end of vast populations and for the enrichment of the world. In this way European sovereignty has been extended over the barbarous continent of Africa, order established in place of endless tribal wars, an end put to slavery and cannibalism, and modern industry has developed the forests and mines and soil for great modern uses. In this way the islands of Oceania have had civilized life substituted for hopeless savagery. In this way a great part of the continent of Asia has come under the sway of European order and prosperity.

For upwards of four hundred years the

expansion of European civilization throughout the world has been carried on thus by separate nations, each doing what seemed good in its own eyes. And there can be no doubt that on the whole great benefits have been wrought for all mankind by the energy especially of some of the great civilized powers which have spread their authority over vast spaces beyond their European home.

Guardianship versus Exploitation

But there have been obvious difficulties, dangers and infelicities accompanying this method of spreading civilization.

While it is quite true that civilization has spread over the world by the enterprise of individual states, yet after all the main impelling force has been the interests of the states in question and of their citizens. The extension of commerce, the opening of mines, the finding of new avenues for the investment of capital, the placing on virgin soils of surplus populations—these and similar motives have in the main actuated the nations of Europe in their dealings with undeveloped lands. The mines of Mexico and Peru, the spice trade of the East Indies, the furs of Canada, the rubber of Central Africa, are among the many examples of specific reasons for exploitation in the interest of particular European states.

Countries That Need Help

But obviously such world enterprises with such motives would lead, as they certainly did lead, to collision of interests and to bitter international rivalry. A long series of wars for several centuries marked the expansion

of Europe overseas, and while wars for such objects have been avoided in recent years, still there have been many difficult situations attending arrangements in relation to Africa and to Asia, which have often brought the great powers to the brink of war. At the present time, however, the waste places of the earth are all subject to the jurisdiction of some European state, the savage races are under control, and not many difficulties remain with reference to partly civilized lands. It remains true, however, that there are still countries which are not in accord with the conditions of human progress and which can secure adjustment with those conditions only by the aid of more advanced nations. It is such countries that call for especial consideration at this time.

Areas which need the help of the more advanced nations have been, and are, quite different in their specific conditions.

Some have been scantily populated by savages, as was the case in the early days of the United States and Canada.

Others, as in Africa, were rather densely populated by savage tribes, often quite formidable in war.

Mexico and Peru had considerable semi-civilized populations.

New States and Old Civilizations

A very different picture is presented by states which have been the home of ancient civilizations but which, for a variety of reasons, have become feeble, as in parts of Asia.

The results of the world war have brought into being, or will do so, again, new states which will require especial care and help until they are self-supporting.

So far as there are unsettled questions relating to any of these forms of more or less dependent lands, some permanent principles should now be adopted, in order to avoid, on the one hand, danger of international collision of interests, and on the other hand, the unjust exploitation of the weak by the strong. Justice for all is the only safe basis for the peace which we hope will be enduring.

In this connection especial attention should be given to the rehabilitation of old civilizations. They should be aided in every reasonable way to become modern, strong, and self-respecting. The temptation to exploit them in the interest of particular nations or of individual financial interests should at once be overcome. They should be helped permanently for their own sake. The whole method of dealing with such peoples, in short,

should be revolutionized—should be exactly reversed.

Help Weak States and Help the World!

In the long run this new process will be a benefit to the world as a whole, although it may hamper the desires of special financial interests. The process will benefit the world because it will remove causes of collision and because it will heal the rankling sense of injustice which is dangerous to the safety of public order. It will benefit the world because such states will become prosperous, their raw resources will be developed and their commerce will increase the wealth of the world by general diffusion rather than by individual and partial accretion. It will benefit the world because the society of nations will be increased by the addition to its progressive membership of worthy and valuable members. But the new principles for the help of nations in need should involve action by the League of Nations. One or more nations, as circumstances may warrant, may be delegated by the League to act as its agents, to carry out its mandates.

The League's Trusteeship

The advantages of such a policy are very clear. In the first place the people to be developed will have no fear of absorption, as it has been in the past. Protectorates have been established—there was no other way—which have rather uniformly tended to complete annexation. The action of a state, or a group of states, empowered by the League, can rest under no suspicion as to motives.

The agent of the League will in fact be a trustee, on the one hand of the League for carrying out its purposes, and on the other hand for the aided state. It cannot be otherwise than that the principles of trusteeship shall be scrupulously observed.

Again, the primary purpose of the trusteeship will be the interest of the aided state. The very fact of trusteeship will make this fact always conspicuous—it cannot be disregarded.

But, as has been said, in the end all nations will benefit from the success of the undertaking. It is for the interest of the world to have no backward states.

Doubtless in working out such a plan there will be many details to be considered. It is very likely that no two-sided states will be under the same circumstances, and different methods must be followed accordingly.

The organization of the League of Na-

tions, therefore, should have, not merely a Court for the settlement of justiciable questions; an arbitration tribunal for the settlement of differences not justiciable; a conference, for the codification and development

of international law; but also a commission for providing the extension of aid to states in need. It is this last point which is here urged as a method essential to peace and justice in the progress of the world.

EXIT BOOZE—ENTER ALCOHOL

BY WM. H. WAGGAMAN

(Scientist in Fertilizer Investigations, Bureau of Soils, Washington, D. C.)

THE two terms booze and alcohol have been used so indiscriminately that the average person regards them as more or less synonymous, and consequently one of the most valuable and useful of all chemical compounds is associated in our minds with the dive, roadhouse, and corner saloon. The terms are not synonymous by any means. Booze, meaning more particularly the distilled liquors, whisky, gin, rum, and brandy, has been, is, and probably always will be a source of considerable misery due to its misuse. There is no denying that for this reason there is a world-wide demand to curtail or restrict the consumption of alcoholic beverages, and even the most ardent supporter of the bottle, keg, or flowing bowl will regretfully acknowledge that John Barleycorn is losing out. Certainly the recent ratification of the "bone-dry" amendment by Nebraska, the thirty-sixth State to take this stand, seals his fate in this country. The stage is set and on January 16, 1920, amidst howls of protest and groans of regret which, however, will all be drowned in vociferous applause—exit booze.

What Is Industrial Alcohol?

But the manufacture of alcohol for industrial purposes is growing by leaps and bounds. Alcohol, moreover, is a substance of such extreme importance in science, art, and industry that its production should not only be unhampered by foolish or ignorant prejudice, but every encouragement should be given the manufacturers so that they can place their product on the market at the lowest possible cost.

Yet it was only thirteen years ago that this country awoke to the necessity of having tax-free alcohol for our arts and industries. Up to that time practically all alcohol, whether it was burned as fuel or its nature destroyed

in some manufacturing process, carried the same tax as that consumed for beverage purposes. In 1906, however, Congress passed a bill permitting its withdrawal from bonded warehouses free of tax, provided there was added to such alcohol small amounts of some substance which rendered it unfit for use as a beverage. Alcohol so treated is known as denatured or industrial alcohol. While the denaturing agent varies, depending on the subsequent use of the alcohol, it is always of such a character that it cannot be readily removed. The more common denaturants are wood alcohol, benzine, pyradine, and carbolic acid.

It is interesting to compare the production of alcohol for beverage purposes with that used in the arts and industries during the past ten years. The following figures taken from the latest report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue show how industrial alcohol is coming into its own:

PRODUCTION OF DISTILLED SPIRITS AND INDUSTRIAL ALCOHOL DURING THE PAST TEN YEARS

Year	Distilled Spirits (Gallons)	Denatured or Industrial Alcohol (Proof Gallons)
1909.....	133,450,755	7,967,736
1910.....	156,237,526	10,605,870
1911.....	175,402,306	11,682,888
1912.....	178,249,985	13,955,904
1913.....	185,353,383	16,953,553
1914.....	174,611,746	17,811,078
1915.....	132,134,152	25,411,718
1916.....	249,123,922	84,532,253
1917.....	277,834,367	93,762,423
1918.....	173,476,474	90,644,722

The abnormal increase in the output of industrial alcohol during the past four years was due largely to the demands of war, enormous quantities of this compound having been used in the manufacture of smokeless powders, in the production of fulminates or primers for guns and cannon, and for the

many medicinal preparations which are so necessary in the treatment and care of the wounded.

The apparent falling off in the production of industrial alcohol during 1918 is due to the fact that the above table does not give the large volume of tax-free but *undenatured* alcohol used by the Government for war purposes.

How Alcohol Is Made

Pure alcohol is a colorless, mobile liquid with a rather pleasant, refreshing odor, but a disagreeable, burning taste. From a chemical standpoint it consists of a compound of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen, but containing so little of the last-mentioned element that it takes fire readily when a flame is applied and burns until the demand of its hydrogen and carbon atoms for oxygen is satisfied. The high combustibility of alcohol is alone sufficient to insure this compound an immense future, for it is this property which renders it capable of supplying man with the four forces, heat, electricity, light, and power, which are essential to the growth of civilization. Curiously enough, the initials of these four forces which are man's chief aids spell the significant word *help*.

While the manufacture of neither alcohol nor distilled liquors is a difficult process, careful control and strict attention to details are necessary in order to obtain the maximum yields of a high-grade product.

Most substances containing the carbohydrates, sugar, starch, or cellulose, when properly treated produce alcohol and carbonic acid gas, and since all vegetable matter contains one or more of these substances, the raw materials for alcohol production are practically unlimited. The various cereal crops, potatoes, both white and sweet, and products of the sugar industry are particularly rich in carbohydrates, and therefore they have been our chief sources of industrial alcohol, as well as of alcoholic beverages.

There are three distinct steps in the manufacture of alcohol or distilled spirits. First, a mash or wort is prepared by grinding these raw materials and mixing with water till the starch and cellulose are in a glutinous condition and can be readily acted upon. Before starch, cellulose and even cane and beet sugar will produce alcohol they must first undergo a chemical change by which they are converted into some simple sugar such as maltose or glucose, either of which is readily acted upon by the alcoholic ferment.

The conversion of these carbohydrates into simple sugars may be accomplished either by malt, which effects the change through fermentation, or by an acid which produces the same effect through its chemical activity.

After the above change is brought about the second step consists in adding yeast to this mass and allowing the alcoholic ferments to work on the sugars. The products of this fermentation are alcohol and carbonic acid. Those who have visited distilleries or breweries remember, no doubt, the violent ebullition of the wort, or beer, which is due to the escape of carbonic acid gas from the solution. The alcohol remains in this liquid and is separated from the water by distillation, which constitutes the third step of the process.

It has been suggested that the obsolete liquor distilleries might be converted into industrial alcohol plants, but unfortunately this cannot be done without a considerable expenditure, since the types of stills used for the two products differ very materially.

Why Alcoholic Beverages Are Costly

Although industrial alcohol and alcoholic beverages are made by the same general process, there is a wide difference in the cost of the alcohol or active ingredient of the two types of products. Well-made distilled spirits for beverage purposes cannot be produced very cheaply for a number of reasons. In the first place, the high-grade raw materials are in immense demand, for they constitute our daily bread. The fact that booze cut so deeply into the world's cereal crops, rice, corn, barley, and rye, was one of the main reasons why the production of distilled liquors was stopped or restricted by many of the nations during the late war. In the second place, the fermentation and distillation steps must be so controlled and conducted that a high yield of alcohol is often sacrificed in order to obtain a product of the proper flavor.

The average drinking man has a very fastidious palate, and can detect rather fine shades of difference in a liquor's flavor, which accounts in part for the many brands and blends of whisky, rum, gin, and brandy. The great importance of flavor also makes it impracticable to convert the carbohydrates of the mash into simple sugars by means of the mineral acids and, therefore, the more tedious and expensive method of using high-grade malt must be employed. Finally the aging of the product for a number of years,

which is considered necessary to add to it the last touch of mellowness and aristocracy, also ties up for a protracted period a large amount of unproductive capital.

Industrial Alcohol May Utilize Waste

In the manufacture of alcohol for industrial purposes, on the other hand, it is unnecessary to use pure or high-grade materials. In fact, many waste products may be utilized, such as the over-ripe fruit, cores and skins which are the by-products of canneries, potato parings, molasses, and other wastes of the sugar industry. Even sawdust when properly treated and fermented can be made to yield alcohol which is just as valuable for industrial uses as that derived from corn, rye or potatoes.

Not only can relatively inexpensive raw materials be used in manufacturing alcohol, but the conversion of the starch, cellulose or sucrose in the mash into simple sugars can be brought about more expeditiously and inexpensively by means of a mineral acid in lieu of malt. Since flavor is of no consequence in the preparation of the product, fermentation and the subsequent distillation can be so conducted that a maximum yield of alcohol is obtained at a minimum of expense. Finally, there is no object or advantage in storing such alcohol for protracted periods. It may be marketed as fast as it is manufactured and the investment thus made continually productive.

Because relatively pure undenatured alcohol (95 per cent.) is loaded with a heavy tax it is commonly believed that its production is rather costly. Such is not the case, although the restrictions surrounding its manufacture in the United States are such as to render the product more expensive than abroad. European countries long ago recognized the importance of offering every encouragement to the manufacturers of alcohol for industrial purposes and shortly before the war Germany was producing alcohol (95 per cent. pure) at a cost of less than 30 cents per gallon—as compared with 40 to 50 cents in this country. The war has shown that American sagacity is second to none and here is another chance for us to match our ingenuity against the German's.

Alcohol as a Fuel and an Illuminant

The uses of alcohol are so numerous that should its production suddenly cease a number of industries would be greatly hampered, if not actually paralyzed. Of course the

possibility of alcohol supplanting such fuels as coal, oil, and gas, is very remote. The fact that the United States has been blessed with enormous resources of these so-called "fossil fuels" has made us accept them as a matter of course and has caused us to be very profligate in their use. Some day, however, the world must face a serious dearth in such fuels, and as they become increasingly scarce their cost will automatically rise, and it is conceivable that alcohol in some locations at least might be as cheap as the natural fuels we now so thoughtlessly waste.

Even now alcohol for heating purposes has a very important place in almost every home, since it gives off no unpleasant odor, is relatively safe to handle and does not carbonize like kerosene. Electricity is its only rival as a fuel under the chafing-dish or coffee percolator and electricity is not only considerably more expensive, but it is not everywhere available.

Alcohol has been and is now used very successfully for lighting purposes. The advent of the Welsbach mantle, which depends on heat for its luminosity, has made it possible to utilize alcohol lamps. Where so used alcohol gives approximately three times as much light as the same volume of kerosene burned in a good oil lamp. The cleanliness of alcohol and its freedom from odor make it particularly desirable as an illuminant where gas and electricity are not at hand.

As a Substitute for Gasoline

The use of alcohol as a motor fuel is very common abroad but has not been practised to any extent in this country, because the cost of production is still too high to enable it to compete with gasoline. While it is true that weight for weight gasoline has a higher calorific power and is more easily converted into the gaseous state than alcohol, where actually used in the internal combustion engine considerably less of its theoretical power can be developed than that of alcohol. A comparison of the two fuels under the conditions best adapted for the use of each has shown that the power developed per gallon of fuel is about the same. For this reason it seems unlikely that alcohol will be employed to any extent for power purposes until its price and that of gasoline are more nearly equal.

The present price of industrial alcohol in the United States is about sixty-five cents per gallon, but there is every reason to believe that its cost will eventually be very materially

reduced. If the price of gasoline continues to advance it is only a question of time before this fuel will meet in alcohol a formidable rival. Alcohol already occupies a very important place in the automobile world as the chief constituent of many anti-freeze mixtures which are used in radiators during the winter.

Varied Uses

While we need and should have cheaper alcohol, certain industries must have it almost regardless of its cost. Next to water, alcohol is undoubtedly man's most useful solvent. It is the active ingredient of many paint and varnish removers; it dissolves shellacs and gums on which water has no effect. It is used as a diluent in the so-called "dopes" for aeroplane wings which render these monsters of the air practically water-proof. It extracts from many herbs the qualities which render them so useful in medicine. The oils and essences familiar to the thrifty housewife, such as essence of vanilla, lemon and wintergreen, are alcoholic solutions of these flavoring materials. The manufacture of perfumery is nearly as dependent on alcohol as the iron industry is upon coke. Modern surgery has reached its present high degree of success largely because of the use of the anesthetics, ether and chloroform. Both of these compounds are produced through the agency of alcohol. A mixture of alcohol and ether is used as a solvent for introcellulose, which is the active ingredient of many high explosives. During the late war the quantity of alcohol consumed in the

United States for explosives and other war purposes was 50,000,000 proof gallons.

Alcoholic solutions of collodion are extensively used in the manufacture of artificial leather and to a less extent in artificial silk. Alcohol and one of the by-products formed in its manufacture are of such importance in photography that should the supply of these two substances be suddenly cut off, the incomes of a number of our "movie" heroes and heroines would be threatened with extermination.

The dye industry, which has been so developed in this country during the past few years that while Germany may some day compete with us she can never monopolize this business again, is largely dependent on alcohol as a solvent.

And so we might go on enumerating the uses and extolling the virtues of alcohol and damning spirituous beverages with the faintest of praise. This is not a prohibition article, however, nor is it written to fill the lovers of "liquid fire" with a longing to have the fast-tightening "lid" blown off into illimitable space, so that "jags" might once more be long, glorious and cheap. No, it is simply to show that while the alcoholic beverage will soon be a practically extinct species, the production of alcohol for industrial purposes should be encouraged in every way. It is also hoped that the article will straighten out that popular misconception that alcohol is produced mainly for internal use and internal revenue. It is high time we all should know that alcohol is alcohol and booze is booze.

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HOME AGAIN—AND READY TO PLAY THEIR PART IN THE NEW AMERICAN ERA

(Three hundred thousand Negroes formed no small part of Uncle Sam's victorious army. They are now being rapidly demobilized. Half a million other Negro workers migrated from the South to the North during the war period)

THE NEGRO AT WORK

A DEVELOPMENT OF THE WAR AND A PROBLEM OF RECONSTRUCTION

BY GEORGE EDMUND HAYNES

(Director of Negro Economics, United States Department of Labor)

NEGROES at work in industry and in agriculture contributed as materially to winning the war as did Negroes on the battle-front in France. They helped to build ships, to dig coal, to operate railroads, to raise corn, wheat, oats, hogs, and other food products, and to raise cotton and other staples. They worked in powder plants and in munition factories; they helped to build cantonments. The brawny arms of black stevedores and screwmen loaded many vessels with supplies on the docks at Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, New Orleans, and other places, and unloaded vessels in record time at foreign ports. When the full story of the war is written, the black stevedore battalions at French docks, who sometimes worked night and day without relief, will have a high place in the annals of victory.

A gang of Negro riveters at Sparrows Point, Md., first broke the world's record for driving rivets into the hull of a steel ship. Thousands of other Negro workers in the shipyards—at Newport News, Charleston, Wilmington, Tampa, and other places—

helped to build the "bridge of ships" for the transportation of troops and supplies to Europe. Negro pile drivers at Hog Island established a new world's record which still stands.

In the coal fields of West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama, other thousands—many of them working extra shifts—mined coal during the serious winter months of 1917-1918, thus helping to provide fuel not only for homes but also for industry and transportation during the mad race of war. In agriculture during the past four years, the values of the twelve principal food and feed crops in the Southern States increased more rapidly than the values of the cotton crop, great as those were. The Negro farmer and farm laborer had a large share in this increase.

The Government's War-Time Interest

The Department of Labor began during the war to give attention to these Negro labor problems, in its war-time effort to increase the morale and efficiency of Negro workers and to improve their relations with

white workers and employers for maximum production.

In promoting this work the Secretary of Labor held that since Negroes constitute about one-tenth the total population of the country, and one-seventh the working population they should have representation in council when matters affecting them were being considered.

State conferences were held in Virginia, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, New Jersey, Michigan, and Missouri. In these conferences representative white and Negro citizens frankly and freely discussed problems involved, plans of organization, and methods of work for mobilizing and energizing Negro workers through improving the relationship between them and white employers and white workers, and through improving working and living conditions.

Each conference adopted a plan for organizing its own State into a Negro Workers' Advisory Committee and into local committees for counties, cities, and towns. On these committees representatives of white employers and Negro workers—and, wherever possible, white workers—were appointed by the Department of Labor. In addition, supervisors of Negro economics of the Department are at work in five Southern and four Northern States as executives, working through the United States Employment Service to direct the activities of these committees.

So effective has been the constructive work of this field organization, and so far-reaching have been the results, that the service has been continued into the reconstruction period and its permanent development is proposed both by public officials and by private citizens.

Effects of the War on Negro Workers

Out of the great war have come many changes for our country. The changes in our domestic life are not so apparent as those in our international relations; they are, however, no less certain.

Negro workers have been affected by war conditions—first, in their relations to white employers; second, in their relation to white wage-earners; and third, within themselves.

As to changed relations of Negro workers to white employers: Before the war Northern employers depended upon European immigrants for much of their unskilled and semi-skilled labor. When the war cut

off this supply, Southern towns and rural districts were tapped for Negro labor. Between 1915 and 1918 probably from 400,000 to 500,000 Negroes in the South migrated to Northern industrial and commercial centers.

Northern employers for the most part had limited previous experience with Negro workers. Extreme necessity for labor forced many to try them. Wherever thought and care were used during the necessary adjustment period, the experiment was successful, the employer was pleased, and the Negro as a permanent employee often gained consideration. Of course, there have been some complaints about irregularity, timidity, and unwillingness of Negroes to work out-of-doors in winter. The fact remains, however, that scores of Northern employers who had not previously employed Negroes tried them during the war as an experiment, and have retained them since.

The war labor experience and migration North have also changed the Negro's relation to Southern employers, who have made a revaluation of Negro labor. Here and there during the war attempts were made to use compulsory "work or fight" ordinances, but in most localities the more liberal method of better treatment gained headway. Marked advance was made in increased wages and improved living and working conditions, and in furnishing educational and community facilities. In many localities white and Negro citizens have met and are still meeting for conferences and discussions where frankness and freedom of speech prevail. A better understanding between the races in such localities has resulted. The white press of the South has come out more emphatically than ever for justice, law, and order in dealing with Negroes.

Furthermore, the Negro has changed in his relations with white workers, especially in the North. Undoubtedly the effects of the labor shortage in northern industries during the war, when there were more jobs than workers, enabled Negroes to enter many industries without opposition. Before 1914, Negro workers, men and women, had been limited principally to domestic and personal service occupations in northern communities.

Then local unions in cities like Chicago, Cleveland, and New York began to open their doors to Negro members. Peaceful entrance to a wide range of occupations where unions are strong has been accomplished under the pressure of war conditions.

National and State labor organizations have repeatedly announced a policy of knowing no creed or color, and have called upon local unions to put these principles into practise.

On the other hand, Negro workers are not eagerly joining the unions, and some are attempting to organize along racial lines because of suspicions and unpleasant experiences of past years. The Negro has a point of view of his own. He believes in organization for collective bargaining; but he naturally inclines toward conciliatory agreements to prevent industrial strife, rather than toward conflict and peace conferences after industrial war.

Finally, the Negro worker himself has been greatly modified by his war-work experience. Change in residence from the South to the North, of about half a million workers has affected the Negro's home and community. The struggle to secure better conditions of work and opportunities for larger life has created a restlessness of mind calling for the best Negro leadership and the most sympathetic attitude of white Americans.

The present migration northward is only an acceleration of a movement from the rural districts to urban centers, and from South to the North, that has been going on for half a century. The acceleration, however, has driven deep into the consciousness of the Negro masses the perception that a man's freedom means his opportunity to move from place to place, to find a better job, and

DRESSING HOGS IN A CHICAGO PACKING PLANT

to secure a higher standard of living and greater liberty of conduct.

What the Negro Wants

There has been gradually crystallizing a unity of opinion and of thought within the rank and file of Negroes, as a result of this war experience in industry and agriculture. Any honest attempt to adjust labor relations should seriously consider it. This unity of opinion may be summarized as follows:

First, they desire to get work and to hold it on the same terms as other workers, and to receive equal pay for equal work.

Second, they desire education of all kinds. Many workers acknowledge their lack of efficiency. In their own way, they point out the need of opportunity for training to enable them to take a larger part in modern production. Employers who have furnished shop training for Negroes testify that they are very "teachable" and enthusiastic over the opportunity.

Third, they want justice in public courts and before tribunals; they want removal of the restrictions and inconveniences in public conveyances; they ask for provision in communities where Negroes live of public facilities like fire protection, police vigilance against vice and crime, as well as legal protection against mob violence and lawlessness. About 64 Negroes, 5 of them women were lynched in this country last year, and about 248 in the four preceding years. They want a chance to buy or rent good houses

SKILLED NEGRO LABOR IN A NEWPORT NEWS
SHIPYARD

on well-paved streets with sanitary and other community facilities considered essential to wholesome living.

Fourth, although the masses of the Negro people see it more or less dimly, there is nevertheless a growing desire among them for opportunity for self-determination and self-development. They express the wish to work and to live as a part of the people for whose happiness and advancement governments exist. They are turning away from the old idea that black men and women were born and should be trained for "hewers of wood and drawers of water." They are beginning to believe in the worth of the worker, and that all should join not only in producing good things but in enjoying them.

After-War Problems of Negro Labor

These war-born changes in the Negro's relations and mind call for thought and plans. In the short time that has elapsed since the signing of the armistice, the Negro has shown his readiness for adaptation to new conditions. In Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Michigan, and other Northern States where large numbers of Negro newcomers have not yet become adjusted to the highly organized industrial life, they face uncertain conditions. But they are maintaining that cheerful hopefulness so characteristic of the Negro. They are turning their smiling faces forward with that radiant faith they possess as an enduring asset of American democracy. In the South, they are responding with enthusiasm where

offers of better chances and conditions are promised or provided.

Reconstruction as it touches Negro workers involves race relations which include white employers and white workers, now no less than during war times. Consequently, many problems are before us and will persist into peace times, calling for coöperative plans and liberal policies. Their solution is of great moment to white employers and white workers, as well as to the Negroes.

The demobilization of about 300,000 Negro soldiers into civilian life and occupations brings more delicate and difficult questions than did the drafting of them into the army. The shifting of thousands of Negro workers, particularly in the North, from war industries to peace industries, is already presenting peculiar problems. With a large amount of unemployment of white workers in the same communities, the prevention of race friction and riots—such as have occurred in East St. Louis, Ill., Chester, and Philadelphia, Pa.—calls for constructive policies and programs. In the interest of white workers, of Negro workers, and of local communities where they reside, these difficulties should be met so as to bring about peaceful adjustment before occasions of violence arise. Coöperation and not repression is the effective method.

Negro women have entered industry as never before, both North and South. Domestic and personal service has offered them larger wages. Amicable adjustment for them calls for serious consideration. The farm labor question in the South is very largely a Negro labor question. Conditions

A ROOMFUL OF NEGRO TYPISTS IN A CHICAGO MAIL ORDER HOUSE

there now are such that the most thoughtful men and women of both races are seeking principles and plans for adjustment. Living conditions of Negro wage-earners, both North and South, need to receive more attention during the period of reconstruction and peace than heretofore. One of the most striking evils of the large migration of Negroes to northern communities is the poor housing which they are forced to accept, even in cases where they have the means and the desire to buy or rent better homes.

The Need of Permanent Plans

The common interests of white employers wishing to engage the services which Negro wage-earners have to offer, the fact that Negro wage-earners must work to live, and that white workers must do the same, make this labor situation one of the most far-reaching factors in the problem of bringing a just and amicable adjustment of race relations. This racial labor adjustment between white employers, white workers and Negro workers has a vital economic nexus. The active coöperation of white employers especially may render a large patriotic service which at the same time will advance industry, agriculture, and commerce. It calls for the coöperation of the several States and many localities in a national policy, a nation-wide program of work and some organized means through which local citizens and authorities may act freely.

The experiments of the Department of Labor with its Negro Workers' Advisory Committees and its State supervisors of Negro economics have received the commendation of whites and Negroes, North and South, and they offer a definite indication of a way

to achieve practical, constructive results.

The next step needed is closer coöperation among agencies, private and public, in programs of work and coöperative organization with local autonomy and a nation-wide policy. Chambers of commerce, merchants associations and employers individually, as well as the organizations of white workers, have here a special call for sympathetic coöperation with a struggling American group. The facts of racial antagonism may be met by mutual understanding.

The patriotic devotion of Negro workers in war production and their cheerful facing of reconstruction uncertainties add to the Negro soldier's supreme sacrifice to make a heavier national obligation for these workers to have democratic justice in America during the coming peace era with its expected prosperity.

BULLFROG LAKE IN THE PROPOSED ROOSEVELT NATIONAL PARK, CALIFORNIA

A ROOSEVELT NATIONAL PARK

COMPARATIVELY few Americans, whether travelers or stay-at-homes, have an adequate notion of what is involved in the bill introduced in the last Congress to extend the area of Sequoia National Park, to be known as Roosevelt National Park. It is somehow easier for the American who has never viewed the Alps to imagine what Switzerland is like than to visualize a tract of land larger than the State of Rhode Island, situated in central California just west of the summit ridge of the Sierras, embracing within its limits the highest mountain in the

United States, with river canyons far surpassing in grandeur any of Europe's scenic features, and all this thrown open by the Government as a national playground.

Mount Whitney, Mount Langley, Mount Tyndall, and Mount Williamson, ranging in height from 14,000 to 14,500 feet, and Mount Brewer, Thunder Mountain, and the Kawaah Peaks, all over 13,500 feet in elevation, are the outstanding features of the park landscape, but there are hundreds of other elevations second only to these. The Kings and Kern River canyons, equal if not

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND JOHN MUIR, WITH A GROUP OF FRIENDS, STANDING IN FRONT OF ONE OF THE FAMOUS "BIG TREES" IN THE YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK

KEARSARGE PINNACLES AND LAKES, NEAR
KEARSARGE PASS—TWELVE THOUSAND FEET
ELEVATION

© National Geographic Society

THE "GENERAL SHERMAN" TREE, SAID TO BE THE
OLDEST AND LARGEST LIVING THING IN THE WORLD

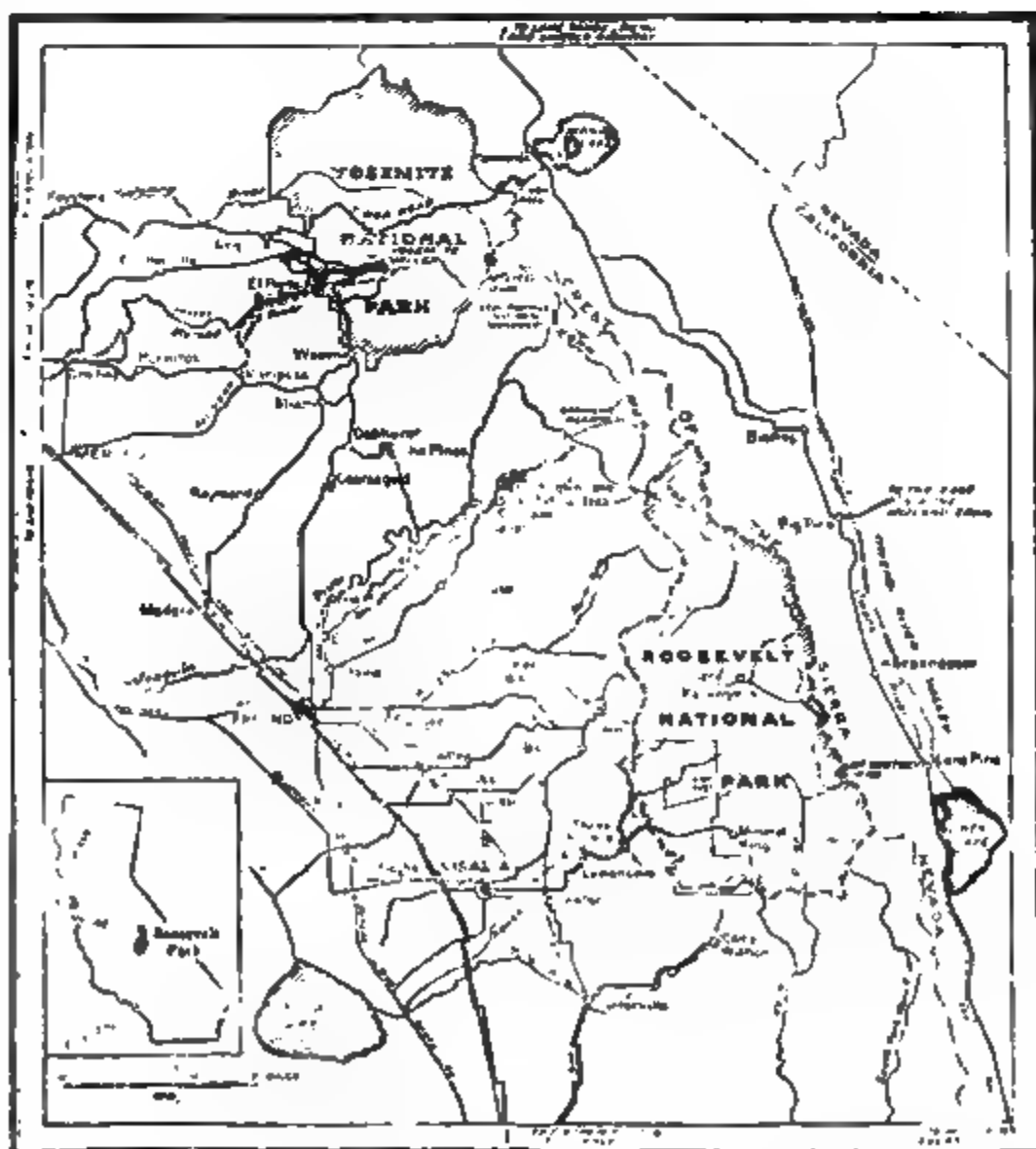
© National Geographic Society

LOOKING OFF TO FAREWELL GAP FROM TIMBER GAP—ELEVATION 10,558 FEET
(Vandever Mountain, on the right of the gap, rises to 12,000 feet)

superior to the Yosemite in vastness, with their rushing waterfalls, give this region a scenic character possessed by no equal area in America.

The existing Sequoia Park took its name, very properly, from the towering native trees so numerous within its boundaries. Roosevelt Park will include the "Big Trees" as one of its features, in a setting of mountain and cascade extending for seventy-five miles from north to south. The John Muir Trail leads all the way from Mount Whitney to the Yosemite National Park.

Secretary Lane and Director Stephen T. Mather, of the National Park Service, are enthusiastic supporters of the plan to dedicate these sixteen hundred square miles of rugged mountain scenery to the American President who in his life-time rejoiced unceasingly in his love of the great out-of-doors.



THE ROOSEVELT NATIONAL PARK, THE YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK AND THE JOHN MUIR TRAIL CONNECTING THE TWO SCENIC RESERVES



LANDS OCCUPIED BY TURKEY IN 1914

TURKISH POPULATIONS REVERTING TO TYPE

BY GEORGE E. WHITE, D.D.

(President of Anatolia College, Marsovan)

[Several weeks ago Dr. White, as the head of a large party of teachers, medical and hospital experts, and social workers, set sail from New York for Turkey, to resume the work from which they had been driven away by the Turks in the war period. Dr. White is one of the American educators of statesmanlike grasp who have given this country its position of influence in the Near East. We have in previous articles in this REVIEW described the American colleges, one of which—in Northern Asia Minor—is under Dr. White's presidency. The article printed herewith has great value as showing how rapidly the Turkish problem may be solved if the Armenians, Greeks, and other basic populations of Turkey are given their full opportunity and if the old forms of Turkish government are boldly swept away.—THE EDITOR.]

AMONG the phrases that evolutionary thinking has made familiar to us Retroversion to Type is one of the most suggestive. It seems to apply quite as usefully in the field of human history as in the natural world. Atoms of humanity or tribal aggregations like molecules may be absorbed in some large body politic and lose their own identity, but the resulting combination probably retains the character of each of its constituents, and when superficial force dominates alien elements without vitally transforming and absorbing them, the tendency is for the hidden but inherent nature of each component part to come to the surface again by and by. This process, if I am not mis-

taken, is now in operation over the fair territories and among the remaining millions of people that make up the Turkish Empire as it is to-day. Real progress means the development of native character.

A vision rises before my eyes. It is easier for me to visualize the "first four hundred families" of Turkish history than the "first four hundred families" of New York society. The place is in central Asia Minor; the time, about 1250 A. D.; the figures, a nomad tribe on the march. They have come up from Khorassan in the depths of Asia and are seeking a new home. They are encamped on a beautiful Anatolian upland under a sky of Mediterranean blue. The women and

children cower and whimper among the ox-carts, while the men are watching a battle in progress on the plain below. The Mongol characteristics of the tribe appear in the slit slant eyes, high cheek bones, yellowish or brownish color, sparse hair and beard, small nose, and squat figure. Long and eagerly did the men scan the struggle on the plain until they could restrain themselves no longer, and with the Mohammedan battle cry, "Allah Ekber," "God is Great," they swing into their saddles and charge down the mountain to turn the tide of battle in favor of the Seljuk Sultan, Aladdin of Iconium. And that is the way the Ottoman Turks enter the pages of European history and begin to bear a part in the western world. In the great stretches of history it was not so very long ago.

*Asia Minor Submerged and Europe Invaded
by Ottoman Turks*

The Ottomans were one of many Turkish and Tartar tribes that swarmed out of the prolific Mongol hive in central Asia. Their first victory won them a fief and a home granted by Sultan Aladdin. By degrees they eclipsed and absorbed their Seljuk cousins and predecessors, and for many generations they were moving forward on an ever-advancing tide. The numbers of the Ottomans or Osmanlis were augmented by other hordes of Turkish adventurers and by the gradual conquest or adhesion of numerous clans of Tartars who established themselves more or less independently at first in various parts of Asia Minor, much as in the Apocalyptic vision the tail of the dragon drew after it a third of the stars of heaven. The wandering Turks of this period on the west coasts of Asia, like the approximately contemporary Normans on the west coasts of Europe, were characterized by the primitive virtues of manly daring and physical strength, while they possessed in addition the vigor of pristine Mohammedan faith.

The Turks submerged the Armenian provinces and kingdoms, conquered the dependencies of the Byzantine Empire piecemeal, crossed the Dardanelles and penetrated the Balkan peninsula, returned to capture Constantinople in 1453, and then moved on again toward central Europe and the coast lands of the Mediterranean. The one point for us to emphasize in passing is that in spite of all the blood they shed the Turks nowhere exterminated the local Christian

peoples that they conquered. A large proportion of the inhabitants they absorbed into the Mohammedan system; another part retained their Christianity with a status of serfdom under the theocratic rule of Islam. Some embraced Mohammedanism out of regard for its early virtues; others, whole cities, villages, and tribes, faltered assent to the creed of the Prophet to save their lives; countless women and girls were swept into the harems; individual adventurers went over to the prevailing system; many Christian children were brought up in Turkish homes; and processes like these went on for centuries, until the wonder is that Christianity remained alive and everywhere a vital force.

Rise and Culmination of Turkish Power

It is related that of the 48 Grand Viziers, or Prime Ministers, following the conquest of Constantinople, only 4 were Ottoman Turks by origin; 10 represented other Moslem peoples; and 34 were of Christian ancestry. The Ottoman power at sea was largely recruited from among men of Greek ancestry. One terrible weapon of Mohammedan conquest was wholly forged of Christian steel. For 500 years, approximately from 1326 to 1826, it was the general rule to take 1000 Christian boys a year, circumcise them by force, and organize them in the Janizary corps, which was commonly regarded as the most formidable force in the Turkish army in peace time or in war. Of course the words Moslem and Christian in this connection must be understood as they were historically used, to signify not only individual religious character and convictions, standards and habits of living, and relations with the governments and peoples of foreign countries.

In the time of Queen Elizabeth Sultan Solymán ruled over an Empire worthy to be compared with any in that age of great empires in extent, number of inhabitants, wealth, activity, and aims. Europe, Asia, and North Africa each contributed territory enough for an empire in itself. The Black Sea was a Turkish lake; the Mediterranean hardly less so. The Turkish advance culminated in 1683, when a villager from our Marsovan plain, Kara Mustapha Pasha, as Grand Vizier and Commander-in-Chief, led the Turks in the second siege of Vienna. The expedition failed, and from that point the Turkish power became a receding tide.

Disintegration

To pass immediately to our own times, the present writer has lived in Turkey twenty-five years, and during this period has seen not less than 25,000,000 people with their territories finally emancipated from the Turkish yoke. Bosnia, Herzegovina, Albania, Macedonia, Bulgaria, the Greek Islands, Crete, Cyprus, Tripoli, and Egypt, are no longer reckoned as Turkish, though the changes in their political status have often been effected by successive stages. It is very remarkable that a process of disintegration should proceed so rapidly; that in so many countries the Ottoman government should become ineffective and disappear; also that the Turkish element in the population left behind should be so small, and the original nationalities should rise to the surface again. Retroversion to type!

Home Rule for the Arabs

It is doubtful whether Americans realize the full significance of the recent Arab movement. The Germans thought that they scored an important military advantage in inducing the Sultan at Constantinople as Caliph, or Pope of the Moslem World, to proclaim the "Jihad" or Holy War. The British countered by taking the Caliphate away from the Sultan. In other words, the Arabs went over from the side of the Turks and Germans to the side of the British, and carried the Caliphate with them. Four centuries ago, in the year that Martin Luther nailed his theses to the church door, the Turks conquered Egypt and brought home the Caliphate, the spiritual headship of all Mohammedans, with them. But the Arab claim had never lapsed, and was successfully brought to the front, in coöperation with the admired and respected English.

With the British navy to control the waters by which Arabia is almost surrounded, the Arab tribes on land made short work of Turkish military authority in the great peninsula. The Turks never really conquered the country, nor did any other outside power. Turkish soldiers have gone there to die, but Turkish citizens have never gone there to live. Now it is Arabia for the Arabs! We are told that under old Quaker methods of administration after discussion some leading member stated that "the weight of the meeting" was in favor of a given course, and this would prevail except in case of a rebellion. Similarly the Moslem world

will take its *fatwas* or religious decisions from the source received by prevailing Moslem sentiment as the real Caliph, the rightful Successor of the Prophet.

Turkey's Nominal Area and Population

Omitting Arabia entirely from our calculation, however, Turkey in losing the provinces named above during the last twenty-five years has lost more in area and in territory than was left under her government in 1914. Nowhere has she lost any considerable population of Turks; in every case the lands have practically reverted to descendants of the earlier inhabitants.

These so-called Turkish territories and their people quite naturally divide themselves into four great sections: Asia Minor with Constantinople and the thin slice of European Turkey remaining, Armenia, Syria, and Mesopotamia. For the purposes of comparison the figures may best be presented in the form of a table, together with the corresponding statistics for Turkey's four allies, and for America's four corresponding allies in western Europe.

Turkey	Area in sq. m.	Population
Constantinople and Asia Minor.....	210,000	13,000,000
Armenia, six provinces..	82,000	3,000,000
Syria	116,000	4,000,000
Mesopotamia	142,000	2,000,000
Totals.....	550,000	22,000,000
Turkey's Allies:		
Germany	208,000	65,000,000
Bulgaria	44,000	5,000,000
Austria	115,000	30,000,000
Hungary	125,000	22,000,000
Totals.....	492,000	122,000,000
America's Allies:		
France	207,000	40,000,000
Belgium	12,000	8,000,000
Italy	110,000	35,000,000
British Isles.....	121,000	47,000,000
Totals.....	450,000	130,000,000

It will be seen by the above round numbers that Asia Minor and Constantinople with its strip in Europe, Armenia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, are larger respectively than Germany, Bulgaria, Austria, and Hungary; again they are larger respectively than France, Belgium, Italy, and the British Isles. The Ottoman countries in soil, climate, natural resources, accessibility to salt water and so to the markets of the world, probably equal or surpass the European in potential worth.

When we come to the human occupation,

however, it is a different story. Turkey has room to add 100,000,000 to her population before reaching the density of her Central Allies, or could add more than 100,000,000 before being as thickly settled as are the four Entente Allies. This suggests how vital the issues of the war are as related to the future of Turkey. Let us look at these four Turkish quarters a little more in detail.

Mesopotamia's Future

Mesopotamia was the latest important addition to the Turkish Empire, Bagdad having been conquered about the time the Massachusetts Puritans were founding Harvard College. The Turks never needed room there for settlement, and there is no considerable Turkish element in the sparse population. The native tribesmen are kin with the people of Arabia in blood, speech, and culture. One easily believes that the British soldiers are regarded as deliverers rather than conquerors by the inhabitants. Surveys made a few years ago by Sir William Willcocks proved that old irrigation systems, left to ruin under the Turkish administration, can be rebuilt and extended, whereupon Mesopotamia will literally bud and blossom as the rose.

Syria's Spirit

Syria is another section of the empire where the Turkish pulse was beating feebly. Turkish has never supplanted Arabic as the spoken language, and the Turk himself is a dreaded foreigner. The people are Semitic, with a local history and culture that is dear to them. Before the war, when the Ottoman Parliament was a real forum for the expression of thought, there was a strong Syrian movement for some real degree of decentralization in government; the leaders sought an opportunity to develop local spirit, a Syrian consciousness, and the use of Arabic beside Turkish as an official tongue. The settlement of some Jews in Palestine and a Zionist movement may have helped Syrian sentiment. The result of even a mild degree of French influence in the Lebanon government shines in the eyes of all Syrians with its reflection of security and happiness.

An Armenian State

In Armenia conditions are more complicated. That unfortunate race has been widely scattered, owing to hard conditions in their own home. But they remember well that their Greater Armenian and Cilician

Kingdoms were both carried down by invading Turks. A conviction has been growing in the world outside that the Armenians were in justice entitled to some small state of their own. In 1813 a delegation headed by the Armenian Nubar Pasha secured from European courts an arrangement by which inspectors of six or seven Armenian provinces in Turkey were to be appointed under European sanction. A Norwegian and a Hollander accepted the invitation given them, but the war current was too near at hand to permit of a successful result.

At the minimum about 80,000 square miles should be reckoned as Armenian territory—a larger area than is controlled by any Balkan state. The population of that section is about three-sevenths Armenian, two-sevenths Turkish, and two-sevenths Kurdish. But probably not less than one-half of the Turks in this region and nearly half of the Kurds are of Armenian ancestry. And, to view matters from another angle, a very large proportion of the Mohammedans are of the Kuzzelbash or Shia sect, who are no true Mohammedans. If an autonomous Armenia is established, members of the race from many parts of the world will naturally gravitate thither, and if some Turks were ruled over by Armenians that would be only "turn about" after the centuries in which many Armenians have been ruled over by Turks.

Case of Stavrii

One or two incidents must be related here, because they are characteristic. Not far from Trebizond live the clan of Stavrii, descendants of the Greeks who kept a Greek kingdom in being until after Constantinople had fallen. The Stavrii knew that they were of Christian ancestry, but in some hour of persecution their fathers had yielded assent to Islam. The same buildings were said to serve as mosques above ground and churches below; the same men as *imams* by day and priests by night; the same boys were said to be circumcised and baptized; and named both Osman and Constantine.

A few years ago these Stavrii determined to throw off the mask, and return to their Christian allegiance, and they did so, though at the cost of much government pressure lasting for years. With some of them I became personally acquainted when they were exiled from home. One day a Stavrii met a Turkish friend, and the latter remarked, "I hear you've turned Christian." The Greek answered that they had always known

that their ancestors were Christian Orthodox, and they had decided to avow their original heritage. "But," said the Moslem, "you've been to mosque all these years, and we've said our prayers side by side: how did you think you could deceive God all the time." "I never tried to deceive God," was the answer, "He always knew just what I was. I tried to deceive you, and in that I succeeded."

Christians in Disguise

One day in 1915 when the Turks were dealing out death and destruction to the Armenians, an American met an Armenian on a college campus. With suffering in every feature the latter said: "I'm in an awful strait: tell me what to do. My only son has just graduated from college, but he was arrested and sent from the city in the 'night deportation.' His mother keeps up hope that her one child is still living, but I cannot doubt that he is dead. I am a Protestant Christian. I can never be anything else. And I am not afraid of death. I am ready for the 'deportation' and to meet my fate whatever it is. But there are about seventeen women and girls in our street, two or three to a house, whose men folks are all killed. They have submitted their petitions for registry as Moslems, and are to stay and live. They urge me to become a Moslem too, saying that if I do they can rely on me as a friend and neighbor to help them in those ways for which a man is needed. Ought I to request registry as a Moslem in order to help them?" As things turned out he registered as a Moslem, took a Turkish name, put on a turban, and lived to save others, when in a sense he could not save himself. There have been numberless cases of the sort all down the centuries. How many Armenians have been lost to the nationality by forced defection? Some day the process of retroversion will appear.

The writer is reminded in this connection of the view expressed by a German Consul who had lived many years in Turkey and knew conditions there well. He said to me just after the blow at the Armenians was struck by the Turkish government in alliance with the German that as a student of history he believed the result of that blow would be to establish an autonomous Armenia. As an official he could not support a policy contrary to that of his government, but as a man he believed that Armenian rights would be vindicated in this way.

Religious Divisions

Constantinople and Asia Minor have shared their fortunes together ever since the imperial city was founded. The united population, including European Turkey, is about 13,000,000. Of this number at least 3,000,000 are Christians. Constantinople itself is largely Greek, and Smyrna is still more so. On the principle of nationality a strong argument would be built up for attaching the province of Smyrna and the west coast of Asia Minor to Hellenic Greece, but we will not now pursue that subject. There are large Armenian communities in Asia Minor, and other Christians of various sects.

In the heart of the Turkish Empire, then, the home of the Turkish people, the Moslem population approaches 10,000,000. Most of these are Turks; there are considerable communities of Circassians, Georgians, Laz, Kurds, Albanians, Arabs, and others included, but as Islam is their common faith we need not press the thought of dividing them.

There is another fact, however, not commonly realized. Turks to the number of 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 belong to the Shia or Alevi sect, and there is a deep chasm between them and Orthodox Mohammedans. "Ah those devil worshipers, those devil worshipers," they say of Sunnite Moslems to a friend. "In this world they lord it over us, but in the next we'll saddle them for our asses, and we'll ride 'em, and we'll ride 'em." Shias feel themselves nearer to Christians than to regular Turks. Remember, Shia women veil themselves before Turks, but not before Christians. They say, "He who was revealed to you as Jesus was revealed to us as Ali." "Less than the thickness of an onion skin separates you from us."

It is commonly believed that Shias are of Christian ancestry in the far off past, and that their secret breaking of bread and drinking of wine is a form of the Lord's Supper. They themselves anticipate the time when they will intermarry with Christians, which signifies the closest bond that they—poor people—can understand. In reality Shias are not one with the ruling Turkish system. They should be reckoned as separate. Indeed about the time the war began one of my friends, a Sheikh of influence, said to me, "We'll give the devil-worshipers who are running things one more chance. But we're watching them, and we don't propose to have everything continue as it is now. We've got our own organization now under the name of a commercial union; really it is

a political society. We've got branches everywhere among our people. If conditions don't improve we'll bring in the British. I'll run up the British flag with my own hand, and then their government will have to take notice."

A Majority of Turks' from Christian Ancestry

Reckoning the Turks as approaching 10,000,000 in number, including fractional nationalities thrown in for good measure and including the Shia sectaries, let us not forget that a great portion of the whole are of non-Turkish, non-Moslem, origin. Our knowledge of their history from the beginning until now establishes this definitely. Probably less than half of the men, women and children called Turks owe their ancestry to the Mongol and Moslem tribesmen who migrated from inner Asia to Anatolia. Probably the larger part are of ancestry once reckoned Christian. This is confirmed by the fact that the physical characteristics of Mongols have largely faded out. They visibly persist in some, notably in Tartars immigrant from the Crimea or the Balkan states, whose lineage is comparatively pure. This but emphasizes the difference in the case of the Anatolian stock.

In the heart of what we call the Turkish Empire approximately one-fourth of the population are avowedly Christian; approximately a fourth of the remainder, the Shias, are nearer in sentiment to Christians than to regular Mohammedans; a majority of the whole are of Christian origin. Force has held them together until now, but "blood will tell," and the principle of "retroversion to type" cannot be escaped. After careful observations continued during many years of residence in the country, I am convinced that the Mohammedan Turks do not increase in numbers, possibly as the penalty

of nature for the permission of polygamy, while the Ottoman Christians do increase rapidly unless checked by periods of massacre. If, then, some 2,000,000 to 5,000,000 Mongol immigrants filtered into Asia Minor, their descendants possibly reach those numbers to-day; the rest of the population is to be credited with Christian ancestry.

What "Rights" Has Turkey?

The rights of the Turks as a *de facto* government are sometimes treated as sacrosanct, along with the rights of other "small" peoples. Certainly rights should be respected, including such as have long been subverted by wrongs, but what are the rights of the Turks to Asia Minor and Constantinople? The rights of invaders. By what authority did they maintain their claim? By the authority of the sword. The Turks never built that matchless capital, nor dug the waterway that gives it national and international importance. The Turks have always been fine soldiers; as a peasant and pastoral people they are patient, hospitable, naturally kind-hearted; the only constructive work ever attributed to the race is the Seljukian architecture, and the Ottomans put the Seljuks out of business centuries ago.

The writer shares in the general Anglo-Saxon feeling of real friendliness and regard for the common Turks. But the question of an independent Turkey maintaining all its alleged rights without responsibility and without challenge is no longer practical. The question is whether America and our allies shall carry to its issue a process already in operation in Turkey, whereby the people of that country will be relieved of alien domination, and will be assisted to work out their own destiny with a fair chance for their own native character and hereditary disposition. Then real progress will be at hand.



THE NEW MAP OF ASIA

BY MAJOR E. ALEXANDER POWELL, U. S. A.

(Former American Vice Consul-General in Syria)

WE are about to witness the opening of one of the most significant chapters in the history of human progress. For the first time since the Osmanli hordes came spurring out of Inner Asia behind their horsetail standards and overran the lands bordering on the Mediterranean, the map of Western Asia is to be re-drawn. The great empire founded by Osman, an empire which for six hundred years has been a synonym for cruelty, intrigue, intolerance and oppression, is to be pushed back within the confines of that Anatolian region whence it arose. The Greeks, Armenians, Hebrews and Arabs are to be rid of Turkish rule.

Once again the atlases will bear the names of those classic lands—Armenia, Syria, Judea, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Arabia—which have had no geographic or political significance for centuries. The kingdoms of Herod and Tigranes and Haroun-al-Raschid are to be revived, though whether as protectorates, like Egypt and Morocco; as condominiums, like the Sudan; as spheres of influence, as in North China and Persia; or under the administration of mandatories, to use the latest word in the lexicon of international politics, is yet to be determined. But, no matter what the eventual form of government, Western Asia is to be reconstituted along racial lines. The gates of the future are to be flung open to the oppressed peoples of the Nearer East. That much is certain.

Europe is going eastward. Just as, during the last half of the nineteenth century, her outposts pushed southward, ever southward into Africa, so now the skirmish lines of Christianity, civilization and commerce are about to move

forward across those romantic and mysterious regions which have been so long within the jealously guarded pale of Islam. The plains across which tramped the glittering hosts of Cyrus and Alexander will ere long resound to the hoot of British locomotives and the clatter of British harvesting machines. Water will flow again in those Babylonian canals which were dug when the world was young, irrigating the land where the first wheat was grown. The red-and-white flag of Armenia will flutter once more from the towers of Van and Erzeroum. In Jerusalem the walls of the Temple will rise again. European colonists will build their banks and factories and warehouses on soil soaked with the blood of their crusading ancestors. The hoe will supersede the rifle, the plow will replace the machine-gun. Cook's tourists may, in the not far distant future, wander at will in the Forbidden Cities of Islam. Barbarism and fanaticism will retreat before the inexorable advance of civilization.

Until the Great War broadened our horizon and aroused our imaginations, we Americans were a peculiarly insular and self-centered people. We took but cursory interest



POSSIBLE DIVISION AND REARRANGEMENT OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE

in the politics and problems of other countries or events on other continents, for our minds and our energies were concentrated on the development of the great, rich land which stretches from Sandy Hook to the Golden Gate. Western Asia was to most of us a vague and legendary region until our interest was awakened by the exploits of Maude in Mesopotamia and Allenby in Palestine. Armenia we had always thought of in terms of massacres; an Armenian was to most of us a dark-complexioned foreigner who peddled embroideries and rugs. Arabia we conceived as an expanse of yellow sand (in the geographies of our school-days it was always colored yellow) across which bands of Bedouins in flowing burnouses scurried on rocking camels. Syria meant figs; Anatolia, rugs; Babylonia, of course, evoked pictures of Belshazzar and the hanging gardens.

Mesopotamia we had seen mentioned, in some of the more serious magazines, in connection with a German railway and a British irrigation scheme, and a Sunday supplement had identified it as the site of the Garden of Eden. Our knowledge of Palestine, such as it was, had been obtained from the Scriptures, from returned missionaries, and from Burton Holmes. As for Kurdistan and the Hedjaz and the Dodecanesus, they have been to us scarcely more than names, of which we knew next to nothing and about which, to tell the truth, we were not particularly eager to learn. But our sudden injection into Old World politics as the result of our participation in the war has broken down the barrier of aloofness with which we had hedged ourselves in. The "splendid isolation" of which we used to boast is now a thing of the past.

Trade Opportunities in Western Asia

There is another and more material side to the question. With a merchant marine which is already the second largest in the world and promises to soon be the first, and with industries stimulated by the demands of war, until their production has been enormously increased, we cannot afford to turn our backs on the rich, new markets which will be thrown open to commerce with the Europeanization of Western Asia.

Here is an example of what I mean: According to the painstaking and conscientious investigations of Sir William Willcocks, the irrigable area of Mesopotamia is that of three times as large as that of Egypt. Cotton, sugar-cane, corn, cereals, opium and

tobacco will flourish on the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates as they do in the Valley of the Nile. It follows, therefore, that if, as a result of the introduction of Western methods, Mesopotamia should be able to support two to three times as many people as Egypt, its population might be expected to increase from its present two million to thirty million—in other words, thirty million potential purchasers of American goods. But where will these thirty million people come from, you ask? They will come from India. India suffers from two evils—famine and over-population. And Mesopotamia, which can produce enormous quantities of food and can receive many millions of emigrants, lies at India's door.

Unless all the indications are wrong, the next few years will witness a tremendous struggle for world-trade, and there are already signs a-plenty that of that trade our merchants and manufacturers intend to have their share. Opportunity is beckoning to us from Western Asia. Whether our interests are those of trade or altruism, the moment calls for more exact knowledge and for deeper thinking about the Nearer East. It is an immensely complicated problem, for everything is in the melting-pot from Beirut to Bombay, from Ararat to Aden.

A Few Geographical Comparisons

I have no intention of turning this article into a geography lesson or a travel monologue, but I find that few Americans have other than the haziest ideas as to the extent and population of the regions which are under discussion in Paris. Did you know, Mr. Reader, that the territory whose boundaries are to be re-drawn has a population greater than that of France and an area equal to that of all the States east of the Mississippi? Were you aware that Turkey-in-Asia has a railway system—not a dotted line on a map, mind you, but a system actually in operation—which, if laid down on this continent, would reach from the Rio Grande to Hudson Bay? Did you know that, as a result of the completion of the tunnels in the Taurus and the linking up of the Palestine-Egyptian systems, it is possible to travel to-day, with only two changes—one at the Bosphorus, the other at the Suez Canal—from Paris to the Sudan? And, now that the German bar in East Africa has been removed, that in a few more years, a very few, there will be through rail service from Calais to Cape Town? Did you know that

Mesopotamia was the original habitat of wheat? That the finest coffee in the world, known to us as Mocha, comes from that Arabia which we are accustomed to refer to as worthless desert? Were you aware that Beirut is as large as New Haven, that Damascus is as large as Providence, that Aleppo is as large as St. Paul, that Bagdad is as large as Denver, and that Smyrna is considerably larger than either Washington or New Orleans?

The New State of Armenia

Let us take Armenia to begin with. If, on the map of Asia Minor, you will draw a line from Alexandretta, on the Mediterranean, to Samsoun, on the Black Sea, and another line from Alexandretta due east to Mount Ararat, the mighty boundary-stone which marks the meeting-place of Turkey, Persia and Russia, the resultant triangle will roughly correspond to the area of Turkish Armenia. Though Turkish Armenia, in its broadest sense, is usually understood to include nine vilayets—Trebizond, Erzeroum, Van, Bitlis, Mamuret-el-Aziz, Diarbekir, Sivas, Aleppo and Adana—the Armenia which it is proposed to revivify will probably consist of only the first six of these provinces, for the Turks will almost certainly be permitted to retain Sivas, the population of which is overwhelmingly Osmanli; Aleppo, the greatest railway center in Western Asia, is within the British sphere of influence; while France has claims to Adana.

To get a mental picture of the new state of Armenia you must imagine a country about the size of North Dakota, with Dakota's cold winters and scorching summers, consisting of a dreary and monotonous plateau of an average height of 6000 feet, with grass-covered, treeless mountains and watered by many rivers, whose valleys form wide stretches of arable land. Rising above the general level of this Armenian tableland are barren and forbidding ranges, broken by many gloomy gorges, which culminate, on the extreme northeast, in the mighty peak of Ararat, the traditional resting-place of the Ark. This region has been identified with the Armenians as their historic home for three thousand years. The names of towns, valleys, mountains, lakes and rivers are Armenian; the countryside is dotted with the monuments of ancient Armenia; the soil is soaked with Armenian blood—for it was a boast of the Turks that they would have Armenia without the Armenians—and, above

all else, every Armenian, no matter where he may dwell, is profoundly attached to this wild and somber land, the cradle of his race.

The Armenians unquestionably have the first and the greatest claim to Armenia. They have been known as a nation since the times of Herodotus and probably earlier. Under Tigranes Armenia was the center of an empire extending from the Orontes to the Caspian. Though for six hundred years she has suffered under Turkish cruelty and oppression, she has steadfastly remained the bulwark of Christianity in Asia. Before the war the Armenians in the six vilayets numbered approximately 1,000,000 as compared to 600,000 Turks. But there is no saying how many Armenians remain, for during the past four years the Turks have perpetrated a series of wholesale massacres in order to be able to tell the Christian Powers, as a Turkish official cynically remarked, that "one cannot make a state without inhabitants." A few generations of peaceful lives should be quite enough, however, for the prolific Armenians to repopulate the country and to restore it to its ancient prosperity.

If Armenia be not assigned to the Armenians, to whom, then, will it be given? The Turks, certainly, have no right to it from any point of view. The Kurds have even less claim than the Turks, for their only interest in the country was the opportunities it provided for rapine and plunder. Their country, Kurdistan, lies further to the south. In the early days of the war it was assumed that Armenia would eventually fall to Russia, but the Bolshevik government has announced that it is opposed to territorial expansion, and, even were it not, it is inconceivable that the Allies would toss the unhappy Armenians from the frying-pan into the fire by taking them from the Turks and giving them to the Bolsheviks. The pitiful remnant of the Armenian people must be permanently delivered from massacre and oppression and placed under the guardianship of a Power which can guarantee their security and aid their progress.

The problem of appointing a guardian, or guardians, for Asiatic Turkey is complicated by the fact that various European nations possess large and frequently conflicting interests in that country. Greece, for instance, lays claim to the immensely rich and prosperous vilayet of Aidin, a province approximately the size of the State of Maine, together with the seaport of Smyrna, which is one of the great harbors of the world and

which is practically a Greek city, her contention being that this district was settled by Greeks in the very dawn of history, that for centuries it formed part of the Greek Empire, that its resources and industries have been developed by Greek capital and Greek labor, and that its population is largely Greek to-day, more than half of the 375,000 inhabitants of Smyrna being of Hellenic descent and speaking the Greek tongue. For that matter, about one-fifth of the total population of Asia Minor are Greeks.

Italy's Claims

Italy is supposed to be desirous of obtaining control of the vilayet of Adalia, corresponding to the ancient Pamphylia, which lies between the Greek sphere of Aiden and the French sphere of Adana. The territory claimed by Italy is rather extensive, for it contains the excellent harbor of Adalia, on the Gulf of Alexandretta, in the neighborhood of which she holds numerous valuable concessions, and includes territories of considerable agricultural and mineral potentialities where large numbers of Italian emigrants may be able to find homes.

Whereas Greece bases her claims to territory in Asia Minor on historic and racial grounds, Italy's special title to these regions is quite frankly based upon the vital political and commercial importance to her of the Eastern Mediterranean. What Italy imperatively needs is a free field for economic expansion and for the colonization of her emigrants, who would find in Asia Minor a region admirably adapted for the exercise of their abilities as agriculturists, manufacturers and traders.

Italy, it must be remembered, has an excess of 300,000 births over deaths annually, and for this surplus population an outlet of some sort must be found. Though industry in Italy, which has advanced by leaps and bounds, is making ever increasing demands on labor, the demand is still far from equaling the supply. Italy has an excess of labor and this huge labor reserve must be taken care of by emigration, if possible to lands over which flies the Italian flag. Though Italian expansionists may be expected to protest at any scheme which would apportion to Italy so small a share of Asia Minor as the Adalia district, the distribution would not be as unequal as it at first sight appears, for, in addition to her territorial demands in Europe, Italy has put forward claims to an enlargement of her African colony of Libya, to

the cession to her by France of the colony and seaport of Djibuti, which, as the terminus of the Ethiopian Railway, is the trade gateway to Abyssinia, and to the group of twelve islands off the coast of Asia Minor known as the Dodecanesus.

What Shall Be Done With Syria?

Of the countless problems arising from the reconstitution of Western Asia, that pertaining to the final disposition of Syria is perhaps the most perplexing. Until very recently it has been understood that to France would be allotted the vilayet of Adana, in which are the cities of Adana and Alexandretta—the latter of great commercial importance as being the terminus of a line connecting with the Bagdad Railway—and the whole of Syria except Palestine. France has strong historic and economic claims upon this region. King Philip of France led the Third Crusade to the Holy Land and, after a long siege, captured St. Jean d'Acre. The Sixth Crusade was led by another French sovereign, Louis XI. In 1789 Napoleon, in his attempt to conquer Asia, marched from Egypt up the coast as far as Esdraelon, but was forced back the year following. In 1860 another French army, disembarking at Beirut, liberated the Christians of the Lebanon, secured for them under European guarantees a separate administration with a governor of their own faith, and laid to Damascus the first good road Syria had known since the departure of the Romans.

Recent developments suggest, however, that if Syria is divided at all, which now seems unlikely, Palestine will either be internationalized or erected into an autonomous Hebrew state; Northern Syria, including the immensely important city of Aleppo, will be incorporated in the British sphere; and to the King of the Hedjaz will be assigned Damascus and the Hauran, of which he has already assumed possession; France's share being limited to the littoral, with the ports of Beirut and Tripoli, and the Sanjak of Lebanon.

Such an arrangement bristles with difficulties and dangers, however, for the different parts of Syria are economically interdependent. The fertile plains of the Hauran, for example, have, from time immemorial, been the granary for the mountaineers of Lebanon and the peoples along the coast. Arbitrarily to divorce the Hauran from Western Syria would result in cutting off the food supply of the inhabitants of the latter region

and, in the opinion of those who know Syria, would deal a death blow to Syrian national life and hinder the development of the newly liberated land.

The total area embraced in France's claims in Adana and Syria is somewhat larger than that of California. It is, moreover, by far the most desirable territory in Western Asia, having two fine harbors, a moderately good railway system, roads which are considered excellent in Turkey, immense forests on the slopes of the Lebanon (it was with cedar from Lebanon that Solomon's temple was built), rich but undeveloped mineral deposits in the Anti-Lebanon, vast wheat-fields in the Hauran, a soil in which will flourish almost every product of the temperate and sub-tropic zones, and a most delightful all-the-year-round climate.

France has long been the favorite European power of the Syrians. Many of the concessions in the country were formerly held by French companies; millions of French capital are invested there. France has built harbor-works and railways and schools, and among the better classes French is the general language of conversation.

The Hebrew State of Palestine

Since Lord Robert Cecil, in his speech of December 2, 1917, solemnly declared Palestine for the Jews, it has been assumed that a portion of the ancient Kingdom of Judea would be erected into an autonomous state, though under European or American protection, with Jerusalem as its capital. But just how much, or how little of Palestine will be allotted to the Jews, there is no telling. Though the modern subdivisions of Turkey do not afford a boundary by which Palestine can be separated exactly from the rest of Syria in the north, from the Desert of Sinai in the south, or the Arabian Desert in the east, Palestine may be said generally to denote the southern third of the province of Syria—a region about 140 miles long, from twenty-five to eighty miles in width, in area about one-sixth the size of England.

It is very doubtful, however, if any Hebrew state which may be formed will include the whole of Palestine, for England has quite frankly announced that she intends to retain possession of the ports of Acre and Haifa, the latter being of great commercial importance because of the extensive harbor-works built by the Germans and because it is the terminus of a railway which, running through Samaria and crossing the

Jordan, connects at Der'at with the Damascus-Medina system.

Rich Lands of Mesopotamia and Babylonia

To England also falls, by right of conquest, the least known and potentially the richest of all these Asian lands—Mesopotamia-Babylonia. Mesopotamia, in the widest sense, means all the country between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers from Armenia to the Persian Gulf; in a narrower and more proper usage, the northern part of this region, called to-day by the Arab name, El Jezirah ("the island peninsula"), the southern portion, known to the natives as Irak Arabi, corresponding to ancient Babylonia. This Mesopotamian region has almost unlimited agricultural possibilities. Though it is to-day the most sparsely populated part of the Turkish Empire, it was in ancient times the most densely inhabited part of the world. According to the figures of Herodotus, Babylon covered an area five times that of Paris. After the destruction of the city it became a quarry, Seleucia and Ctesiphon being built with its stones. The former town had, in Pliny's time, 600,000 inhabitants and Ctesiphon must have been nearly as large. As late as the eleventh century Bagdad, then the capital of the gigantic Arab Empire, had more inhabitants than has Chicago.

There is no reason why a land which once supported such an enormous population cannot be made, with the aid of modern science, to do so again. The carrying out of Sir William Willcocks' plans for the irrigation of the Tigris-Euphrates delta will recon-vert Mesopotamia and Babylonia into such another garden as the Imperial Valley of California—perhaps the most striking example in the world of the miracles that can be performed by water.

India to Constantinople by Rail

Not alone Mesopotamia, but southern Persia as well, must come under the influence of England, thus forging the final links in an all-British road from Egypt to India. The day is, I am convinced, not nearly as far distant as most people suppose when two transcontinental railways, the one from China and India, the other from the Cape, will meet near Aleppo, and, passing through the famous old Cilician Gates, approach a Constantinople which is neither Turkish nor Teutonic, but a free city under the protection of the Stars and Stripes.

The New Arabian Nation

Of all the changes wrought by the war, none is more striking or more significant than the vast Arab Empire which it is proposed to establish under the rulership of the King of the Hedjaz. From present indications, it is to be assumed that this great new nation, which will have an area four times that of Texas, will include the whole of the southwestern peninsula of Asia, as far north as Damascus, which is already occupied by Arab troops.

The present provinces of Arabia are: (1) Al Tih, which corresponds to the peninsula of Sinai; (2) the Hedjaz, in which are the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina and their ports, Jiddah and Yambo; (3) Asir, the alpland south of the Hedjaz; (4) Yemen, the southwest corner of the peninsula, long famous for its Mocha coffee, which is exported through the port of Hodeidah; (5) Hadramaut, which borders on the Indian Ocean; (6) Mahra and Shilu, the incense country lying further to the east; (7) Oman, a semi-independent sultanate of which Maskat is the capital; (8) Hasa; (9) Bahrian, a group of eight islands in the Persian Gulf, famous for their pearl-fisheries; (10) Dahnah, the great territory lying between Hadramaut, Oman and Nejd; (11) Nejd, a desert province in the interior; (12) Nufud, the desert north of Jebel Shammar; and (13) the Hammad, which includes the deserts of Syria, Mesopotamia and Babylonia.

To give you some idea of the size of this proposed Arab state, I might mention that in length it is equivalent to the distance from New York to Kansas City; its breadth, from the Red Sea to the Arabian Sea, is as far as from San Antonio to St. Paul.

The King of the Hedjaz Gets His Reward

Though the erection of this Arab Empire arouses no enthusiasm in France, because it threatens her territorial ambitions in Syria, she cannot well interpose any objections, for it is in the nature of a reward to the King of the Hedjaz, who will be its first ruler, for the invaluable, though little advertised, services which he rendered to the Allied cause. It was he alone who foiled the Kaiser's scheme for loosing the fanatic millions of Islam in a Holy War, and it was his Arab armies, led by his son, Feisul, whose able coöperation was largely responsible for the British victories in Mesopotamia and Palestine. There was no more brilliant *coup*

in the entire war than that which won for the Allies the friendship and assistance of this unknown but powerful Arab chieftain.

William Hohenzollern's thirteenth trump, which he always intended to play at the critical moment in the World War, was the proclamation, through the medium of his allies, the Young Turks, of a Jihad, or Holy War, the launching of which would inevitably have resulted in disturbances of the gravest character in all the Mohammedan countries under European rule. Now a Jihad cannot be proclaimed, as is popularly supposed, by the Sultan of Turkey. The only person who possesses such authority is the Grand Sherif of Mecca, the descendant of the Prophet and the head of the Moslem religion. In his possession is the Holy City of Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed and the site of the Kaaba, in whose direction 200,000,000 Moslems daily turn their faces in prayer.

The hope of Germany and her allies was to obtain the declaration of a Holy War, which would have compelled every Moslem, in every part of the world, to fight for his religion. How real and how terrible was this menace was known to every European official and missionary from Morocco to Malaysia. Late in 1916 Enver Pasha, the Turkish Minister of War, acting under orders from Berlin, made the long journey to the Holy City for the purpose of inducing the Grand Sherif to unfurl the Green Flag and summon the followers of the Prophet to arms, which, it was confidently expected, he would consent to do. Just how the secret agents of England learned of the reasons for Enver's sudden pilgrimage and just what steps they took to counteract his plans, will perhaps never be disclosed. The fact remains, however, that the British arguments were potent and that Enver's pleadings fell on deaf ears, the Grand Sherif not only bluntly refusing to proclaim a Jihad but astounding the Kaiser's emissary, as well as all Islam, by declaring the independence of the Hedjaz with himself as its ruler.

The greatest blow which Turkey could have received was this refusal, for it both ended her hopes of securing allies among the Moslems of India and North Africa and it destroyed the fanaticism which is so essential to the fighting Turk. From that moment dated the deterioration of the Turkish soldier, who now realized for the first time that he was fighting in a cause of which the head of his religion did not approve.

PLANNING RED CROSS WORK FOR TIMES OF PEACE

BY LIVINGSTON FARRAND

(Chairman of the Central Committee of the American Red Cross)

THE Red Cross has done a great work and done it magnificently. The whole world recognizes its success. But that work fades into insignificance when compared with the possibilities which lie ahead. The war was fought to make the world a fitter place in which to live. We all realize now, and we knew before the war, that the world, even in peace times, does not present ideal or even very good living conditions. The stimulus of the war created everywhere a desire to serve, and in many ways the Red Cross made that desire effective. The impetus of the great task now being completed is carrying us on to the solution of these problems. With the strong spirit of service abroad in the land, and with the machinery of the Red Cross organization at its present pitch of power and efficiency, there is perhaps a better chance than ever before in the world to raise the average of human well-being. That is why the work that lies ahead of the Red Cross is greater and more fundamentally important than the work that lies behind.

It is difficult, even impossible, to say at this time what the details of our peace activities will be. Our efforts are still deeply engrossed in the after-the-war emergency. The far-reaching program of service built up during the last two years for our own soldiers and sailors and their families and for the war-stricken people of our allies cannot be abruptly abandoned. Our army is still in Europe. Though France, Italy, and Belgium are rapidly taking over the relief work within their own borders, this transfer must be made carefully to insure a permanent result. Within the last few months emergency calls have come from Poland, the Balkans, Russia, and Palestine.

In the United States itself, service to the returning troops (both whole and disabled) and to their families must continue. Here and abroad many problems and distresses resulting directly from the war remain to be dealt with. Last November it was expected

that the funds already in hand would be sufficient to carry the work abroad to a successful conclusion. This expectation cannot be realized. In spite of the most rigid economy and careful distribution, the appropriations for relief in Europe for the first two months of 1919 were the largest ever made by the War Council. A further appeal for funds will not be made until the last possible moment, but it is highly probable that such action will be necessary before the year is out. The war task of the Red Cross is not finished and, for a short time at least, it will demand our chief energies.

Meantime, the future is taking on definite shape.

Nearly all problems of distress reduce themselves largely to terms of the physical condition of the people. In America 600,000 men in the prime of life were rejected in the Army draft because of preventable minor ailments. Last year 150,000 people died of tuberculosis, a curable and preventable disease. One-tenth of our babies die before they reach the age of one year. Thousands of men, women, and children in America are suffering the bitter limitations of avoidable ill health. Such waste of human power should no longer be tolerated. The Red Cross has definitely entered the field to protect our public health. The campaign will be carried on through Chapter Committees on Nursing Activities. In this work the Red Cross does not desire to usurp the field of any existing organization. Where public health or nursing organizations exist, the local Red Cross will seek to cooperate with them to the full extent of its resources.

The Red Cross will follow three main lines of attack in the battle against disease. To establish public nursing service in each community will be the first aim. A public nurse is a gilt-edge investment in good health. Her duties are too various to describe. Among them are pre-natal care, hourly nursing, child care, industrial nursing. She keeps a wary

eye on sanitation. She is ready for all emergency calls. Suffice it to say that she is the guardian of the public well-being. Where the community cannot install such a nurse, the Red Cross chapters will be urged to do so, as a demonstration, until the State or municipality will assume the responsibility. Because the number of women fitted for this work falls far below the need, the Red Cross has appropriated \$100,000 for scholarships to encourage graduate nurses to take the necessary extra training in social work.

Ill-health and lowered vitality are most often directly due to disregard of the simplest rules of hygiene and right living. Family health is in the hands of the housekeepers. The Red Cross will try to bring to all American women the saving knowledge of the principles of diet, sanitation, and home nursing. These courses are short and simple and easily adapted to the especial needs of the student—whether she be business woman, factory worker or housekeeper.

The study of first-aid will also be promoted. Although administered by the Department of Military Relief instead of the Department of Nursing, this work is an integral part of the fight for physical fitness.

The influenza epidemic, the horror of which is still fresh in our memories, emphasized the necessity of permanent preparation for such disasters. Many communities suffered heavy loss because available medical resources were not known. In others the prompt location of nurses and doctors saved the day. To guard against future emergency, each Red Cross chapter will keep on record as complete a list as possible of the nurses and women with nursing experience in its district.

No pledge of service is implied by registration in this nursing survey; but in addition to this the chapters will continue to enroll Red Cross nurses to insure an adequate reserve for the American Army and Navy.

In the field of Home Service the Red Cross will continue to aid our fighting men and their families until the army is demobilized and after that to assist them in the inevitable period of readjustment. The after care of disabled men will be important for some time to come. Home Service Sections have recently received permission to care for families, unconnected with the Army or Navy, whose distress is a direct result of influenza. In the future they will be able to undertake general social welfare in many communities where there are no other agents for this relief.

Chapters still have large stocks of material

on hand which they are urged to make up into sewed and knitted garments to help meet the tremendous need for clothing in Europe. The commission to Europe has asked that for the time being they receive shipments of 1,000,000 garments a month. We cannot tell how long it will be wise to continue production in the chapter workrooms. We know that at present the need is literally unlimited.

As always, the Red Cross will be organized to relieve disaster. For this purpose emergency supplies will be collected at central points, available for immediate use.

Ten million school children have served the Red Cross in ways as valuable as they were innumerable. They will continue their active membership in the future. The exact form of service that will be asked of them is not yet formulated. They can be assured, however, that their future part will not be unworthy of their past.

The development of the American Red Cross during the war has awakened the world to the possibilities of this type of organization. Thirty days after the declaration of peace a convention of all Red Cross societies will meet in Geneva. A committee representing the societies of America, England, France, Japan, and Italy is formulating, with the aid of experts, the program to be presented for their consideration. This will include campaigns against tuberculosis, malaria, and other preventable diseases, the promotion of child welfare, and all other peacetime activities in which the Red Cross can effectively engage. It is hoped that an international organization may be established in Geneva, to act as a clearing house for the national societies. It would distribute information and advice on new experiments, suggest activities, and stimulate development as opportunity arose. A strong Red Cross organization in each country would do much to cleanse the world and prevent disease and suffering from reaching the crushing proportions to which they have grown.

The Red Cross is going out to deal with fundamental problems of living, not simply results of the temporary disorganizations of affairs. The present organization has been tempered in the stress of world struggle. It has accomplished impossibilities under terrific strain. In the hands of the American people it is a tried and powerful tool for human betterment. Not to use it would be unpardonable. There is no organization that has ever dreamed of being able to accomplish the things now at the door of the Red Cross.

OUR AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES

BY MEADE FERGUSON

(Editor of the *Southern Planter*)

WE believe the ultimate limit of this nation's greatness will be measured by the capacity of its lands to produce food for an ever-increasing population. With our territorial limits fixed, and the population increasing at the rate of about 2,000,000 souls annually, the rapid depletion of plant food in our arable soil is of grave concern.

The development of our other resources, the big business of our cities and industries, all depend upon the foodstuffs which must come from the soil.

We are proud of the fact that we were able to produce the food which was the great factor in winning the war; and we are going to furnish the 20,000,000 tons of food necessary to save the people of Europe from starving. But how many of our people realize that if this great exportation of foodstuffs continues for many years longer we will be agriculturally bankrupt?

We are told by Government officials that if we include all the land that may be irrigated, and all the land in the South that some day may be drained, we have less than 750,000 square miles of additional land for agricultural purposes. Last year alone 35,000 square miles of that land was taken up, so it will be only a short time until all the land is brought under the plow. There are millions of acres in the East and South which have already been exhausted by continuous cropping. These lands can be restored to productivity only at great expense for commercial fertilizers and labor, and by painstaking management. Areas depleted of agricultural resources will more than offset new lands which are brought under cultivation.

The Chemical Food of Plants

By agricultural resources, we mean chemical elements which are in the soil in available form for the normal growth and development of plants. These elements are nitrogen, potassium, phosphorus, magnesium, sulphur, sodium, iron, chlorine, silicon, and cal-

cium. Besides these elements, others are often found. There are many plants which grow to maturity without sodium, silicon, and chlorine; but all the other elements named must be present for normal growth. Carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen are also found in plants, but these elements are obtained from air and moisture.

The number of soil constituents liable to rapid exhaustion is limited in many cases to three, and at most four, which are nitrogen, phosphoric acid (phosphorus), potash (potassium), and lime (calcium), the latter only in exceptional cases. The reason why these are liable to be exhausted is that they exist in larger amounts than the others in the plants that are grown and in smaller amounts than the others in even the most fertile soils.

Our best soils originally contained large quantities of the three most important plant food constituents—nitrogen, phosphoric acid, and potash—which form the basis of all commercial fertilizers; but continuous cropping has mined our soils of these valuable resources. From a yield of 40 bushels of wheat to the acre in the virgin soil in our great wheat-growing districts, the average has dropped to 15 bushels for the nation and below 10 bushels in some of the States. These conditions, if they continue, must prove disastrous.

How Tobacco Robs the Soil

Much of the exhausted soil in the East and South is due to the production of tobacco. At the present prices of fertilizer to farmers, one ton of tobacco takes from the soil and carries with it \$150 worth of nitrogen, phosphoric acid, and potash. Not many years ago a ton of tobacco did not bring to the grower as much money as the actual plant food taken out of the soil would cost him to-day in commercial fertilizer.

Our annual exports of tobacco average around 450,000,000 pounds or 225,000 tons,

representing \$33,750,000 worth of plant food taken out of the country. Yet we grow more tobacco than all the other nations combined.

A bushel of wheat exported carries with it 60 cents' worth of plant food, which is lost to us. A million bushels exported take from us \$600,000 worth of plant food.

A ton of cottonseed meal carries with it \$81 worth of plant food. In 1913 we shipped to European countries 564,000 tons, for which we received \$15,225,798. It would cost the farmers in this country to-day over \$45,000,000 to buy the plant food they sent to Europe that year in cottonseed meal.

A ton of linseed meal contains \$66 worth of plant food. In 1913 we exported 419,000 tons, which contained over \$27,000,000 worth of plant food at the present prices. We received that year for the linseed meal exported \$12,982,423.

So it goes through the whole list of farm crops. We are exporting great quantities of these products, which are most exhaustive to the soil, while we import practically nothing that contains the important elements of plant food.

Germany and the Sugar Beet

Many years ago the nations of Europe realized that they were facing a catastrophe from soil exhaustion, and they began to take steps to avoid it. Germany in particular set about it in painstaking, methodical manner. Her economists pointed out the great advantage to be obtained by importing raw materials and foodstuffs which are rich in plant food and by exporting finished products and manufactured articles such as chemicals, dye-stuffs, toys, and also products of the soil which contain little or no plant food. This is particularly noticeable in the great efforts which were made in that country to develop the sugar-beet industry. Sugar beets require a fertile soil for best development; but the sugar, the refined product, is composed of carbon, hydrogen, and oxygen, which elements have no commercial value as plant food. Therefore, if the pulp and leaves are returned to the land, or fed to animals and returned as manure, the soil never becomes depleted.

Some twenty years ago a professor in the University of Goettingen, lecturing to students on the subject of agricultural economics, made the following statement:

In every million bushels of wheat we purchase from America, there are 1,575,000 pounds of plant food (nitrogen, phosphoric acid, and potash), which is worth 25 per cent. of the price we pay for the wheat. In the 20,000,000 pounds of sugar that we sell to pay for this wheat, there is not one pfennig's worth of plant food. The government is therefore justified in paying a bounty on all sugar exported, because in fostering and increasing the sugar industry more than one purpose is accomplished. Not only are the agricultural resources of Germany built up and the development of the sugar beet industry of the United States discouraged and prevented, but if the time comes when Germany will be compelled to produce her own breadstuffs our rich sugar beet lands will be ready.

Thus it was before the war; when the vast areas of sugar-beet lands in our country were being depleted of their fertility by producing grain crops we were buying annually from other countries four to five billion pounds of sugar.

Agriculture and Statesmanship

The time has come when this nation, like the older countries of Europe, must prepare to check the drain on its agricultural resources and conserve them for use at home. Statesmen who have charge of legislation in the future should bear in mind that in supplying the world with raw materials, especially the products of the farm, we are drawing on our crop-producing resources to an alarming degree; and that unless the prices obtained for these products are sufficient to cover the total cost of production—enabling the farmers to have a profit after replacing, with commercial fertilizers, the plant food taken from the soil—we will ultimately be poorer instead of richer, and in a short time will be in a position similar to that of the countries of Europe fifty years ago.

Industries in this country could be so shaped by legislation that consumption would more nearly equal our food production. Instead of sending such enormous quantities of raw materials abroad they should be worked up at home and the finished products exported. With our wonderful natural resources, other than agricultural, we can easily lead all nations in manufacturing. We should compete with Europe in drawing raw products from the undeveloped countries of South America, and thus preserve and increase our agricultural resources so that there will be food for future generations.

PROPOSED COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

TEXT OF THE DRAFT AS REPORTED TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE ON
FEBRUARY 14, 1919

COVENANT

Preamble—In order to promote international coöperation and to secure international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war, by the prescription of open, just, and honorable relations between nations, by the firm establishment of the understandings of international law as the actual rule of conduct among Governments, and by the maintenance of justice and a scrupulous respect for all treaty obligations in the dealings of organized peoples with one another, the Powers signatory to this covenant adopt this Constitution of the League of Nations:

Article I—The action of the high contracting parties under the terms of this covenant shall be effected through the instrumentality of a meeting of a body of delegates representing the high contracting parties, of meetings at more frequent intervals of an Executive Council, and of a permanent international secretariat to be established at the seat of the League.

Article II—Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at stated intervals and from time to time, as occasion may require, for the purpose of dealing with matters within the sphere of action of the League. Meetings of the body of delegates shall be held at the seat of the League, or at such other places as may be found convenient, and shall consist of representatives of the high contracting parties. Each of the high contracting parties shall have one vote, but may have not more than three representatives.

Article III—The Executive Council shall consist of representatives of the United States of America, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan, together with representatives of four other States, members of the League. The selection of these four States shall be made by the body of delegates on such principles and in such manner as they think fit. Pending the appointment of these representatives of the other States, representatives of [blank left for names] shall be members of the Executive Council.

Meetings of the Council shall be held from time to time as occasion may require, and at least once a year, at whatever place may be decided on, or, failing any such decision, at the seat of the League, and any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world may be dealt with at such meetings.

Invitations shall be sent to any Power to attend a meeting of the council at which such mat-

ters directly affecting its interests are to be discussed, and no decision taken at any meeting will be binding on such Powers unless so invited.

Article IV—All matters of procedure at meetings of the body of delegates or the Executive Council, including the appointment of committees to investigate particular matters, shall be regulated by the body of delegates or the Executive Council, and may be decided by a majority of the States represented at the meeting.

The first meeting of the body of delegates and of the Executive Council shall be summoned by the President of the United States of America.

Article V—The permanent secretariat of the League shall be established at —, which shall constitute the seat of the League. The secretariat shall comprise such secretaries and staff as may be required, under the general direction and control of a Secretary General of the League, who shall be chosen by the Executive Council. The secretariat shall be appointed by the Secretary General subject to confirmation by the Executive Council.

The Secretary General shall act in that capacity at all meetings of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council.

The expenses of the secretariat shall be borne by the States members of the League, in accordance with the apportionment of the expenses of the International Bureau of the Universal Postal Union.

Article VI—Representatives of the high contracting parties and officials of the League, when engaged in the business of the League, shall enjoy diplomatic privileges and immunities, and the buildings occupied by the League or its officials, or by representatives attending its meetings, shall enjoy the benefits of extraterritoriality.

Article VII—Admission to the League of States, not signatories to the covenant and not named in the protocol hereto as States to be invited to adhere to the covenant, requires the assent of not less than two-thirds of the States represented in the body of delegates, and shall be limited to fully self-governing countries, including dominions and colonies.

No State shall be admitted to the League unless it is able to give effective guarantees of its sincere intention to observe its international obligations and unless it shall conform to such principles as may be prescribed by the League in regard to its naval and military forces and armaments.

Article VIII—The high contracting parties recognize the principle that the maintenance of peace will require the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety, and the enforcement by common action of international obligations, having special regard to the geographical situation and circumstances of each State, and the Executive Council shall formulate plans for effecting such reduction. The Executive Council shall also determine for the consideration and action of the several Governments what military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of forces laid down in the program of disarmament; and these limits, when adopted, shall not be exceeded without the permission of the Executive Council.

The high contracting parties agree that the manufacture by private enterprise of munitions and implements of war lends itself to grave objections, and direct the Executive Council to advise how the evil effects attendant upon such manufacture can be prevented, due regard being had to the necessities of those countries which are not able to manufacture for themselves the munitions and implements of war necessary for their safety.

The high contracting parties undertake in no way to conceal from each other the condition of such of their industries as are capable of being adapted to warlike purposes or the scale of their armaments, and agree that there shall be full and frank interchange of information as to their military and naval programs.

Article IX—A permanent commission shall be constituted to advise the League on the execution of the provisions of Article VIII, and on military and naval questions generally.

Article X—The high contracting parties shall undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all States members of the League. In case of any such aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression the Executive Council shall advise upon the means by which the obligation shall be fulfilled.

Article XI—Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the high contracting parties or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the League, and the high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations.

It is hereby also declared and agreed to be the friendly right of each of the high contracting parties to draw the attention of the body of delegates or of the Executive Council to any circumstance affecting international intercourse which threatens to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.

Article XII—The high contracting parties agree that should disputes arise between them which cannot be adjusted by the ordinary processes of diplomacy they will in no case resort to war without previously submitting the questions and matters involved either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Executive Council, and until three

months after the award by the arbitrators or a recommendation by the Executive Council, and that they will not even then resort to war as against a member of the League which complies with the award of the arbitrators or the recommendation of the Executive Council.

In any case under this article the award of the arbitrators shall be made within a reasonable time, and the recommendation of the Executive Council shall be made within six months after the submission of the dispute.

Article XIII—The high contracting parties agree that whenever any dispute or difficulty shall arise between them, which they recognize to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole matter to arbitration. For this purpose the court of arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the court agreed on by the parties or stipulated in any convention existing between them. The high contracting parties agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award that may be rendered. In the event of any failure to carry out the award the Executive Council shall propose what steps can best be taken to give effect thereto.

Article XIV—The Executive Council shall formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice, and this court shall, when established, be competent to hear and determine any matter which the parties recognize as suitable for submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing article.

Article XV—If there should arise between States, members of the League, any dispute likely to lead to rupture, which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the high contracting parties agree that they will refer the matter to the Executive Council; either party to the dispute may give notice of the existence of the dispute to the Secretary General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof. For this purpose the parties agree to communicate to the Secretary General as promptly as possible statements of their case, all the relevant facts and papers, and the Executive Council may forthwith direct the publication thereof.

Where the efforts of the council lead to the settlement of the dispute, a statement shall be published, indicating the nature of the dispute and the terms of settlement, together with such explanations as may be appropriate. If the dispute has not been settled, a report by the council shall be published, setting forth with all necessary facts and explanations the recommendation which the council think just and proper for the settlement of the dispute. If the report is unanimously agreed to by the members of the council, other than the parties to the dispute, the high contracting parties agree that they will not go to war with any party which complies with the recommendations, and that if any party shall refuse so to comply the council shall propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendations. If no such unanimous report can be made it shall be the duty of the majority and the privilege of the minority to issue statements, indicating what they believe to be the

facts, and containing the reasons which they consider to be just and proper.

The Executive Council may in any case under this article refer the dispute to the body of delegates. The dispute shall be so referred at the request of either party to the dispute, provided that such request must be made within fourteen days after the submission of the dispute. In a case referred to the body of delegates, all the provisions of this article, and of Article XII, relating to the action and powers of the Executive Council, shall apply to the action and powers of the body of delegates.

Article XVI—Should any of the high contracting parties break or disregard its covenants under Article XII it shall thereby ipso facto be deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League, which hereby undertakes immediately to subject it to the severance of all trade or financial relations, the prohibition of all intercourse between their nationals and the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the prevention of all financial, commercial, or personal intercourse between the nationals of the covenant-breaking State and the nationals of any other State, whether a member of the League or not.

It shall be the duty of the Executive Council in such case to recommend what effective military or naval force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the covenants of the League.

The high contracting parties agree, further, that they will mutually support one another in the financial and economic measures which may be taken under this article in order to minimize the loss and inconvenience resulting from the above measures, and that they will mutually support one another in resisting any special measures aimed at one of their number by the covenant-breaking State and that they will afford passage through their territory to the forces of any of the high contracting parties who are coöperating to protect the covenants of the League.

Article XVII—In the event of dispute between one State member of the League and another State which is not a member of the League, or between states not members of the League, the high contracting parties agree that the State or States, not members of the League, shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of such dispute, upon such conditions as the Executive Council may deem just, and upon acceptance of any such invitation, the above provisions shall be applied with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the League.

Upon such invitation being given the Executive Council shall immediately institute an inquiry into the circumstances and merits of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effectual in the circumstances.

In the event of a power so invited refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purposes of the League, which in the case of a State member of the League would constitute a breach of Article XII, the provisions of Article XVI shall be applicable as against the State taking such action.

If both parties to the dispute; when so invited,

refuse to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute, the Executive Council may take such action and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities and will result in the settlement of the dispute.

Article XVIII—The high contracting parties agree that the League shall be intrusted with general supervision of the trade in arms and ammunition with the countries in which the control of this traffic is necessary in the common interest.

Article XIX—To those colonies and territories which, as a consequence of the late war, have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in the constitution of the League.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be intrusted to advanced nations, who by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, can best undertake this responsibility, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities, formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire, have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a mandatory power until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory power.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory, subject to conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience or religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic, and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defense of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other members of the League.

There are territories, such as Southwest Africa and certain of the South Pacific Isles, which, owing to the sparseness of the population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the center of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the mandatory State and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the mandatory States as integral portions thereof, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate, the mandatory State shall render to the League an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration, to be exercised by the mandatory State, shall, if not previously agreed upon by the high contracting parties in each case, be explicitly defined by the Executive Council in a special act or charter.

The high contracting parties further agree to establish at the seat of the League a mandatory commission to receive and examine the annual reports of the mandatory powers, and to assist the League in insuring the observance of the terms of all mandates.

Article XX—The high contracting parties will endeavor to secure and maintain fair and humane conditions of labor for men, women, and children, both in their own countries and in all countries to which their commercial and industrial relations extend; and to that end agree to establish as part of the organization of the League a permanent bureau of labor.

Article XXI—The high contracting parties agree that provision shall be made through the instrumentality of the League to secure and maintain freedom of transit and equitable treatment for the commerce of all States members of the League, having in mind, among other things, special arrangements with regard to the necessities of the regions devastated during the war of 1914-1918.

Article XXII—The high contracting parties agree to place under the control of the League all international bureaus already established by general treaties, if the parties to such treaties consent. Furthermore, they agree that all such

international bureaus to be constituted in future shall be placed under control of the League.

Article XXIII—The high contracting parties agree that every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any State member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretary General and as soon as possible published by him, and that no such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered.

Article XXIV—It shall be the right of the body of delegates from time to time to advise the reconsideration by States members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and of international conditions of which the continuance may endanger the peace of the world.

Article XXV—The high contracting parties severally agree that the present covenant is accepted as abrogating all obligations inter se which are inconsistent with the terms thereof, and solemnly engage that they will not hereafter enter into any engagements inconsistent with the terms thereof. In case any of the Powers signatory hereto or subsequently admitted to the League shall, before becoming a party to this covenant, have undertaken any obligations which are inconsistent with the terms of this covenant, it shall be the duty of such Power to take immediate steps to procure its release from such obligations.

Article XXVI—Amendments to this covenant will take effect when ratified by the States whose representatives compose the Executive Council and by three-fourths of the States whose representatives compose the body of delegates.



LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND ITS CONSTITUTION

IN earlier numbers of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS (notably the issues for January, February and March, 1919) this department has given much of its space to the reproduction of current opinion, both American and foreign, on the proposed League of Nations, considered both as an international ideal and as a working program of world control in the interest of universal peace.

On February 14 last the draft of the League's Constitution, or covenant, as adopted by the committee of the Peace Conference at Paris, was given to the world, and since that date the discussion of the League of Nations, on both sides of the Atlantic, has naturally gained much in definiteness. Our résumé this month is confined to those articles and utterances that have been published since the draft of the covenant was presented for discussion. In the main, we shall omit reference to the general arguments advanced to show the desirability of a League of Nations, confining our excerpts and abstracts chiefly to the points that have been made for and against the proposed covenant, as a specific proposition. In order that these may be the better understood, our readers are referred to the complete text of the document printed on the four preceding pages (413-16).

Why the Covenant Is Approved

On March 11, Mr. Frederic R. Coudert, the New York lawyer, contributed to the *Evening Post*, of New York, a statement of his reasons for advocating the League, in the course of which he said:

The draft just approved by the conference at Versailles for the constitution of a League of Nations embodies the best obtainable in the present condition of opinion.

(1) It provides for a permanent organization always ready to function.

(2) It makes provision for a taboo or "outlawry" of any nation refusing to abide its decision.

(3) It furnishes machinery for solving one of the world's fundamental difficulties, to wit, the exploitation of undeveloped peoples.

(4) Above all, it places preponderant power in the hands of the world's great democracies and gives to France, United States, Great Britain, and Italy an influence which can always be decisive against predatory power under whatever forms disguised. The agreed plan marks a capital event in history and furnishes a basis for infinite development toward international coöperation and the marshalling of material and moral force behind law. World opinion is at last given an organ of expression. The part of America in bringing about this result is one for just patriotic congratulation.

(5) The Monroe Doctrine announced to the world that the United States would protect the integrity of South American states against foreign aggression. The league extends that principle of protection to all nations. The rights of the United States are not impaired; the guarantees of the states of South America are strengthened. It is a misapprehension of the meaning of the Monroe Doctrine to believe it impaired by the proposed plan. To avoid possible misunderstanding, a clause should be inserted to the effect that the traditional policy of the United States requires that no European Power obtain territory in the western hemisphere either by purchase or conquest. This will meet the only sound objection made by the opponents of the league on the ground that its acceptance would involve surrender of any essential part of the Monroe Doctrine.

(6) Those who oppose a league in principle are, in large part, the men who obstructed America's entrance into the world war on the theory of "isolation" or unconcern with the affairs of other nations—a theory never true to the facts and absurd in this century in which nothing is so impossible to conceive as a lotus-eating America "careless of mankind." The experience of the great war has killed the theory, save in the most parochial-minded. This is no time for "little Americans."

(7) On the other hand, there are those in and out of the Senate who, while honestly favoring a League of Nations, attack the proposed plan upon the ground that it would require the sending of American troops to take part in Europe's struggles. While this appears to us a parochial view, overlooking changed world conditions which necessitates action on the part of America to maintain peace in a world which modern methods of transportation have made comparatively small,

BRINGING HER HOME TO SHOW THE FOLKS
From the *News-Tribune* (Tacoma, Wash.)

we think that an extension of the very valuable plan of mandatory control would meet the situation by dividing the world into four zones, one of which would be the Western Hemisphere, in which the United States, acting in accordance with the league's mandate, could intervene when anarchic or other conditions threatened world peace. The United States, as in the case of the Philippines, has never hesitated in its willingness to give an account of its political stewardship.

(8) Inaction would be fatal. Some means to solve pending problems must be found. The mass of mankind ardently desire something that may save civilization from war or anarchy. Leaders of opinion cannot be dumb to the clamor of world anguish. The present proposed constitution of a League of Nations, with slight modifications not inconsistent with its announced principles and with a revision clarifying some of its clauses, would be the greatest advance yet made by mankind on the long cruel road from the reign of force and fraud toward that of law and peace.

British Endorsement

Soon after the promulgation of the covenant the *London Spectator*, one of the influential organs of British public opinion, had said:

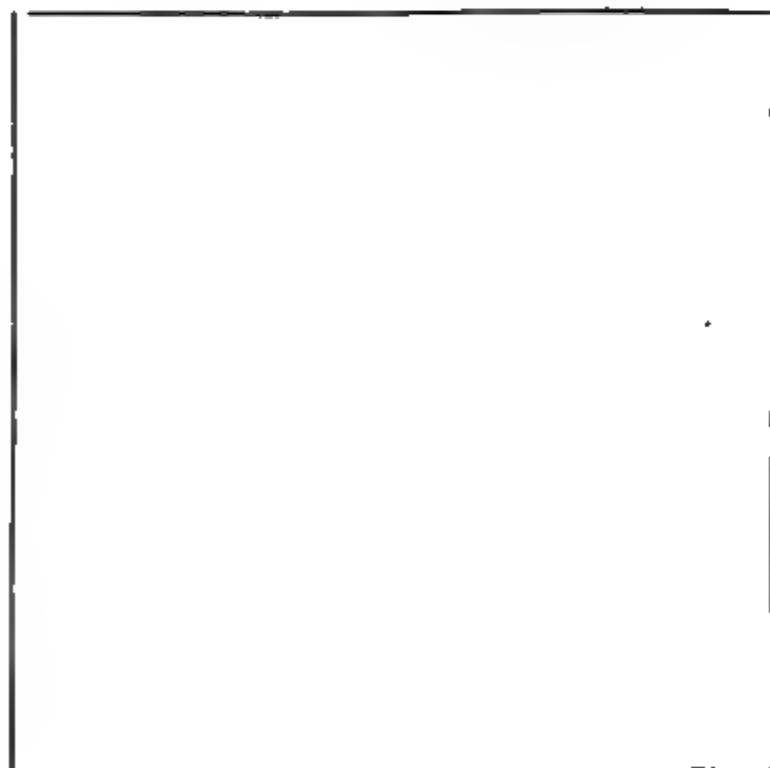
This is not the hour to plunge ourselves into gloomy meditations upon the past; it is rather the hour to secure, by all the forces of sagacity, honesty, and character which the nations can amass in a good cause, that the future shall put the past to shame.

When the Constitution of the League has been ratified, with whatever amendments may between now and then be introduced, it will comprise the most sacred treaty in existence—a treaty which any nation will break at its peril. A large part of the scheme is obviously drawn from the recently published proposals of General Smuts. It was

General Smuts who proposed that inside what he called a general conference there should be an Executive Council. This Executive Council actually appears, and will consist of the five most important powers, together with four other powers chosen by the "Delegates." The "Delegates" in the draft Constitution do duty for General Smuts' "general conference," but it is to be noted that the "Delegates" are a much smaller body than General Smuts had proposed. This main body, instead of being a large family of nations, will consist of representatives of the Allied Powers. It will be seen that on the Executive Council the great Allied Powers will have a permanent working majority, as General Smuts suggested.

Notwithstanding the criticisms that were naturally and justly aroused by the proposed covenant, the *Spectator* was impressed by three "chief and very important facts to the good:"

The first is that Great Britain and the United States are thrown together by the necessities of their policy, and it is impossible to see how they can ever again be divided. In our opinion, this is the greatest result of the Peace Conference. The second fact is an expansion of the first; the members of the whole Entente Alliance, so far from having become alienated during the discussions of the Conference, have drawn much closer together. The third fact is that the very delicate, and indeed perilous, question of the Freedom of the Seas has by force of circumstances disappeared altogether as an issue. As President Wilson has himself explained, that doctrine was asserted in the interest of neutrals. In future there will be no neutrals. If war breaks out again, the world will be divided into those who side with one or other of the belligerents. The last four years of war have shown pretty clearly that the status of a neutral during war had become almost entirely fictitious. It is just as well that this fact should be recognized. We think we are not exaggerating what must happen; for the covenant expressly provides



MUZZLED
From *Opinion* (London)

for cutting off countries altogether by means of the boycott, and such a boycott can leave no place for neutrality on the part of states which are neighbors of the boycotted nation.

This British journal anticipated the discussion that has since arisen in the United States regarding the relation of the covenant to the Monroe Doctrine:

In the United States there is bound to be much discussion about the paradoxical aspect incidentally placed upon the Monroe Doctrine. Suppose that the American Senate demands that the Western Hemisphere, in accordance with the Monroe Doctrine, should be excluded from the operations of the League and from all its implications. Such an amendment would have a very logical appearance, for assuredly, if the authority of the League be accepted in the Western Hemisphere, the Monroe Doctrine in its literal sense will cease to exist. We sincerely hope, however, that the American people will decide that there is room here for such an accommodation as will save the substance of the Monroe Doctrine while admitting some little weakening of its verbal stringency. The Monroe Doctrine has worked admirably, and in our opinion it would be a disaster to jettison what has proved an excellent instrument in ruling out a large part of the world from disputes, and thus preserving the general peace. As a treaty has to be ratified by a two-thirds majority in the American Senate, and as the majorities in both the new Houses of Congress will be opposed to President Wilson, there is obviously room for a good deal of uncertainty.

As a Practical Instrument

The growing "liberal" American sentiment, supporting President Wilson, was voiced by the *New Republic* (New York) in editorial comment on what it called "the Constitution of 1919:"

As it stands, the constitution of the League appears adequate to the maintenance of the peace. In effect, it perpetuates the existing alliance among Germany's conquerors, and by its provision that states not party to the act of organization can be admitted only by a two-thirds vote of the delegates, there is ample assurance that the League will not be embarrassed from the start by hopelessly discordant elements. An attack upon any member of the League will be an attack upon all the members, and in the clause providing that the Executive Council, in which the Allied Great Powers dominate, "shall determine for the consideration and action of the several governments what military equipment is fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of forces laid down in the programme of disarmament" there is implied, not merely a check upon overgrown armaments, but a standard below which a nation scrupulous of its obligations will not fall. The League members, it goes without saying, will at all times maintain forces that no non-member nation will dare to challenge. They will distribute their forces in such a way that no member of the League will dare to menace the rest. No one who will read without bias the provisions of

MILESTONES

From the *Republic* (St. Louis)

the proposed constitution can doubt for a moment that if such an organization had been in existence in 1914 there would have been no war. The Germans almost despaired when they found that England was going in against them. If they had known in advance that not only England, but America, would fight, they would have found the dispute between Austria and Serbia quite justifiable.

It is true that the constitution does not pledge the member states to make war immediately upon a state which chooses the way of aggression. But it does pledge them to non-intercourse with the offending state, and to the succour of any state threatened by reprisals on account of the application of this policy. What will come out of such a condition is plain enough. Any state which shall make war will challenge a world, and a world prepared much better for war than America, or even England in 1914.

A Senator's Criticisms

Among the deliverances by public men opposing the provisions of the covenant one of the most forceful and important was the speech delivered in the United States Senate by Mr. Knox of Pennsylvania, on March 1, after the much-talked-of White House dinner at which Senator Knox had been a guest, and had had full opportunity to familiarize himself with President Wilson's views on the whole question.

In the first portion of his speech Senator Knox analyzed the provisions of the covenant, with reference to the proposed machinery for the League. He particularly criticized the omission from the covenant of

well be that this second league will not at the outset be constituted with all the formalities which mark the one we have under consideration, but in all human probability such a league will be somehow formed, by informal understanding or otherwise, and when so formed will bid for the adherence to it of neutral States. We would thus have in no distant future two great leagues of nations, which will become two great camps, each preparing for a new and greater life and death struggle. Our only escape from this result, under this plan, would be through the exercise of such a tyrannical despotism over the peoples of the central powers as we, with all our traditions and ideals, must not become a party to, for it would be violative of all of those human rights for which our fathers fought and which our own Constitution guarantees. Moreover, to keep peoples in such a state of subjection as would be necessary to obviate the result above pointed out, would require such an expenditure of effort, treasure, and blood as never would be permanently tolerated by our people. Thus the plan proposed, instead of being a plan by which the permanent peace of the world would be assured, becomes a plan under which a constant warfare or a potential great world-wide conflagration becomes an assured fact.

SPIRIT OF MONROE: "PLEASE PERMIT ME TO WRITE
IN A NEEDED CLAUSE"
From the *Herald* (New York)

principles, rules or regulations by which the Executive Council of the League of Nations is to be guided. He declared that the Council is left to make its own principles, rules and regulations. If it believes that any power, whether a League member or not, has violated any of these, it may hale such a power into court, pass judgment upon a violation when found, and determine the means which shall be used to enforce its judgments or recommendations, the League being bound to furnish the means so determined upon.

Passing from his review of what he regards as the faulty machinery provided by the covenant, Senator Knox proposes three general tests of the practical value of the League: (1) Do its provisions abolish war and make it hereafter impossible? (2) Do the provisions of the proposed covenant strike down the precepts of the American Constitution? (3) Are its provisions destructive of our national sovereignty? (4) Will this plan, if put in operation, threaten our national independence and life?

Under the first head, Senator Knox says, in part:

Now, it is unnecessary to labor an argument to show that the inevitable result of outlawing the central states will be to drive them more closely together for mutual self-protection, and that this in turn will make the formation of a second league of nations almost an assured certainty. It may

Senator Knox's most serious and crucial objections to the covenant are set forth under his second and third heads. He says:

Under the Constitution the Congress of the United States has the exclusive power to declare war. The proposed covenant puts the power of declaring war in the hands of the executive council, in which, it is true, we have a voice but not the constitutional voice. Thus, whether Congress wishes or not, whether the people wish or not, we may be forced into war, with all its sacrifices of life, in a cause in which we have no real concern and with which we may be out of sympathy, under the penalty that if we do not go to war we

"SEEIN' THINGS"

From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

CAPITAL SPORT

From the Daily News (Chicago)

shall, by breaking a covenant of the league, bring war upon ourselves by the balance of the world.

Under the Constitution the Congress of the United States has the exclusive power to raise and support armies and to provide and maintain a navy. The covenant provides that the executive council shall formulate plans limiting the size of our Army and Navy, that the council shall then "determine for the consideration and action of the several governments what military equipment and armament is fair and reasonable in proportion to the scale of forces laid down in the program of disarmament, and these limits when adopted shall not be exceeded without the permission of the executive council."

If we act in good faith under this agreement we shall, of course, adopt the armament limits, which, as a member of the executive council, we shall have assisted in formulating. Thereafter, no matter what our necessity or what its urgency, no matter what Congress or the people themselves may think the situation requires, we can not raise a single man beyond our limit save and except it be approved by the executive council in which we are one of nine participating States. If war were abolished this might be tolerable, but with war legalized even between members of the league and actually commanded in certain contingencies this may spell for us overwhelming disaster.

Under the Constitution, a treaty becomes effective upon its ratification, following the advice and consent thereto of the Senate. Under the covenant no treaty becomes binding until it has been registered with the secretary-general of the league.

Cast up in your mind the colossal powers granted to the executive council, in which, be it always remembered, we are but one of nine participating powers; recall the far-reaching and vital covenants into which we shall enter as one of the high contracting parties; and hold in mind that we are to give up the power to say when we shall have war, when peace, what shall our Army

number, how many vessels of war shall we have, how, when, where, and under what conditions shall our Army and Navy be used, when shall our treaties be binding, what shall our treatment of commerce be, how great shall our gift of funds to other powers, and, therefore, how great the tribute we shall pay? Consider all these, and you can not but say that our sovereignty has in matters of national life and death been destroyed.

Unlike some of his colleagues who bitterly attacked the covenant, Senator Knox did not rest with purely destructive criticism, but undertook to set forth at least three methods of averting war without setting up the machinery of a League of Nations: (1) "Compulsory arbitration for all disputes under some such plan as that provided for in the International Prize Court, or the unratified American-British and American-French arbitration treaties of 1911, or the Olney-Pauncefote treaty of 1897, or a union of the best in all of them;" (2) alliance with the strongest power or two powers of the world for mutual protection; or (3) an international league, formed among all the nations of the world (not some of them) with a constitution providing that war is declared to be an international crime and that any nation engaging in war, except in self-defense when actually attacked, shall be punished by the world as an international criminal. Such a league, according to Senator Knox,

would carry with it a minimum of loss of our sovereignty; it would relieve us from participa-



THE STARS AND STRIPES FIRST
From the *World* (New York)

tion in the broils of Europe; it would preserve the Monroe Doctrine and save America from the results of European aggression and intrigue; it would reduce to the minimum the causes of war; and would make the waging thereof otherwise than in self-defense when attacked a public crime, punishable by the combined forces of the world.

Mr. Taft's Advocacy

Replying to Senator Knox, ex-President William Howard Taft said in an address at New York, on March 11:

The President and Senate are to ratify this covenant, if it be ratified, by virtue of their constitutional power to make treaties. This power, as the Supreme Court has held, enables them to bind the United States to a contract with another nation on any subject-matter usually the subject-matter of treaties between nations, subject to the limitation that the treaty may not change the form of Government of the United States, and may not part with territory belonging to a State of the United States, without the consent of the State.

The making of war, of embargoes, of armament and of arbitration are frequent subject-matter of treaties. The President and Senate may not, however, confer on any body constituted by a League of Nations the power and function to do anything for the United States which is vested by the Federal Constitution in Congress, the treaty-making power or any other branch of the United States Government. It therefore follows that whenever the treaty-making power binds the United States to do anything, it must be done by the branch of that Government vested by the Constitution with that function.

A treaty may bind the United States to make or not make war in any specific contingency; it may bind the United States to levy a boycott; to limit

its armament to a fixed amount; it may bind the United States to submit a difference or a class of differences to arbitration; but the only way in which the United States can perform the agreement is for Congress to fulfil the promise to declare and make war; for Congress to perform the obligation to levy a boycott; for Congress to fix or reduce armament in accord with the contract, and for the President and Senate, as the treaty-making power, to formulate the issues to be arbitrated and agree with the opposing nation on the character of the court.

When the treaty provides that the obligation arises upon a breach of covenant and does not make the question of the breach conclusively determinable by any body or tribunal, then it is for Congress itself to decide in good faith whether or not the breach of the covenant upon which the obligation arises has in fact occurred, and, finding that, it has to perform the obligation.

These plain limitations upon the Federal treaty-making power are known to nations of this conference, and any treaty of the United States is to be construed in the light of them. Following those necessary rules of construction, the provisions of the covenant entirely and easily conform to the Constitution of the United States. They lose altogether that threatening and dangerous character and effect which Senator Knox and other critics would attach to them.

As was pointed out by the *New York World* in comment on Mr. Taft's address, the constitutional argument employed by Senator Knox and other opponents of the League of Nations applies with equal force to "every treaty which obligates the United States to do something or refrain from doing something."



THE OLD GIRL WHO WASN'T INVITED TO THE SHOW
TURNS UP HER NOSE AT THE PROGRAM
From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis, Mo.)

THE GERMAN MISTAKE ABOUT THE UNITED STATES

IN the first February number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* M. Jules Cambon, former French Ambassador to the United States and to Germany, publishes a brief but masterly study of this subject, upon which he is preëminently qualified to speak.

The "short but complete" history of the United States by Professor Max Farrand of Yale had just appeared in French translation, and is briefly and courteously mentioned as the occasion for the essay. The extreme diversity of institutions and manners between France and the "sister republic" is duly emphasized. One of the happy results of the war just ending is to be the discovery of America's true soul and spirit. Concerning it Germany was supremely self-confident and utterly in error. She supposed the people of the United States to be incapable of unselfish action. That accounts largely for the German mistakes made through lack of moral consciousness.

Germany did not believe that any true feeling of nationality could exist, to unite immigrants from all the races of the earth. In order to retain a hold on those of German birth, the Delbrück law was devised, permitting them to become duly naturalized citizens of another country, without losing their relation to the Fatherland. Prince Heinrich's visit, again, was a sort of grand review of the countless Germanic societies that had sprung up on American soil. Yet those who, in America, remained Germans at heart, M. Cambon declares to have been few indeed, and quite submerged in the general loyalty to the new land.

Unity of race, or even of language, is by no means essential to full national unity. The population of Brandenburg itself is mainly of Slavic, not Germanic stock; the Swiss speak three languages. Still, the United States is the most novel and supreme example of national spirit with no historic or racial tradition at all.

At this point Mr. Roosevelt is quoted as asserting that the homogeneous colonization of Australia, for example, was a positive disadvantage, like in-breeding in animal life! A thesis which M. Cambon smilingly calls "not wholly paradoxical."

A second cardinal error of Germany concerned our foreign policy. Washington's

M. JULES CAMBON

(French Ambassador to the United States in 1897-1902, and to Germany in 1907-13)

Farewell Address did, indeed, warn against any permanent foreign alliances. But at what juncture did he so speak? France was in the throes of the Revolution, and again at grips with England. For us, recuperation, growth, fuller unification, were immediate and imperative needs.

But Washington wrote to Gouverneur Morris in 1792: "If our country can have twenty years of peace, it can defy, in a righteous cause, any power whatsoever." Even the address itself foresees a near future, when we can choose freely between peace and war. The Monroe doctrine is properly a corollary to the program of non-interference with European affairs.

Our idealism again, the Germans failed to see at all. Beside the Puritan tradition of New England the essayist, with racial loyalty, puts as a second original influence that of the devoted French missionaries who followed Champlain and Cadillac. He adds that every public ceremony he himself ever attended in America was opened and closed with prayer! He recalls Seward's appeal in the Senate in 1850, to "a higher law" than the Constitution. The murder of Miss

Cavell, the torpedoing of the *Lusitania*, violated that law.

Hon. Thomas B. Reed is quoted as tracing all our party contests back to the collision between Hamilton's federalism and Jefferson's extreme democracy. The civil war was primarily the victory of the former. Even Emancipation was but a war measure, taken to assure a restored and strengthened Union. Lincoln indeed hesitated long over so radical a move, just as Washington had hesitated to break finally with allegiance to England. The Civil War left the United States that strong, unified nation which Washington had foreseen, fit to cope with any.

Secretary Sherman, when M. Cambon paid a personal call, once read to the ambassador the close of his own memoirs, still urging "the ancient doctrine," of uniting all our activities within our own borders. But that very day the Senate received the Presidential message that precipitated the war with Spain! That war, the acquisition of the Philippines, later of Hawaii, and the Panama canal, have made an isolated America forever impossible. All this, again, was not properly understood at Berlin in 1916.

To-day all nations are drawing together to assure lasting peace, which must finally depend on a certain equilibrium among nations. To that rightful balance America is indispensable. (Of course the meaning is—indispensable to give peace-loving nations full and easy control.)

M. Cambon digresses to defend the motives of the French intervention in our first war

with England. Lafayette and his comrades were already inspired by the conviction which wrought later the French Revolution. De Grasse and Rochambeau only coöperated with Bailli and Suffren, the victors in the East Indian seas. To that service, rendered in enthusiasm for Liberty, the final response came when the sons of America, disembarking on French soil, rushed to the tomb of Lafayette, and cried to him: "*Here we are!*"

The whole article is chiefly a most graceful utterance of French admiration and gratitude to America, expressed with the discrimination of a refined cosmopolitan who knows his subject intimately at first hand. The passage most easily detached is perhaps this:

A Washington could be imagined, even if the United States had never been. He is a "gentleman," a son of Old England, whose acts illustrate perfectly all the freedom and conservatism, the steadfastness and opportunism at once of the English character. Even the fashion in which he defends the rights of the colonies has in it a certain reminiscence of Hampden.

Lincoln, on the other hand, has in him nothing of the old world. He is a woodcutter, who has developed himself by the study of the laws. His party has made him President; his election is the signal for a conflict which threatens the very life of his country. He proves himself superior to all difficulties. His soul rises with them. . . . Lincoln touches the heart of all humanity. There is in him something of the saint. . . . One can only approach the great memory of this man, so tender and yet so strong, with a certain reverence.

Perhaps such a portrait, drawn by such a hand, best illustrates, what it was the Germans so fatally failed to understand.

WOMEN LABOR LEADERS WHO SEEK TO HUMANIZE CIVILIZATION

SINCE the beginning of the war, practically all women have become working women. Because of the insight into labor conditions which their war activities have afforded them, the more thoughtful among their number have set about with clear vision to endeavor to improve the conditions that surround women in the world of industry. Two representative American Labor Women sailed on March 10 for France as Presidential appointees to the Peace Conference. They are to place before that body their suggestions for special legislation that will protect the lives of women and children and pro-

vide suitable living and working conditions for working women. These women are Rose Schneiderman, President of the Woman's Trade Union League, and Mary Anderson, Assistant Director of the Woman's Industrial Section of the Federal Department of Labor.

It is evident to every thinking person that the position of the woman wage-earner must be eased throughout the period of reorganization. In England, in France, and to a certain extent in the United States, women have to a greater degree than men been forced into temporary employment. Now that the years

of reconstruction are upon us, appropriate legislation must be effected that will protect their living standards, mitigate the evils of unemployment and give them equality in the world of labor.

Miss Schneiderman said in a recent interview:

Miss Anderson and I are going to the Peace Conference as representatives of the American working women. We shall ask for the full enfranchisement of women, their industrial, legal and political equality, for a single standard of morality, for the protection of childhood, and the right of every child to equal educational opportunity.

A pocket volume, "Women and the Labor Party," edited by Marion Phillips, with a foreword by the Honorable Arthur Henderson, M. P., contains a stirring series of papers on labor policy that American women can read with profit. The different questions of industrial policy as they affect women are discussed by English women of international reputation, who are prominent in the labor movement in England. Their conclusions offer evidence that the women of the Labor Party are working for a democratic order of society in which men and women can live together and work together on a footing of complete equality and co-operate politically for the common end of good government. Mr. Henderson writes:

In the coming era of social reconstruction, the organized working class movement which includes both men and women, has evolved a policy intended to promote the common interests of both sexes, and we believe that when this policy is properly understood by the bulk of enfranchised women they will recognize that separate sex organizations are fundamentally undemocratic and reactionary.

Margaret G. Bondfield presents the question of domestic labor from two points of

view, that of the paid worker and that of the vast body of unpaid workers, the housewives and home-makers. She outlines a practical scheme for the handling of the problem of domestic service:

The establishment of domestic centers. Daily workers to be supplied to households by the hour. A Committee of Management to be attached to each center, composed of representatives of employers and workers who will decide rates of pay, hours of work, holidays, etc. . . . Domestic workers to be paid a fixed weekly wage by the center, and all fees to be paid by the employer to the manager. Complaints about the conduct of workers of inefficiency to be made to the manager. Domestic training courses to be established in connection with the center; learners to be sent out in charge of skilled workers.

Beatrice Webb writes on "The End of the Poor Law" in Great Britain; A. D. Sander-son Furness contributes a suggestive article, "The Working Woman's House"; Katherine Bruce Glasier tells the story of "Woman's Battle with Dirt"; "The Woman Wage Earner" is discussed by Susan Lawrence; and in "Woman and Internationalism," Mary Longman writes of the Woman's Labor League, and of woman's interest in internationalism.

Other pregnant articles are: "The Women Trade-Unionists' Point of View," by Mary Macarthur; "The Claims of Mothers and Children," by Margaret Llewelyn Davies, and "The Nursery of To-morrow," by Margaret McMillan. These women ask respectively for the national endowment of mothers and children, for more maternity homes, and systems of nurseries and nursery-schools (preferably open-air), and for the removal of the stigma that now rests upon the illegitimate child.

Rebecca West, one of the most brilliant women writers in the world to-day, sets forth the claims of women as brainworkers. She thinks that the present system of society murders the brains of married women not of the prosperous classes.

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MISS ROSE SCHNEIDERMAN

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MISS MARY ANDERSON

CORONATION OF WILLIAM I. AS GERMAN EMPEROR AT VERSAILLES

(At the aged Emperor's right stands the Crown Prince Frederick William, Emperor for three months in 1888 and father of William II, and in front of the throne stand Prince Bismarck and Field Marshal von Moltke)

PROCLAMATION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE AT VERSAILLES IN 1871

A VIVID account of the momentous happenings at Versailles from the time of the entry of William, King of Prussia, October 5, 1870, to the conclusion of the armistice, January 26, 1871, is contributed to a recent issue of the *Revue de Paris*. Passing over those interesting references which give one a realizing sense of the spirit which animated the King, Bismarck, and the German war personnel in general, we proceed to the writer's (M. Batiffol's) description of the coronation of William as German Emperor.

The ceremony was set for January 18. Beginning at ten in the morning, the officers, in full-dress uniform, march slowly to the palace. Never have the inhabitants beheld a staff so numerous or one more imposing. They are so rigidly erect that they seem—as someone remarked—to have swallowed the sticks with which they beat their men. The spectacle is marred, however, by the inclemency of the weather.

On the stroke of noon the King, in a carriage, with an escort of gendarmes, proceeds leisurely toward the Court of Honor. The officers representing the different army corps, etc., have reached the *Galerie des Glaces*—where the ceremony is to take place—by another route. In the center of the gallery an altar has been erected; in the rear, a very simple dais encircled by sixty flags and

standards of the Crown Prince's army corps. The hall has no other decorations. The ceiling—impressive contrast—is adorned with Lebrun's striking representation of Louis XIV, with his calm, majestic air.

Preceded by the grand-marshal and followed by the Hohenzollern and other German princes, William advances in the midst of a throng of officers, who form the audience almost exclusively.

The King pausing at the altar, the preacher, Rogge, proceeds to laud the great event, which is to assure Germany's and the world's lasting happiness. Then, advancing to the dais, the Crown Prince on his right, his brother, Prince Charles, on his left, Bismarck at the base of the dais, in the white uniform of a cuirassier, he reads, in a firm voice, his brief address of acceptance of the imperial crown; stating that he has apprized the German people of his resolution by means of a proclamation, which his Chancellor is commanded to read. Whereupon Bismarck, "in a voice vibrating and filled with joy," says a witness, proceeds to read it. Having—it says—received a unanimous appeal from the German Princes and the free cities to restore the German Empire, the Imperial German dignity, which has not been exercised for sixty years, he considers it a duty towards the country to give his assent to that appeal and accept the imperial German crown . . . and so on.

The Grand Duke of Baden then came forward, and, saluting the new Emperor, acclaimed him with three cries of *hoch*, which the assembly repeated with frenzied fervor, brandishing their

sabres, tossing about their helmets, and uttering enthusiastic, guttural cries—a singular scene, which by its crudity might well recall the outbursts of the ancient Germans in the depths of the Hercynian forests.

In the evening, as befitting the occasion, a gala dinner is given by the Emperor to the Princes and the delegates of the Reichstag. French wines

figure abundantly. Toasts are drunk to what the *Moniteur*, the official paper, will call "the greatest event of the century." The inhabitants of Versailles have the feeling that a tombstone has been solemnly sealed, consecrating the greatness of Prussia, master of Germany, and thus omnipotent in Europe, while vanquished France is regarded as half dead!

THE STORY OF THE "INQUIRY" ON BEHALF OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE

"IN September, 1917," says the *Geographical Review* (New York), "as a result of conferences between Col. E. M. House and President Wilson, Colonel House was authorized to organize forces to gather and prepare for use at the peace conference the most complete information possible, from the best and latest sources, for consideration by the peace commissioners." Such was the beginning of a unique undertaking which became known to the participators and a few outsiders as the Inquiry, but of which the world at large heard nothing until quite recently.

Eventually the organization included about one hundred and fifty persons, among them distinguished historians, economists, geographers and men of affairs; while various scientific bureaus and other branches of the Government rendered valuable coöperation. "Never before," says the article in the *Geographical Review*, which presents the first detailed account of this undertaking, "had there been gathered together so large a body of men engaged in public service of an international character."

It was soon evident that the scope of the Inquiry would demand not only a personnel of size and quality hitherto unknown in any such work, but headquarters where safety of records and secrecy of documents from enemy activity could be assured. There was also needed an already established organization for many kinds of research, map-making, etc., which could be immediately utilized. This problem was finally solved when the American Geographical Society placed its building at 156th Street and Broadway [New York City] and a part of its staff, including its Director, Dr. Isaiah Bowman, at the disposal of the Inquiry, without cost.

The work from that date, November 10, 1917, proceeded under careful guard night and day. Such measures were considered vital owing to experiences at other peace conferences, notably that after the Franco-Prussian War. It was considered necessary, also, to abstain from publication of details of the work of the Inquiry until its results were safely on shipboard. A large

part of them left for Europe on the *George Washington* on December 4. Other results of the work were already in Paris, where Colonel House had been arranging the preliminaries of the forthcoming conference.

Similar inquiries had been in progress abroad, especially in France and England. There had been frequent conferences for delivery of material and exchange of views, marked by a spirit of friendly coöperation throughout. Some of the material from Europe, such, for example, as the complete texts of important treaties signed since the beginning of the war, has never been made public.

President S. E. Mezes, of the College of the City of New York, was appointed director of the Inquiry, with Dr. Isaiah Bowman as his right-hand man, or "chief territorial specialist." Besides the members appointed from various universities there were eleven assistants and four commissioned officers of the Military Intelligence Division. Nearly all the leading members of the organization, together with a force of assistants, map-makers, and others, accompanied President Wilson and the other peace commissioners on their visit to Paris.

Passing by the countless details, the Inquiry, broadly, has covered the following fields:

1. *Political History.*
 - (a) Historic rights, including suffrage laws.
 - (b) Religious development and customs.
 - (c) Rights of minority peoples in composite populations; subordinate nationalities.
2. *Diplomatic History.*
 - (a) Recent political history related to diplomacy, treaties, etc.
 - (b) Public law, constitutional reforms.
3. *International Law.*
 - (a) Reconciliation of present and former practises and determination of basic principles.
 - (b) Study of treaty texts since the beginning of the war.
 - (c) Geographical interpretation of problems of territorial waters, frontiers, etc.
4. *Economics.*
 - (a) International raw materials, coaling stations, cable stations, port works,

tariffs and customs unions, free ports, open ports.

- (b) Regional: industrial development, self-sufficiency, traffic routes in relation to boundaries and material resources, including food, minerals, water power, fuel, etc.

5. Geography.

- (a) Economic geography.
 (b) Political geography: strategic frontiers; topographic barriers.
 (c) Cartography: maps to illustrate every kind of distribution that bears on peace problems, such as: (a) peoples, (b) minerals, (c) historical limits, (d) railways and trade routes, (e) crops and live stock, (f) cities and industrial centers, (g) religions.
 (d) Irrigation: present development; possibilities in general reconstruction.

6. Education.

- (a) Status in colonial possessions.
 (b) Condition in backward states.
 (c) Opportunities of oppressed minorities.

The cartographic force of the American Geographical Society, greatly augmented by Government aid, began a map-making program hitherto without precedent in this country, all work being carefully drawn from the latest and best sources. Maps were made to visualize not only all manner of territorial boundaries but distribution of peoples, populations and their local densities, religions, economic activities, distribution

of material resources, trade routes, both historic and potential strategic points, etc.

Special interest attaches to a series of base-maps which the Inquiry has prepared, covering all parts of Europe, Asia and Africa. These maps, although designed primarily for the use of the peace commissioners in plotting all kinds of statistical data, are admirably adapted for general scientific use, and have accordingly been placed on sale at moderate prices.

This unique series of base maps is so important that it was adopted by the War Department and prescribed by its Committee on Education and Special Training for use in all colleges and universities where units of the Students Army Training Corps are located. Every such institution has received a set of maps for use in its so-called War Issues Course, and in other courses in which the geographical problems of the war and the coming peace are discussed. After peace has been signed the maps will continue to be of value as permanent aids in the study of geography, history, and economics. A small-scale edition of each of these maps has also been printed and distributed, so that the same map is available in wall-map form for demonstration by the instructor and in desk-map form for use by the student.

CALENDAR REFORMS AND THE PEACE CONFERENCE

OF projects for reforming our illogical and inconvenient calendar the name is legion. A bill to establish a new calendar was introduced at the last session of Congress by Representative Smith, of Michigan; but if anything is obvious and incontrovertible in connection with such a proposal it is that the calendar is an international institution and that it should not be altered except by general agreement among the countries of the world. Just at present an opportunity for concerted action in this matter is presented by the meeting of the Peace Conference in Paris.

The time seems to be ripe for securing at least a *uniform* calendar throughout the world in place of the several systems that now prevail, and the suggestion has been put forth that, instead of adopting the Gregorian calendar as it now stands, an improved system, based upon the Gregorian, might be found acceptable for universal use. Two distinguished French astronomers, M. Bigourdan and Deslandres, have recently discussed

this question in the French Academy of Sciences, and both have outlined plans for a modified calendar with special reference to bringing them to the attention of the peace delegates or the prospective League of Nations. It has been especially urged that the Academy of Sciences itself endeavor to reconcile the conflicting views of the scientific world on this subject, and formulate a plan for submission to the assembled representatives of the powers. Finally, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* M. Charles Nordmann, in support of a similar proposal, brings together a large amount of interesting information concerning the history of calendar reforms and the present state of the question.

From M. Nordmann's article we learn, among other things, that gratifying progress has lately been made toward the general acceptance of the Gregorian calendar. Both China and Japan have adopted it. Jugoslavia is reported to have adopted it on January 28 of this year. A bill providing for its adoption has been introduced in the Ru-

manian legislature. The Bolshevik government of Russia (lately the chief stronghold of the Julian calendar) adopted the Gregorian system more than a year ago. M. Nordmann speaks of the Turks as still outside the Gregorian fold, but, according to press reports, the Turkish Government adopted the Gregorian calendar as long ago as January, 1917. The Bulgarians abandoned the Julian calendar in favor of the Gregorian in 1915, especially, says M. Nordmann, to emphasize their rupture with Russia and their affiliation with Germany. This was just after a ceremonious visit from the Kaiser.

Plans for improving the Gregorian calendar had aroused serious attention on all hands shortly before the war. A committee to consider this subject was appointed at the St. Petersburg meeting of the International Association of Academies in 1913. The matter was also discussed at the International Geographical Congress which met in Rome the same year. The Congress of International Associations, meeting at Brussels in 1913, and the last three International Congresses of Chambers of Commerce (1910, 1912 and 1914), all passed resolutions in behalf of calendar reforms. Lastly, an International Congress on the Reform of the Calendar met at Liège, May 27-29, 1914. Its membership included eminent astronomers and other specialists, as well as representatives of the commercial world and of the Protestant and Catholic churches.

This notable assemblage, the proceedings of which have not hitherto been published, studied the whole question of calendar reform in great detail, and its deliberations, as M. Nordmann points out, place the matter in convenient shape for further consideration by the diplomatic representatives now gathered in Paris. The resolutions adopted by this congress urge that a new and universal calendar be adopted by civil and ecclesiastical authorities throughout the world; that the new calendar be "perpetual" (*i. e.*, that a given date of the year always fall on the same day of the week); that one day in common years and two days in leap-years be dateless; that the year consist of 364 dated days (52 weeks); that the division of the year into twelve months be retained; and, finally, that a Sunday in April be adopted as a fixed date for Easter. It was expected that the government of Switzerland would follow up this unofficial movement by inviting the countries of the world to send delegates to an official conference, in which some definite action might be taken on the subject; but the war made this impossible.

M. Nordmann's article reflects the trend of recent opinion in behalf of avoiding drastic changes in the calendar. Reforms should be based on practical rather than scientific considerations, and the new calendar should preserve such features of the present one as are not inconsistent with convenience and simplicity—the two main objects to be attained.

AIRPLANES FOR PATROLLING THE FORESTS

THERE is no reason to be pessimistic over the problem of finding peace-time uses for the world's large stock of airplanes. Of the many suggestions offered toward the solution of this problem, one of the most interesting is made by Mr. Henry S. Graves, Chief of the U. S. Forest Service, who writes in *Aviation* (New York) and in *Aeronautics* (London) on the "Use of Airplanes in Forest Patrol Work."

The need of maintaining a vigilant patrol over forests, chiefly for the sake of obtaining timely notice of fires and guiding the work of the firefighters, is understood in a general way by the public, but the magnitude of the interests involved is perhaps not so generally realized. In the United States we have 550,-

000,000 acres of forested land, the timber resources of which are worth some \$6,000,000,000. It appears that during the three years 1915-17 the average annual damage caused by forest fires amounted to about \$10,000,000. There are about 28,000 forest fires every year, and the average area burned over is more than 8,000,000 acres per annum. The great fires in Minnesota last October are estimated to have damaged towns, timber, farms and livestock to a total value of \$100,000,000, besides costing from 500 to 1000 lives.

The present system of forest patrol involves the maintenance of a permanent force in each National Forest, while additional men are employed during the season of fire danger,

which is, roughly, from June to September, inclusive. The total force amounts to about 2000 men, and its employment entails an annual expenditure of \$500,000. Lookout points are located on mountain peaks and lookout towers. As to the use of aircraft the writer says:

Our present detection system, while not perfect, is the best system possible under our financial limitations. This is why the Forest Service has not been prepared to experiment with aircraft in fire protection. However, no doubt exists in my mind that there is a distinct place for them in our work of protecting the forests, and eventually they will be used to advantage. Yet, in view of the great initial cost of aircraft, their relatively short period of usefulness or rapid depreciation, the comparatively excessive cost of maintenance and operation, as well as the fact that they would be needed only for not to exceed four or five months in any one year, the Forest Service as a Government agency would be handicapped in developing the necessary establishment. But the Government now has many aircraft and experienced fliers, observers, mechanics, radio operators—in short, an efficient, seasoned aerial service which will, it is assumed, be maintained as distinctive divisions of the Army and Navy. In this event constant training must be had to maintain the desired efficiency.

Besides purely military maneuvers, what better training would be available than the daily patrol of our forested areas? What a fine opportunity to prepare accurate photographic maps, as is done in actual warfare, to determine the accurate location of fires by coordinates in the same way that artillery fire is directed to a particular spot or object, to use the wireless in reporting the fires, as has been done in communicating with the artillery.

As compared with the existing system of fixed lookout stations, Mr. Graves points out that the aerial observer would be able to detect fires in places, such as deep canyons, where they are, in many cases, hidden from the view of a lookout on a peak or tower. Apart from difficulties due to topography, the observer on a tower enjoys but a limited range of vision, as compared with that obtained from an airplane; hence the special advantage of aircraft in regions where no mountains are available. Another advantage of aerial patrol would be that a smaller number of observers would be needed.

From the experience already gained in the use of aircraft, it would probably not be at all difficult to determine for a given region comprising a specified acreage the number of bases or aerodromes, the number of machines, and the number of men that would be required, as well as the regular aerial routes of patrol. The liability of value, location and areas of different timber types and the risk involved, as well as the availability of suitable landing places, would be factors influencing the determination of such patrol routes.

The foresters and aviators would, of course, cooperate fully in every phase of the work.

Aircraft would be useful not only in the discovery of fires at their origin, but also in scouting large fires while in progress, as in the case of the great Minnesota disaster, thus minimizing the material destruction and the loss of life. Mr. Graves adds:

The experience of forest officers in fighting fires in the National Forests of the Western States has emphasized the importance of having an efficient scouting service on every large fire. Where a fire is confined to one watershed its progress can usually be determined from some high point. But often a fire may be burning in several canyons at the same time. The general topography of the country, but more specifically the depth and width of the canyons, may influence wind conditions to such an extent that a fire in one canyon may be headed in one direction, while in the next canyon the fire will be burning in the opposite direction.

If the fire covers a fairly large area—for instance, ten or more square miles of a rough mountainous country containing no inhabitants and practically no transportation system, and where timber and underbrush are so thick that trails must be cut before a pack outfit can reach a suitable site with a camp outfit for the fire fighters—the difficulties encountered by a fire scout are readily realized. In much of the western country it is difficult to travel on foot more than a mile an hour, owing to steep slopes and thick underbrush. The use of aircraft for scouting purposes under such conditions should prove most efficacious.

The idea of utilizing airplanes in this kind of work is not, of course, altogether new. A meeting of forest supervisors held at El Paso in 1909 passed a resolution to the effect that the use of aircraft in fire-patrol work was something that should be looked forward to. In the summer of 1915 a flying boat was actually used for detecting fires in the Wisconsin State Forests. Mr. Graves also recalls the fact that aircraft were successfully used in directing the forces engaged in fighting the big fire in munition warehouses in New Jersey some months ago. He says, in conclusion:

It is probably premature to discuss the value of aircraft in actual forest fire suppression work. Some types of aircraft would lend themselves to the transportation of fire fighters. The suggestion has also been made that bombing planes could be used to advantage in that fireproof bombs, consisting of certain chemicals, could be hurled on fires in sufficient quantities to extinguish them. How practicable a scheme of this kind might be remains to be seen. It goes without saying, however, that the adoption of aircraft for patrolling the forested areas of the country will create a large field for experiments of many kinds.

A PROPOSED "UNIVERSITY OF THE SEA" AT TRIESTE

THE persistent pre-war agitation in favor of the establishment of an Italian university in Trieste might now result in success, but it is the opinion of Signor Guido Manacorda, as expressed in an article in *Rivista d'Italia*, that the plan formerly advocated should be considerably modified, in view of the changed conditions.

Before the war the chief aims of the friends of the proposed foundation were political. They sought to place the Austro-Hungarian government in more and more open opposition to Italian nationality, and thus to demonstrate the irreconcilability of any true literary or scientific progress for the Italian-speaking part of the population with the domination of the Hapsburgs.

Now, however, that Trieste has been reunited with Italy, these considerations have lost their importance, and an opportunity is offered to strengthen the ties between that city and the rest of Italy by sending the youth of the new province to Italian universities.

A simple "University of Trieste" organized on the old lines would either lead a struggling existence or would be obliged to throw open its doors to an invasion of Slavic students, who would be certain to demand lectures in their own tongue in addition to those in Italian, and might eventually agitate to make the university entirely Slavic, the inevitable result being quarrels and tumults hurtful to the institution, to the city, and to the whole nation.

Under these circumstances Trieste strongly favors the founding of two great institutes for the furtherance of higher education, institutes not restricted within the bounds of the old conception of an Italian university, but giving to all the inhabitants of the city and the neighboring regions an opportunity to participate in the intellectual movement of the present time. These institutes would be named, respectively, the "University of the Sea," designed to satisfy the requirements of active life in a maritime community, and the Athenæum, for the furtherance of literary, moral and scientific culture in the redeemed territory.

The writer then proceeds to sketch out a plan for the marine university. It should bring together the technical, nautical and commercial schools already existing in Trieste, expanding and perfecting them in a

way only possible for a city that draws its life from the sea. The new institution would constitute for the world a victorious affirmation of the rebirth of Italy's merchant marine.

Assuming that no similar university yet exists elsewhere, Signor Manacorda believes that it would attract many students from other lands. He considers that it should comprise three main branches, one devoted to nautics, another to naval engineering, and the third to commerce.

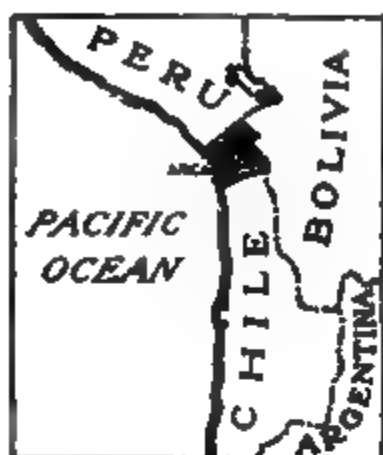
That covering nautics should have for its principal task the training of great captains for the merchant marine. Besides the study of the technical disciplines, instruction should also be imparted in international law, commercial law, political economy, etc., and at least two of the principal European languages should be taught. A special section should be devoted to the training of great explorers, a field so richly cultivated in Italy's past, but now so sadly neglected. Here, in addition to purely technical instruction, ample scope would be given to the study of ethnography, as well as courses in the botany and zoölogy of islands and seas in different zones, on diseases peculiar to tropical or arctic regions, etc. The branch of nautics would be provided with a well-furnished aquarium and libraries.

The Faculty of Naval Engineering would be a necessary complement of that of Nautics, its mission being to train the great naval constructors who are to provide ships to bear the merchandise of Italy to foreign lands. As it seems likely that under the new conditions Trieste will lose its character as a port of transit, the branch of naval engineering should include a section of industrial engineering, whose graduates would stimulate the manufacture of products to feed the traffic of the port. Here a school of chemistry would be a necessary adjunct.

The Faculty of Commerce, finally, would have for its task the training of those destined for the management of traffic on a grand scale. It should be organized in accord with the geographical situation of Trieste, with the special needs of its commerce. As an active development of trade with the Orient would be the chief aim, there should be, besides the strictly technical and economic course, instruction covering the juridical and social conditions of the East.

CHILE, PERU, AND BOLIVIA IN TERRITORIAL DISPUTES

THE world-wide movement toward a settlement of all pending questions as to territorial boundaries finds an echo in the revival of the long-standing dispute between Peru and Chile regarding the permanent status of the provinces Tacna and Arica, which came under the control of Chile after Peru's defeat in the war of 1879-1883.



As Bolivia at this time made common cause with Peru, she also was a sufferer, being deprived of her entire coast territory to Chile's profit. The whole question is somewhat complicated, and even should Chile at last permit a decision by means of a plebiscite, in accord with the terms of the treaty signed at Ancón in 1883, she has so far been quite disinclined to allow the votes of all resident Peruvians to be cast, thus making the result, after so many years of adverse possession, practically a foregone conclusion. Of the actual situation as influenced by former negotiations and schemes, an article in the Peruvian weekly paper *Variedades* gives some interesting details and opinions.

As to Bolivia's attitude in the present crisis, the writer finds it not in accord with the logical course that country should pursue, given the situation created on the South American continent by the war with Chile; for Bolivia, despoiled of her entire coast, was reduced to the condition of an inland nation, and was placed at the mercy of the neighboring countries should they wish to absorb her.

Thus he considers that Chile's object in depriving Bolivia of a vital connection with the outside world was not merely to establish territorial continuity between her own original domain and the nitrate region conquered from Peru, but also to leave open a promising field of expansion and conquest for the future. He seeks to support this by the following recitals:

It has been reported that as early as 1897, during the conference held at Magellan between President Roca of Argentina and

President Errazuriz of Chile, the latter suggested to the former the idea of a partition of Bolivia, at that time in the throes of a revolution, and it also appeared that this idea was not distasteful to Roca. If he failed to give it a warm welcome, this is said to have been because he could not clearly see a way to accomplish this international offense.

It is well known that the failure of the Billinghurst-Latorre treaty, which provided for the decision of the question of sovereignty over Tacna and Arica, in accord with the treaty of Ancón, was due to the averting at this Magellan conference of an imminent danger of war between Chile and the Argentine Republic.

In 1900, Señor Angel Custodio Vicuña, plenipotentiary of Chile at Lima, Peru, did not hesitate to propose to President Romana and Chancellor Osma the partition of Bolivia, whose rich territory offered, as he said, ample compensations for the expenses and efforts entailed by the enterprise. The Chilean cabinet doubtless judged that Peru, having lost all hope of securing the plebiscite

THE CONDOR (CHILE) AND THE LLAMA (PERU)

CONDOR: "Don't pretend to mount so high, wretched quadruped! To do so one must have the wings of the condor."

From *Succesos* (Chile)

stipulated for in the treaty of Ancón, would show the same lack of scruple as did Chile, and that consequently, after weighing the advantages resulting from the conquest of a vast territory, fertile agriculturally and rich in minerals, against her rôle of an idealistic claimant of a tract relatively poor, like the provinces of Tacna and Arica, she would perhaps vacillate for a moment, but would finally yield to the ignoble temptation to enrich herself by the destruction of a friendly nation.

The infamous proposition aroused such indignation in the minds of President Romaña and Osma, that they did not stop an instant to consider the propriety of completely unveiling Chile's design, but replied by a categorical rejection. Naturally Chile denied that such a proposal had been made, at most admitting that it might have been humorously put forth by Señor Vicuña, formerly the author of dramas and comedies.

The writer considers that Bolivia ought to regard the cause of Peru as her own, and that the Bolivian Government ought to write its claims of territorial restitution with those of Peru before the tribunal of the world's conscience, of that international morality that has emerged triumphant from the long years of war. Unfortunately, however, it seems that Bolivia cannot see her way clear to take this course. She seems to be only able to bewail her misfortune, her need of a seaport, wherever it may be and from whomsoever it may be secured.

In conclusion, the writer expresses the hope that the Peruvian cabinet will come to a frank understanding with that of Bolivia to the effect that no account be taken of Chile's scheme for the acquisition by Bolivia of a port on Peruvian soil, so that the termination of the discord may not contain the germs of new conflicts, generated by such a territorial encroachment.

PREVENTIVE POLICING IN THE BIG CITIES

EX-POLICE COMMISSIONER ARTHUR WOODS, recently head of "The Finest," as the New York Police are often called, in a series of articles in the *New York Tribune*, copyrighted by the Princeton University Press, discusses some new theories put in practice under his administration for reducing crime by preventive measures aimed at throttling crime at

A person with crime in his mind will hardly try to commit it in sight of the policeman, and, other things being equal, he will get just as far from the policeman as he can before doing anything wrong. . . . But however short a distance the influence goes, and however weakly it operates, it is restraining and preventive. Conceivably, if there were an alert, capable patrolman on each city block, no crime would be committed in our streets. Such police pervasiveness would be a fairly sure preventive of street hold-ups, of pocket picking, unless the crowd should be large enough to give friendly shelter; of highway robbery, stealing from trucks and delivery or express wagons, and other forms of crime that are done in the open.

Adequate policing of the streets cannot, however, be expected to prevent all sorts of crime.

The regular uniformed patrol is always supplemented by a detective force, which also exerts a preventive influence, although detective work is primarily for the purpose of detecting the criminal who has already committed a crime. This detective preventive work adds strength to the preventive efforts of the uniformed force.

Good detective work always keeps the criminal

and uncompromising vigor when only that will maintain order and protect the law-abiding."

ARTHUR H. WOODS

PRESENT METHODS THE BASIS

In discussing present police methods, as a groundwork for his more advanced ideas, he has this to say:

from taking chances that he would take without an uneasy thought in cities where the men in plain clothes were lazy or incompetent or were willing to come to a gentleman's agreement with him. If a pickpocket feels that there are a lot of innocent-looking detectives prowling around who know the ways of the trade and are acquainted with the faces and the figures of the principal operatives, he will be apt to forego the temptation even of large and careless crowds in that city and will cleave to other towns where the police are not as fussy about protecting property.

And if a criminal of any kind feels that the detectives of any city are a relentless lot of spoilsports, who won't be good fellows, who will keep everlastingly on the trail of the lawbreaker, not just while the newspapers are featuring the crime, but after it has been forgotten by all except the poor family whose savings of years are stolen, or by the stricken widow and children of the murdered man, months and years after—the criminal will be apt to shun that city.

There are crimes that were done in New York years ago which, though dead as far as the public memory of them goes, are just as living in the files of the Detective Bureau and in the minds of the detectives working on them as they were twenty-four hours after they were committed.

These are the conventional police methods of preventing crime, and they are good methods. To give them a reasonable chance of success, in the first place a sufficient number of policemen is required.

And there are several factors, as the ordinary citizen will be interested to know, which enter into the determination of the size of any police force—such as the ratio of police to population; street mileage; streams of traffic; character of population, and difference between that of the day and of night in certain sections. Scientific policing is a new problem, but when sounder methods are evolved we should be able to get along with smaller numbers of more efficient policemen with much better results than at present.

The policeman has a deal of responsibility, with nobody of superior authority at hand to look to for orders.

He should not be tied up with minute instructions, or confined to narrowly prescribed methods, but should be given latitude for action commensurate with his responsibility, and then be held to results. The old methods not merely gave him less discretion, but enforced the same scheme of patrol throughout all parts of the city, irrespective of the peculiar characteristics of different neighborhoods—and neighborhoods of big modern cities vary radically in character and need different police treatment.

BETTER METHODS

Foot patrol is recommended for thickly populated sections; and bicycle or automobile patrol, with frequent sub-stations con-

nected by telephone, for outlying residential districts; so that the police are within five minutes' call always, everywhere—and both the public and the criminals know it. Detective work should be improved by keeping a record of assignment of cases to detectives, and the results achieved; instead of handing a memorandum of the case on a piece of paper to the first man in line, and letting the case drop when the paper wears out. Mr. Woods goes on to say, in discussing unconventional methods:

Educating the citizen in self-protection is one of the principal efforts we have been making along these lines. We have published circulars: "How to Protect Yourself"; we have had moving picture films made and shown all over the city, illustrating the fatal results of carelessness in leaving doors unlocked, handbags easy to open, notices on the bell that nobody was at home, which constituted, in effect, an invitation to the burglar to make himself at home.

We have advised with business houses as to the best methods of protecting them, and have sent experts to inspect and suggest; we have consulted with various insurance people as to better methods of preventing the very things they were insuring against. We have sent policemen to talk to children in the schools and to various groups of employees. And we have tried to make each policeman a little educating center in himself.

A very large percentage of crimes committed in large cities nowadays is the handiwork of dishonest employees. The situation has been aggravated by the recent war conditions.

The only thing that can prevent this or tend toward preventing it, is your own scrupulousness in examining references.

These methods of crime prevention are good, and are effective, carried out by an ambitious, self-respecting force of men intelligently directed. The patrol force developed to its maximum efficiency, a detective force of keen men helped by everything that modern research can do for it, and both these methods supplemented by the exercise of ordinary precautions on the part of the people of the city—all this cannot help making the work of the thief and the burglar much harder. But even this does not get to the root of the evil, for it fails to diminish the supply of criminals. These methods make it hard for the criminal to do his job; they worry him, make him wary and nervous and often cause him to ply his trade in some other city, but that does not prevent people from becoming criminals. . . .

We shall never go far toward ridding the community of criminals until we get at the breeding places. We must drain the swamps of crime as they drained the swamps in Cuba to get rid of the yellow fever mosquitoes.

Crime prevention, interesting as it is in these days of marked social progress, is rivalled by the interest in how to prevent the criminal. One has to do with methods; the other with men.

JOHN McCRAE, AUTHOR OF "IN FLANDERS FIELDS"

THE war poem, "In Flanders Fields," the most beautiful lyric that has been written by any poet of the War, appeared anonymously in the issue of *Punch*, December 8, 1915. It was immediately recognized by everyone who read it as a lyric that combined inspiration with high thought, perfect images, and complete expression. This simple, haunting song of tragedy has been the "Marseillaise" of this war; it leaped from the clamor of the guns, from the fluting of the larks and the scarlet poppies abloom on Flanders fields, to breathe forth to the living the unshaken purpose of the dead, and with one sentence—"If ye break faith"—ascends to the plateaus of immortality attained only by those who, oblivious of past and future, gave their all to the cause of mankind.

Until the recent publication of John McCrae's poems (Putnam's), together with many of his personal letters from the front and a memoir by his friend, Sir Andrew Macphail, very little has been generally known of the personality of this gallant soldier, physician, and poet who fought and served in two wars and died of double pneumonia in France January 28, 1918, a Lieutenant-Colonel with the Canadian forces.

Sir Andrew quotes in the memoir from a letter written by General Morrison, the account of the circumstances that preceded the writing of "In Flanders Fields":

"This poem," General Morrison writes, "was literally born of the fire and blood of the second battle of Ypres. My headquarters were in a trench at the bottom of the bank of the Ypres Canal and John had his dressing station in a hole dug in the foot of the bank. During the periods in the battle, men who

were shot actually rolled down the bank into his dressing station. Along from us a few hundred yards was the headquarters of a regiment, and many times during the sixteen days of battle, he and I watched them burying their dead whenever there was a lull. Thus the crosses, row on row, grew into a good-sized cemetery. Just as he describes, we often heard in the mornings the larks singing high in the air between the crash of the shell and the reports of the guns in the battery just beside us."

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL
JOHN McCRAE

John McCrae studied and practised medicine for twenty years. He graduated from the University of Toronto with honors and later graduated again with a scholarship in physiology and pathology and a gold medal. He occupied the post of resident house physician at the Toronto General Hospital and Johns Hopkins. Later he became pathologist to the Montreal General Hospital and was appointed to the Alexandra Hospital for infectious diseases. He was also assistant physician at the Royal Victoria Hospital and lecturer in medicine at the University. By examination, he became a member of the Royal College of Physicians, London, and was elected a member of the Association of American Physicians. He earned his rank in South Africa in the Boer War, and received the Queen's Medal with three clasps for his campaign there.

*In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place, and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly
Scarce heard amid the guns below.*

*We are the Dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.*

*Take up our quarrel with the foe;
To you from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.*

John McCrae witnessed only once the raw earth of Flanders hide its shame in the warm scarlet glory of the poppy. Others have watched this resurrection of the flowers in four successive seasons, a fresh miracle every time it occurs. Also they have observed the rows of crosses lengthen, the torch thrown, caught, and carried to victory. The dead may sleep. We have not broken faith with them.

It is little wonder then that "In Flanders Fields" has become the

poem of the army. The soldiers have learned it with their hearts, which is quite a different thing from committing it to memory. It circulates, as a song should circulate, by the living word of mouth, not by printed characters. That is the true test of poetry—its insistence on making

itself learnt by heart. The army has varied the text; but each variation only serves to reveal more clearly the mind of the maker. The army says, "*Among the crosses*"; "*felt dawn and sunset glow*"; "*Lived and were loved.*" The army may be right; it usually is.

CARL LARSSON, SWEDISH PAINTER

ONE of the triad of representative Swedish artists, Anders Zorn, Carl Larsson, and Bruno Liljefors, died in February.

Carl Larsson of Sundborn, Sweden's foremost aquarellist and mural decorator, was born in Stockholm, May 28, 1853, of peasant parents just moved into the city. At the age of thirteen he became a photographer's assistant and studied art at the Academy school. While yet nineteen he was employed on a humorous publication and also made illustrations for several works of fiction. A few years afterwards he won a royal medal for a series of historical paintings. In the years 1876-1878 he studied at Paris, returning to Sweden as a full-fledged illustrator. His fame growing, he made more ambitious attempts in oil and water-color and returned to France, there winning prizes for his aquarelles and a bride of his own nationality, also an artist.

In Sweden again, he was for several years at the head of the art school attached to the Gothenburg museum and executed monumental wall-paintings in public and private buildings, some of them in fresco. In addition he was highly successful as a portrait painter in various media. His greatest reputation, however, grew out of his water-colors

representing his family and Dalecarlian home. These pictures—possessing a unique, airy, colorful realism combined with masterly line-work, published from time to time in book form and accompanied by humorous commentaries of his own writing—are in many ways the idealization of Swedish home-life. He is in fact recognized throughout Europe as the greatest water-colorist in the world. However, he is also justly celebrated for his numerous etchings, drawings, and lithographs.

The many-tinted optimism of his work was matched only by the frank cheerfulness of his versatile personality. The following injunction of the artist to his countrymen is typical of his artistic creed:

O Swede, save yourself in time! Become simple again and full of true worth; be clumsy rather than pedantically elegant; dress in skins, furs, leather, and wool; make yourself furniture to accommodate your heavy body, and lay on everything those strong colors, yes, even those of rustic gaudiness, which are so necessary for contrast with the deep-green forests of fir and the cold white snow; and let your hand unconstrained carve or paint the flourishes it will and can. Then you will grow happy in the consciousness of being yourself, things shall go well with you, and your days shall be long upon the verdant earth.

THE NEW BOOKS

WAR AND ITS AFTERMATH

Clemenceau: The Man and His Time. By H. M. Hyndman. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 338 pp. Ill. \$2.

The "Grand Young Man" of France, having cheated the assassin's bullet, is more than ever the heroic figure among the statesmen gathered at Paris. In him is incarnated the dauntless spirit of his nation to which the whole world does homage. Clemenceau at seventy-eight stood for months the resolute leader of his people in its brave resistance to the common foe of all that the Allies held priceless. It is too early to measure the value of his service, but this sympathetic and yet frank and unreserved biography by a leading British Socialist goes far in supplying the basis of judgment which in the long run must determine the War Premier's place in history. Clemenceau had lived a long and turbulent life before the war. Since the autumn of 1917, when he was called to the premiership because he alone among living Frenchmen was trusted as the savior of his country, he has been the foremost statesman of Europe.

France Facing Germany. Speeches and Articles by Georges Clemenceau. Translated by Ernest Hunter Wright. E. P. Dutton & Company. 396 pp. \$2.

An English translation of speeches and articles by the French Premier on the origin and progress of the war. The reader may gain from this book a clear insight into the uncompromising patriotism of this devoted son of France.

How France Is Governed. By Raymond Poincaré. Robert M. McBride & Co. 336 pp. \$2.

A serviceable English translation of President Poincaré's careful analysis of French government—a work not unlike, in method of treatment, President Wilson's more comprehensive treatise on "The State."

The New America. By Frank Dilnot. Macmillan. 145 pp. \$1.25.

An Englishman's impressions of life in America during 1917 and 1918. Mr. Dilnot's sketches are unaffected, appreciative and good-humored. Mr. Dilnot is a prominent English journalist who for two years has represented the London *Chronicle* in the United States, rendering valuable service to both countries.

America's Day. By Ignatius Phayre. Dodd, Mead & Co. 425 pp. \$2.

Another Englishman who, like Mr. Dilnot, is generous and well-disposed towards Americans and American institutions, and has thought it worth while to write a somewhat elaborate comment on the course of the United States during

the three years preceding our entrance into the war. His statement of the reasons which for a time kept the United States out of the war is both fair and intelligent, and fully answers many of the questions that have been raised by the author's countrymen.

America and Britain. By Andrew C. McLaughlin. E. P. Dutton & Co. 221 pp. \$2.

Professor McLaughlin, who is head of the Department of History at Chicago University, delivered a series of addresses before representative British audiences during the war, with the intention of promoting a more thorough understanding between the British and American peoples. As a historical student, Professor McLaughlin treated in these addresses of the historical connection and the causes of dissension between the two kindred nations. Although the substance of these addresses was prepared for British consumption, Americans will find the discussion profitable, especially in view of the League of Nations proposal.

Shaking Hands With England. By Charles Hanson Towne. G. H. Doran Co. 119 pp. \$1.

Mr. Towne, who is editor of *McClure's Magazine*, was one of a group of editors of periodicals and newspapers who visited Great Britain and the war fronts in France during the months of September and October. His book is the more charming because it is not formal or statistical, but frankly sentimental. Mr. Towne's intense interest in people, and his sympathetic perception give him a power of true insight that lends essential value to what seems a very dashing and unpretentious little volume. There is a quality of fine appreciation in all that Mr. Towne writes, concerning the spirit he found animating the efforts of the British people in the final weeks of the great struggle. His cordial goodwill toward England is like that of Philip Gibbs toward America.

Ten Years Near the German Frontier. By Maurice Francis Egan. George H. Doran Co. 364 pp. Ill. \$3.

Our former Minister to Denmark had unusual opportunities for studying the ramifications of Prussian politics in a country that would undoubtedly have been absorbed by the German Empire, sooner or later, if the Central Powers had not gone down to defeat in 1918. Mr. Egan used his eyes and ears to good purpose in the decades of his diplomatic experience in Denmark, and the present volume sums up vividly not only what he learned about German policies and activities during that period, but also important diplomatic developments, including the purchase by the United States of the Danish West Indies.

A Bulwark Against Germany. By Bogumil Vosnjak. Fleming H. Revell Co. 283 pp. \$1.50.

This volume describes the fight made by the Slovenes, the western branch of the Jugo-Slavs, for national existence. There are about a million and a half of these people, and they live in the region extending from the Adriatic coast, about Trieste and Istria, eastward. In the differences that have arisen between this branch of the Jugo-Slavs and the Italians, the author of this book maintains that a solution should be reached through the holding of a plebiscite, under the authority of the United States Army. His book gives much useful information relating to the historical, political, social, and economic evolution of the Slovenes.

The Vision for Which We Fought. By A. M. Simons. The Macmillan Co. 197 pp. \$1.50.

One of the first books to be published in America on the subject of reconstruction. The author is not so much interested in advocating a particular program as in setting forth certain of the problems that war has created, and indicating the means evolved during the war for their solution. He suggests only those changes that, in his opinion, have grown naturally out of the methods of fighting the war. These are some of the topics with which he deals: "Growing Power of Labor," "Women and the War," "The Farm in War," "What War Taught the Schools," and "A Positive League of Nations."

"Dear Folks at Home." By Corporal Kemper F. Cowing. Edited by Lieutenant Courtney Ryley Cooper. 288 pp. Ill. \$2.

This record of the work of the United States Marines in France is made up of letters written from the battlefield by members of the corps to their relatives at home. Many months

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Belleau Wood and Château-Thierry, are fully related in these letters. Their very simplicity and directness of narration make them far more readable than a more formal and detached account might be.

Living Bayonets. By Coningsby Dawson. John Lane Co. 221 pp. \$1.25.

Lieutenant Dawson, author of "Carry On," "The Glory of the Trenches" and other volumes of war experience tells in this little book the story of the last year and half of fighting. This is in the form of selections from letters written by Lieutenant Dawson to members of his family. These letters take up the narrative at the point where the correspondence printed in "Carry On" laid it down, that is, immediately after America's entry into the war. The readers of "Carry On" have expressed a desire that further installments of this correspondence be given to the public.

Pushing Water. By Eric Dawson. John Lane Co. 123 pp. Ill. \$1.

The author of this modest narrative was connected with that branch of the British naval service which is sometimes referred to as the mosquito fleet, sometimes as the Auxiliary Patrol. He is himself a Canadian, and the boats on which he lived for many months were auxiliary motor boats, otherwise known as "movies," which were built in New Jersey. Many Americans knew about the building of these motor boats, but few have ever read anything of their adventurous history in the patrol service under the British Admiralty. Lieutenant Dawson communicates many facts regarding this phase of warfare which, prior to November 11, last, were under the seal of secrecy.

Submarine and Anti-Submarine. By Sir Henry Newbolt. Longmans, Green & Co. 312 pp. Ill. \$2.25.

From the British standpoint, what now remains to be told of the submarine campaign, is naturally concerned mainly with the efforts, more or less successful, to put the submarine out of business. Sir Henry Newbolt describes these efforts in detail, and in addition shows how the submarine itself was employed by the British Navy in the Baltic and in the Dardanelles. He also traces the evolution of the undersea boat from its beginnings, showing that among all modern peoples the Germans have had least to do with its invention and development.

The Naval Reserve. By Frank Hunter Potter. Henry Holt & Co. 167 pp. Ill. \$1.35.

The Naval Reserve, as one of the volunteer organizations for preparedness and war efficiency, was early in the field. This book tells the story of the organization—its origin, personnel, camps, training, welfare work, and achievements. The fact that the book is very largely anecdotal arises from the author's extensive contact with Naval Reserve officers and men.

The Vanguard of American Volunteers. By Edwin W. Morse. Charles Scribner's Sons. 281 pp. \$1.50.

Some of the pioneer Americans whose doings are recorded in this volume were fighters in the air or members of the Foreign Legion, while oth-

ONE OF THE UNITED STATES MARINES WRITING HOME
(As pictured by Morgan Dennis, himself a member of
the Corps)

ers were in humanitarian service. All of them were active in the period between August, 1914, and April, 1917, and of those who were not killed, all continued to serve under the Stars and Stripes after the United States had definitely entered the

war. There are chapters on Alan Seeger, William Thaw, Victor Chapman, Edmond Genet and Major Lufbery, but the service of less conspicuous Americans who volunteered in the Ambulance Corps and in other activities is not ignored.

AVIATION IN WAR AND PEACE

Georges Guynemer, Knight of the Air. By Henry Bordeaux. Yale University Press. 247 pp. Ill. \$1.60.

This volume unites the thrilling narrative of Guynemer's wonderful work in the air to a clever and illuminating character sketch of the man, with a description of those endearing qualities that have made their possessor a hero to men of other nations than his own. The translation from the French has been made by Louise Morgan Sill, and an introduction, dated June 27, 1918, was written by Theodore Roosevelt in the form of a letter to the author.

Official Aero Blue Book and Directory. 1919. 202 pp. Ill. \$5.

Quite apart from the brilliant services of aviation in the Great War, aerial transportation is beginning to play a significant part in the arts of peace. The United States now has at least one aerial mail route that has been operated for months on schedule time without regard to the weather. An airplane has carried as many as fifty passengers, and a British general has flown from Africa to India. Nobody doubts that within a very short time a transatlantic flight will be an accomplished fact. These and other signs of the new day in aeronautics have stimulated the compilation and publication of the first "Aero Blue Book," which is really a textbook of aerial transportation, as thus far developed, together with a directory of aeronautic organizations. The illustrations are remarkably good, notably the

reproductions of photographs taken from airplanes. The mapping of the various airways thus far projected in this country is one of the striking features of the book.

The A. B. C. of Aviation. By Captain Victor W. Pagé. The Norman W. Henley Publishing Company. 33 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

This is a non-technical illustrated manual of aeronautical engineering, prepared by a well-known authority who has had much practical experience as an instructor at United States flying schools. It answers questions about modern aircraft and their operation which are most likely to be asked by the student and mechanic.

Aeroplanes and Aero Engines. By "Avion." Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 158 pp. \$1.

A briefer handbook, to serve as an introduction to the study of flight, and written from the standpoint of the British aviator.

Airplane Characteristics. By Frederick Bedell. Ithaca: Taylor and Company. 123 pp. Ill. \$1.60.

The author of this brief manual of the airplane is Professor of Physics in Cornell University, and is a member of the Aeronautical Society of America. A supplementary section of the work is now in preparation, and is expected to be issued during the current year.

THE TUMULT IN RUSSIA

Yashka. By Maria Botchkareva. Frederick A. Stokes Co. 340 pp. Ill. \$2.

In this book the commander of the famous Russian Women's Battalion of Death gives an account of her life as peasant, army officer and exile. The story was written out by Mr. Isaac Don Levine, who had it in Russian from Botchkareva herself. As now completed and published, it differs in material points from the numerous published tales and interviews that have appeared from time to time in newspapers. Mr. Levine attributes this fact in part to the ignorance of the Russian language among the English and American correspondents in Russia and partly to Botchkareva's own reluctance to take strangers into her confidence. Apart from the narrative of her personal adventures, her book is important as perhaps the first to disclose to American readers the real attitude of the Russian Army towards the Revolution in 1917.

From Czar to Bolshevik. By E. P. Stebbing. The John Lane Co. 313 pp. Ill. \$3.50.

The author of this work gives an account of a visit to Russia made in 1917, immediately after the Revolution. He summarizes the events that led up to the fall of the provisional government in November of that year, and gives a somewhat detailed account of the social and economic changes that took place, especially in Petrograd. One of his chief reasons, however, for going to Russia was to study the great forest tract on the Vichегда—a region almost unknown in America, but having tremendous possibilities as a source of timber.

War and Revolution in Russia, 1914-1917. By General Basil Gourko. Macmillan. 420 pp. Ill. \$4.

In this volume we have a war narrative written by one of the actual commanders. The author

was chief of the Russian General Staff from November, 1916, to March, 1917, and Commander-in-Chief of the Western Armies from March to June, 1917. The first half of the book describes the fighting in East Prussia, Poland, and Galicia. The second half gives a Russian General's impression of the kaleidoscopic changes that took place in Petrograd after the March revolution. The author relates his own conflict with his government, his subsequent arrest and imprisonment, and, finally, his departure to England.

Russia's Agony. By Robert Wilton. E. P. Dutton & Co. 357 pp. Ill. \$5.

Mr. Robert Wilton, the correspondent of the *London Times* at Petrograd during the eventful year 1917, attempts to give in this volume a comprehensive account of modern Russian history from the inside. Having lived from boyhood amongst the Russian people, he is perhaps as well qualified to describe the developments of the past two years as any non-Russian observer

would be. That part of his book which will be scanned with the greatest interest, we imagine, is the section dealing with Bolshevism, a system that he describes as essentially undemocratic, involving the forcible subversion of the laws and covenants upon which human society has been established. Believing that Bolshevism is neither Russian nor national, Mr. Wilton looks for its overthrow and the restoration of a united Russia.

Russian Revolution Aspects. By Robert Crozier Long. E. P. Dutton & Co. 294 pp. \$2.50.

Mr. Long served during 1917 as Russian correspondent of the American Associated Press. In the present volume he gives a narrative of the principal events connected with the Revolution. Like Mr. Wilton, he refuses to despair of Russia's ultimate fate, although he makes no effort to minimize the seriousness of her present situation. His book is chiefly interesting for its pen pictures of Kerensky, Korniloff, Lvoff, and other commanding figures of the revolutionary era.

BIOGRAPHY, MEMOIRS, AND HISTORY

The Book of Lincoln. Compiled by Mary Wright-Davis. George H. Doran Company. 399 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

In the ever-expanding Lincoln literature of our time we have ceased to look for original contributions. From now on the printed books about Lincoln that are likely to meet with the readiest acceptance are those that bring together between two covers the best that has been written and spoken concerning the martyr President in the years that have passed. One of the chief merits of "The Book of Lincoln" is the fact that it is just what it purports to be—a compilation. Mrs. Davis has drawn on practically all the poetic tributes to Lincoln that the English-speaking world has ever read, and upon many that have never been before dignified by general circulation. These are now brought together for the first time in a single volume. In addition, a few of Lincoln's own utterances are included, together with an extremely interesting chapter on the Lincoln genealogy and family tree and a chronology of the President's life.

Colonel John Scott, of Long Island. By Wilbur C. Abbott. New Haven: Yale University Press. 93 pp. \$1.25.

The American boy with a keen appetite for "pirate" literature need not be limited to the tales of Captain Kidd. In our colonial records are related the misdeeds of more than one adventurer whose wickedness is enough to satisfy the most exacting demands of the juvenile reader. The true stories of these gentry, as they have been developed by historical scholars, are found to be quite as wonderful as any of the tales that Defoe invented. Colonel John Scott, of Long Island, who is described by Professor Abbott, of Yale, as "a very real man and one of the most picturesque and far-wandering scoundrels of his kind," figured in the New York records of the

latter half of the seventeenth century. Professor Abbott gives us the verified account of this marauder's various transgressions, and we are assured that his narrative is historically accurate, since it has the endorsement of Professor J. Franklin Jameson and the Society of Colonial Wars of the State of New York.

Memoirs of Sir Andrew Melvill. Translated from the French, and the Wars of the Seventeenth Century by Torick Ameer-Ali. The John Lane Company. 297 pp. \$3.

This is the story of a Scotch soldier who fought in the seventeenth century on the fields of Ypres, Arras, Lens, Armentières, and Dixmude. Oddly enough, these memoirs were written in French, and for more than two hundred years have remained virtually buried, so far as the British public was concerned. They are now, for the first time, translated into English. Their pages are crowded with thrilling adventure and military detail.

Fighting the Spoilsman. By William Dudley Foulke. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 348 pp. \$2.

No living American is in better position than Mr. Foulke to write the history of the Civil Service Reform movement in the United States, from the standpoint of a participant in the reform campaign. This volume, however, is not a formal history, but a record of personal reminiscence by a life-long champion of the reform. Mr. Foulke has known personally every prominent advocate of Civil Service Reform from the Grant Administration to that of Woodrow Wilson. Moreover, he has had a hand in translating into practise and custom the ideals of the reformers. He served as Civil Service Commissioner under Roosevelt and is familiar both with the obstacles to the enforcement of the law and with the actual progress that has been made.

BOOKS ABOUT HOME-MAKING

"Love makes home a gracious court,
There let the world's rude hasty ways
Be fashioned to a loftier port."

IT is the desire of every womanly woman to have a beautiful and comfortable home. How to have one with the least wear and tear of physical and mental energy, Mrs. Mary Pattison tells in her volume of 300 pages, "The Business of Home Management."¹ No woman who has absorbed the advice given in this book could possibly make a failure of her home. Mrs. Pattison does her own housework and writes from actual experience with domestic machinery. The progressive theories of her book are the result largely of the work done in a household experiment station at Colonia, New Jersey, conducted by a group of American women who were anxious to improve the standard of the American home. The book considers successively, "The Practical Home," "The Personal Home," "The Progressive Home." A list is given of specially approved and tested household apparatus. Mrs. Pattison was formerly president of the New Jersey State Federation of Women's Clubs.

Thrift is the ground-soil of the home. "The Art of Saving," a little book of maxims and rules to inculcate the habit and make saving easy, has been prepared by Harvey A. Blodgett. It is an especially good book for the home-makers' library, as it explains so many puzzling questions in regard to banking and investments that often trouble women who manage their own affairs.

Latterly large numbers of women have been taking up home dressmaking. Those who wish a handy, condensed guide to the different processes will find it in an illustrated book, "The Dress You Wear," by Mary Jane Rhoe. The chapters are arranged for use in advanced classes in dressmaking as well as privately in the home. The cuts show all the different stitches, pockets, cord-covering, flat shirring, smocking, eyelets, buttonholes, etc., and clear directions are given as to choice of materials and alteration of patterns.

Martha Van Rensselaer, Flora Rose, and Helen Canon, of the Department of Home Economics, New York College of Agriculture, have prepared a most comprehensive book for housekeepers who live in the country—"The Manual of Home-Making."² It tells practically everything the rural home-maker wants to know. There are plans for building and remodeling houses and outbuildings, the newest and most tasteful designs for furniture and house furnishings, directions for heating and lighting, plans for labor-saving kitchens and laundries, chapters on dressmaking and millinery, cookery and food preservation, etc. All the chapters are profusely illustrated with drawings and photographs. The country housewife is well equipped for her tasks if she possesses this volume.

¹The Business of Home Management. By Mary Pattison. McBride. 210 pp. \$2.

²The Art of Saving. By Harvey A. Blodgett. St. Paul: Blodgett Co. 80 pp.

³The Dress You Wear. By Mary Jane Rhoe. Putman. 173 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

⁴A Manual of Home-Making. By M. Van Rensselaer, F. Rose and H. Canon. Macmillan. 661 pp. \$2.50.

Home Nursing

To-day women cannot afford to be helpless when they are facing sickness in the home. Efficiency is the keynote of the modern world and the wife and mother must understand the care of the sick. A "Text-Book of Home Nursing," by Eveleen Harrison (second edition), gives all the latest knowledge on the science of nursing as it can be undertaken in the home.

Another excellent manual on this subject is a condensed text-book for trained attendants, "Practical Home Nursing," by Louise Henderson, R. N. The author is Director of Trained Attendant Classes at the Ballard School, Central Branch Y. W. C. A., of New York. Students of practical nursing will find this volume contains practically everything necessary for their course of study.

An eighth edition of "Accidents and Emergencies," by Charles W. Dulles, M. D., shows the great demand for this useful work. Every person, young and old, should be familiar with the suggestions of this volume. Many lives might be saved if the manual were used as a text-book in the public schools.

How to Keep Children Happy in the Home

A most useful book for young mothers, "Games for Children's Development," has been prepared by Hilda Wrightson, a teacher who has had long experience in training both normal and sub-normal children. Teachers of classes of defectives will find this volume very helpful, also those who have the care of fretful, nervous children. Some of the games are very simple and adapted to the sub-normal mind; others are for the average bright child. All are planned to develop coördination and attention, manners, morals, self-control, altruism and patience. The introduction is by Henry H. Goddard, Ph. D.

Mrs. Alice Herts Heniger says in her book, "The Kingdom of the Child," that whenever she watches a group of children at play and sees how "universally they pretend to be someone else," she marvels that the life of "make believe" has been so little studied and so meagerly applied to the education and development of children. Several years ago Mrs. Heniger originated "The Children's Educational Theater." In this book she tells of her dramatic work with children and how teachers and parents can utilize their dramatic instincts to bring out self-expression and promote the creative faculty. In the introduction, Dr. G. Stanley Hall asks for the installation of the Children's Theater in a building fully equipped for the purpose of developing the unique and neglected type of culture, which the "dramatic instinct, one of the most deep and fundamental in all human nature, needs."

⁵Text-Book of Home Nursing. By Everett Harrison. Macmillan. 193 pp. \$1.10.

⁶Practical Home Nursing. By Louise Henderson, R. N. Macmillan. 224 pp. \$1.50.

⁷Accidents and Emergencies. By Charles W. Dulles, M. D. Philadelphia: Blakiston. 153 pp. Ill. \$1.

⁸Games for Children's Development. By Hilda Wrightson. Prospect Press. 239 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

⁹The Kingdom of the Child. By Alice Herts Heniger. Dutton. 173 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

RECENT VERSE

Angela Morgan, Poet and Humanist

IN practically all the poetry that has been written by Angela Morgan, there is clear vision of a new social order. Throughout her published works there is voiced continually the prophecy of the triumph of new moral values in the century now begun. While the public is familiar with Miss Morgan's poetry, very little is

generally known of the richness of her life and the conditions that have fostered her particular type of humanistic writing. She combines in one personality the qualities of poet, prophet, mystic, and reformer. Born of New England parents who removed to the Middle West when she was a child, she had opportunities for wide observation. Early in her youth she entered upon a career of journalism and sought the fundamental facts of human experience, visited police courts and jails, the slums of large cities, saw the unending stream of the miserable, came into actual contact

MISS ANGELA MORGAN

with the so-called lower strata of society.

Her father and mother were students of poets, seers and philosophers. The fruits of her eager listening in childhood to discussions of Shakespeare, Browning, Emerson and Swedenborg are found in the poems of philosophical breadth and profound thought and aspiration that characterize her work. She has produced four volumes of verse and a quantity of fiction and other writing. The books are: "The Hour Has Struck," "Utterance and Other Poems," "The Imprisoned Splendor" and "Forward, March!" Her poems most widely quoted and copied include "Hail Man"—perhaps her finest work—published in the *New York Times* on New Year's Day; "Work, A Song of Triumph," originally published in the *Outlook*; "The Battle Cry of The Mothers," widely circulated by Mrs. Andrew Carnegie, and "God Prays," which won a prize offered by the Poetry Society of America.

Because of the rapid movement of life at the present time, the social ferment and the problems of reconstruction to be solved, Angela Morgan, with her bold, dynamic appeal for social reform, deserves more than any other woman poet the title of the "poet of the times." At present Miss Morgan lives in New York. She has traveled extensively and given readings from her own poems and lectures on the poets of the day and has been extremely successful at Chautauqua as

a reader and interpreter of poetry. As one of the delegates to the First International Congress of Women at The Hague, she read for the first time her stirring "Battle Cry of the Mothers." Unfortunately Miss Morgan's photographs do not fairly represent her personal appearance. She is of the Greek type, and of commanding height, dark, with glowing eyes and finely modeled features.

A Semitic Undercurrent

The reactions of Russian Jews who grew up under the old Russian régime hedged about by Jewish orthodoxy, suddenly liberated to the freedom of America, are expressed in an increasing number of books of verse. The most impressive and virile among those of recent publication is "The Family Album," by Alter Brody, a young Russian-Jewish poet, who came here when he was a half-grown boy and grew up in New York. His poems have brilliant promise, originality and sincerity; they are vital, pungent impressions of his new country together with memories of Russia, in particular of his native village, Kartushkiya-Beroza—

. . . a Lithuanian village on a twig of the Vistula.

Kartushkiya-Beroza (what a sweet name—Beroza is the Russian for birch trees).

He writes free verse that has the sensitivity of the most delicate rhymed lyricism; also it has detachment, a curious cold passion, a realism that probes beyond facts into the ultimate. Mr. Louis Untermeyer says in the preface—an admirable piece of criticism—that the unifying note of the book is its "definitely Semitic undertone," and comments that Mr. Brody's poem, "Neurological Institute," is a "Spoon River Anthology of the East Side."

"The Ghetto," by Lola Ridge, another product of Semitic genius, astonishes on first reading with poems that explode like sky rockets and dazzle the comprehension with fiery word-showers. The very redundancy of these pictures of the East Side helps their art. Villon poured no more acrid draught into the cup of poetry than "Bowery Afternoon." Certain other poems—"Manhattan," "Broadway," "Promenade"—leave magical pictures in the mind; they are torrential impressions fusing at white heat with language. Most of the poems are in free verse.

"First Offering," by Samuel Roth, is of different movement and content. The volume contains lyrics and sonnets, the latter having in the main that primal requisite of a work of art—magnitude. They are not intimate in tone. Some are like marble urns shaped to enshrine divine austerities. Love is—in them—the incarnation of the "majestic calm of the earth. The other poems are not as successful as the sonnets with the exception of "A Song of Earth," which is written in free verse.

*The Family Album. By Alter Brody. Huebner. 132 pp. \$1.25

*The Ghetto. By Lola Ridge. Huebner. 101 pp. \$1.25

*First Offering. By Samuel Roth. The Lyric Publishing Co. 48 pp. \$1.25.

*Forward, March! By Angela Morgan. Lane. 102 pp. \$1.25.

Jean Starr Untermeyer, the talented wife of Louis Untermeyer, writes of her own personal experiences with life in "Growing Pains."¹ This slender volume contains both satisfactory achievement and brilliant promise. Several of the poems are introspective; others are filled with maternal tenderness and longing. "Clay Hills" and "Deliverance" are exceptional in their knowledge and truth. The greater part of Mrs. Untermeyer's work is in free verse.

Echoes of the Cavalier Poets

In "Airs and Ballads,"² by a young man from Oklahoma, John McClure, there are many cadences that bring to mind the mellifluous music of Herrick, Suckling and Lovelace. Some of the best lyrics of modern verse are in this volume.

"Songs of a Miner,"³ by James Welsh, have the bird-like quality of the Elizabethan songs. The author was born in 1880, in the mining village of Haywood in the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, and grew up a miner's child. In his twelfth year he left school and went to work in the coal mine, where he has worked all his life until two years ago. Yet but seldom does he write of the mine; he sings of fields and blackbirds, of summer and fey youth. His verse came, he says, as the throstle's songs, or as roses come, because he was a natural born singer.

Robert Graves, of the Royal Welch Fusiliers, has written a volume of gay little poems, "Fairies and Fusiliers."⁴ In it are many charming, buoyant bits of verse that will cling in memory. John Masefield tells the story that Graves was picked up for dead on the battlefield. He heard the stretcher bearers say he was dead, and he called out: "I'm not dead, I'm d—d if I'll die." And he didn't. He wrote a poem about it.

"Chamber Music,"⁵ by James Joyce, author of "Dubliners" and the remarkable play "Exiles," offers a lyric sequence of exceeding melodic beauty. In "Before Dawn,"⁶ a third volume of poems by Irene Rutherford McLeod, there are many beautiful lyrics and a remarkable sonnet sequence. Stella Benson, author of charming stories, has in "Twenty" very good verse with a certain spaciousness of thought that is satisfying. Cale Young Rice lifts the mind to high levels of beauty and faith in "Songs to A. H. R."⁷ There is much music in these poems—a continual murmur of the sea heard afar off droning on shingly bars.

For the most part in traditional measured form the youthful poets of ninety-six colleges have contributed their poesy to "Poets of the Future,"⁸ a college anthology. Through the poems one feels the intense reaction of the undergraduates to the war and the downfall of autocracy. Cor-

poral Francis F. Hogan, whose poem "Fulfilled," is included in this anthology, was killed in the Battle of the Meuse.

Edward F. Garesché, author of "War Mothers,"⁹ is editor of the *Queen's Work*. He has published two collections of verse previously. Of late he has been much interested in war service throughout the country. In his last book there are nine poems, memorials to Joyce Kilmer, tributes of Our Lady, Jeanne d'Arc, and to the many mothers who have lost their sons on the battlefield.

No memorial to the British war poets would be complete without high tribute to Lieutenant E. A. Mackintosh, late of the Seaforth Highlanders. His last volume, "War the Liberator and Other Poems,"¹⁰ is a worthy successor to the earlier one, "A Highland Regiment." Coningsby Dawson wrote of him: "In his death we have lost a poet—how fine we shall never know, for he died like a thrush in his first April." And he adds the following bit of description of the poet's personal appearance: "Alan Mackintosh looked the Gael he was, loose-limbed, muscular, tall, and dark. He carried a fine head well. His roving eye, merry, tender, cautious, penetrating, bold by rapid turns, epitomized the richness of his nature and his still rarer force of self-expression." He was killed in action on November 21, 1917, on the Western Front.

Oswald Hardy, an Englishman in official life, has written a tuneful book of verse, "In Greek Seas,"¹¹ which celebrates the beauty of nature and memories of inspiring travel. In "The Lyric Songs of the Greeks,"¹² Walter Peterson gives pleasing versions of the fragments of Sappho, Anacreon, Alcaeus and the minor Greek melodists, together with translations of recent finds from the papyrus heaps of Egypt. A short biographical and critical account of the poet precedes each group of poems.

Magazine Verse

The preface of William Stanley Braithwaite's "Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1918,"¹³ contains a spirited comparison of the comments of three poet-critics on the making of poetry. Conrad Aiken is revealed as a follower of Poe, so far as his theories of the art of poesy are concerned. In an article in the *North American Review* (December, 1917), "The Mechanism of Poetic Inspiration," Mr. Aiken praised the scientific analysis of poetry, but offered the contradictory suggestion of a Freudian clue to poetic expression. Mr. Maxwell Bodenheim—always a rebel—writing in the *New Republic* (December, 22, 1917) adhered to the opinion that neither poets nor laymen were able to grasp what poetry really is, and later offered this definition: "Pure poetry is the vibrant expression of anything clearly delicate and unattached with surface sentiment in the emotions of men toward themselves and nature." Brian Hooker, the third poet-

¹Growing Pains. By Jean Starr Untermeyer. Huebsch. 64 pp. \$1.

²Airs and Ballads. By John McClure. Knopf. 84 pp. \$1.

³Songs of a Miner. By James C. Welsh. Putnams. 106 pp. \$1.25.

⁴Fairies and Fusiliers. By Robert Graves. Knopf. 94 pp. \$1.

⁵Chamber Music. By James Joyce. Huebsch. \$1.

⁶Before Dawn. By Irene Rutherford McLeod. Huebsch. 125 pp. \$1.25.

⁷Twenty. By Stella Benson. Macmillan. 60 pp. 80 cents.

⁸Songs to A. H. R. By Cale Young Rice. Century Co. 50 pp.

⁹The Poets of the Future. Edited by Henry T. Schnittkind. Stratford Co. 214 pp. \$1.50.

¹⁰War Mothers. By Edward F. Garesché, S. J. Benziger Bro. 58 pp. 60 cents.

¹¹War the Liberator. By Lieut. E. A. Mackintosh, M.C. Lane. 156 pp. \$1.25.

¹²In Greek Seas. By Oswald Hardy. Lane. 96 pp. \$1.20.

¹³The Lyric Songs of the Greeks. By Walter Peterson. Badger. 192 pp. \$1.50.

¹⁴Anthology of Magazine Verse For 1918. Edited by William Stanley Braithwaite. 285 pp. \$2.

critic, defined poetry in the *Century* (December, 1917), in an article, "The Practical Use of Poetry," as an art that deals with the "feel of actual life and so employs language not so much to make us understand or even imagine as to make us realize." Mr. Hooker thinks that we are all of us living poetry so long as we are "vividly alive."

The content of the anthology has been con-

finer to short poems of a distinctly singing quality. "Sea Dreams," by Ridgely Torrence, the first poem of the collection, is a very beautiful lyric, mystical and prophetic. Other poems that are especially notable include "I Have Had Great Pity," by Willard Wattles; "Hymn To Light," by Edward J. O'Brien, and "The Eyes of Queen Esther and How They Conquered King Ahasuerus," by Vachel Lindsay.

FOREIGN AND AMERICAN NOVELS AND SHORT STORIES

A SERIES of volumes called the "Library of French Fiction" have been translated in order to put into circulation in this country the best French novels that treat of the life of Paris and of the different provinces—books in which all the types of men and women peculiar to France and her manifold social life and manners are depicted in masterly fashion. Now that we are appreciative of the spirit of France because of the events of the war, it is most desirable that the American people should know the best of the contemporary French novels that delineate the character and history of the French people.

"Jacquou The Rebel," the most important and typical of Eugene Le Roy's five novels, pictures rural life in Perigord between 1810 and 1830. It is a study of the oppressed, underfed peasants who resisted the tyranny of their overlords. In the vast forests of the nobility, the miserable, starving peasant farmers might not snare a rabbit for food lawfully. For the aftermath of such an offense, Jacquou's father was sent to prison and his mother perished soon afterwards from the hardships of her bitter life. Jacquou became a rebel and finally obtained relief and better conditions for his community. Le Roy was born in Perigord, at Hautefort, in 1830. He spent the early part of his life in the army, fighting against Austria with the Italians in 1859. In the Franco-Prussian war he learned to know the Germans at first hand. Later he retired to a governmental position at Bordeaux, where he died in 1907. The translation is by Eleanor Stimson Brooks.

"Nono," a peasant love story, by Gaston Roupnel, gives a realistic, vivid account of the life of the winegrowers in the district of Burgundy. Its realism is that of the spirit of the earth and of the imperishable faith and loyalty of simple souls. In the overshadowing of the individual by the soil upon which he dwells and from which he draws sustenance, there is much likeness to Hardy's Wessex novels. "Nono" is a simple man of the people and his story is that of a man with a single love attachment which survives toil and poverty, disloyalty, and the attrition of time. The novel is translated and edited by Barnet J. Beyer.

English Novels and Short Stories

In beautiful descriptive passages and in profound knowledge of the conflicting passions of

the human heart few novels equal "The Challenge to Sirius," by Sheila Kaye-Smith. The setting of the story is a little pip of land, the Isle of Oxney, wedged between Sussex and Kent, a separate land rising out of the marsh with ground that becomes good marl, and many farms caught in a "web of little twisting lanes." The novelist has made a careful study of the permanent values gathered from life-experience that offer an eternal challenge to "Sirius, symbol of divine indifference." The "gatherer," Frank Rainger, goes far in search of the deeper satisfactions of life, to London—Thackeray's London—to the battlefields of the Civil War, to a pueblo in a remote forest of Yucatan, and back—at the end—to Maggie, his first sweetheart, and the Isle of Oxney in the Kent Marshes. The episodes of the war are narrated entirely from the Southern point of view at the time of the conflict.

Cynthia Stockley's thrilling stories of South Africa are published under the title of one of her most successful tales, "Blue Aloes." The narrative of the secrets of this Karoo farm with its hedge of blue aloes, cactus, tarantulas, and strange voices that whisper warnings at midnight will satisfy any mystery lover. "The Leopard" is a study of a woman who possessed a strange likeness, spiritually and physically, to the spotted treacherous jungle beast. "Rozanne Ozanne" is a weird tale of Malay voodoo magic, the facts of which are at least partially supported by scientific research. "April Folly," while no less mysterious, is in lighter vein and relieves the tense atmosphere of the other tales. Mrs. Stockley is of Irish descent but South African by birth. She has lived nearly all her life in the Free State and speaks the Boer Taal and several native languages.

In "Wild Youth and Another," Gilbert Parker has written two heart-gripping glamorous stories of youth, love and adventure in the Canadian West. The locality is but slightly disguised under the name "Askatoon." The first is a version of Beauty and the Beast. Mazarine, an aged uncouth farmer, brings home to his ranch a beautiful young girl of nineteen whom he has practically bought by paying off the mortgage on her father's home. A drama of love and jealousy and the blossoming of romance follow. The second story

*The Challenge to Sirius. By Sheila Kaye-Smith. By E. P. Dutton & Company. 442 pp. \$1.90.

*Blue Aloes. By Cynthia Stockley. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 358 pp. \$1.50.

*Wild Youth and Another. By Sir Gilbert Parker. Lippincott. 790 pp. \$1.50.

*Jacquou the Rebel. By Eugène Le Roy. Translated by Eleanor Stimson Brooks. E. P. Dutton & Company. 415 pp. \$1.90.

*Nono. By Gaston Roupnel. E. P. Dutton & Company. 272 pp. \$1.90.

is more convincing. A notorious train robber reforms and becomes the mayor of a western town. He steps down from his high place to do one more robbery—why, Sir Gilbert tells us in his inimitable style. A chivalrous young doctor figures as a leading character in both tales.

A Story of the Argentine

"Amalia,"¹ by José Marmol, is a romance of the Argentine in the time of the reign of terror instituted by Rosas, the Dictator. Among the political chiefs of the Argentine was Manuel Rosas, who succeeded General Lavalle as Governor of Buenos Aires in 1835. His rule was as blood-red as the color he chose for his emblem and his sanguinary policy was directed against everyone who opposed either his political power or his personal caprices. He was defeated by the allied forces of his opponents in 1852 and took refuge on a British man-of-war. He was carried to England and lived in retirement on an estate he had purchased near Southampton until his death, March 14, 1877. Marmol's great South American story has for many years been accessible in German, Russian and Polish, but until this edition had never before appeared in English. It is a fine, thrilling tale, full of love, fighting and adventure. Amalia is one of the most fascinating heroines in all fiction. The translation is by Mary J. Serrano, the translator of "The Journal of Marie Bashkirtseff."

American Fiction

Gertrude Atherton's splendid story of California, "The Avalanche," is a galloping tale of a beautiful young woman whose life is involved in inexplicable mystery. She refuses to confide in her husband and he employs detectives to unravel the sinister skein that threatens to wreck his marriage. A great glowing ruby worth a princely ransom figures in the romance. The solution of the mystery drags to light the underworld of San Francisco as it existed several decades ago. One regrets that Mrs. Atherton did not use a wider canvas and elaborate her theme. The dramatic power of the narrative and her sure craftsmanship carries the story to success, but it is as a short story one must consider it, not as a novel.

Mr. Edward J. O'Brien writes in the preface of his yearbook, "The Best Short Stories of 1918,"² that there has been a marked ebb in the quality of the short story owing to the probable pre-occupation of writers with the recent world events. He offers his selections not as master-

pieces, but as the best he has been able to find. There are twenty stories in the collection. Their authors include Achmed Abdullah, Arthur Johnson, Sinclair Lewis, Julian Street, Mary Heaton Vorse and Edward Venable. The greater number of them may be characterized as "jolting stories." The reader is bounced from one hummock of emotion to another until the writer with a final upheaval lifts him breathless to a dizzy climax. A pleasant exception to this type is "The Visit of the Master," by Arthur Johnson.

Three new features render the "Yearbook" for 1918 very useful for reference purposes. There is an index of all short stories published in a selected list of volumes issued during the year, another index of critical articles on the short story, and exact volume and page references to the index of short stories published in American magazines.

A collection of the twenty-two best stories written by college students, "The Best College Short Stories,"³ is the beginning of a projected annual series of volumes which the editor, Henry T. Schnitkind, trusts will prove not alone a reflection of what college students are thinking and dreaming but a valuable spread of background upon which to venture prophecies of future literary art. "The Tomte Gubbe," by Alma Abrahamson (University of Minnesota), and "Angélé," by John Sharon (Washington University) are the best of the collection. Miss Abrahamson has given a new legend to American literature, while the delicate, sure handling of his material by Mr. Sharon shows an unusual grasp upon literary art and the development of the power of romantic characterization. The book contains a supplementary list of sixty-four other stories of distinction, a symposium of fifty-nine editors of leading magazines and newspapers telling young authors how to succeed; and an autobiographic symposium by twenty-eight famous authors of short stories, giving an account of their struggle for literary fame and the means by which they attained it.

In the "Penguin Series," there is the first issue in book form of one of the finest novels of Henry James's earlier period, "Gabrielle de Bergerac."⁴ Also two books by Lafcadio Hearn, "Karma,"⁵ an unusual collection of beautiful stories, sketches and essays which have never been collected in book form, and Japanese Fairy Tales.⁶ A fourth addition to the series is "Ioanthe's Wedding,"⁷ a translation of a love story by Hermann Suderman, author of "The Song of Songs."

¹"Amalia. By Mary J. Serrano. Translated from the Spanish of José Marmol. E. P. Dutton & Company. 419 pp. \$2.

²"The Avalanche. By Gertrude Atherton. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 225 pp. \$1.35.

³"The Best Short Stories of 1918. And the Yearbook of the American Short Story. Edited by Edward J. O'Brien. Boston: Small, Maynard & Company. 441 pp. \$1.60.

⁴"Gabrielle de Bergerac. Boni and Liveright. 144 pp. \$1.25.

⁵"Karma. By Lafcadio Hearn. Boni and Liveright. 163 pp. \$1.25.

⁶"Japanese Fairy Tales. By Lafcadio Hearn. Boni and Liveright. 160 pp. \$1.25.

⁷"Ioanthe's Wedding. By Herman Suderman. Boni and Liveright. 159 pp. \$1.25.



FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—THE HERITAGE OF WAR

LONG before there was even the slightest thought of an armistice and, in fact, while the fortunes of war were still against the Entente, the story told by the stock ticker (as proved by subsequent events) was one of complete military victory over the Central Empires. In the light of the market's accurate forecast of last fall, what importance is to be attached to the great speculation for the rise that developed during the latter part of February, after a long period of inertia that prompted the financial community to drift into a frame of mind bordering on despondency?

It is true that an advance probably would have been justified on "technical" grounds, but there may be a deeper significance. In all likelihood, the advance in security values represents the familiar discounting of the future—in this instance the prosperity that is expected to follow the solving of the most complicated political, financial and economic problems that have ever confronted the great minds of the world.

Prices of Materials

Fundamentally there has been a little improvement, still the substructure of business and finance can hardly yet be described as solid. The situation remains replete with anomalies. Wages remain high and so also do living costs and many of the commodities. The price of copper has been cut in half, yet this decline has failed to stimulate buying of any consequence. On the other hand, while steel and iron prices have been reduced the average is still far above pre-war levels.

There is very respectable support for the opinion that the major steel reductions will occur early in the summer. The best judgment of the trade is that heavy price-cutting now would not be compensated for in an adequate volume of business. And, at the same time, it would involve concessions on the 15,000,000 tons of business now on the books of the mills, which will be worked off by midsummer. The conviction is growing that within three or four months materials entering into building, etc., together with labor, will have reacted sufficiently to make

important cuts in steel prices productive of a fairly large volume of business.

The New Prosperity

What the markets, therefore, appear to be discounting is a general revival of trade and industry by fall. In many lines shelves are bare. In others, there is a plethora of materials and supplies. The next few months should provide the opportunity for clearing the decks for the next forward movement.

The new prosperity is being pioneered by the rubber and motor industries. In the South and the Western agricultural districts there has never been so lavish a display of wealth. There are excellent roads to-day where only a few years ago none but the lightest of power-driven vehicles would have dared venture. And it is not stretching the imagination to say that in this respect the ground has only been scratched. Although the wheat-price guarantee may be economically unsound, it will nevertheless provide a great stimulus to the automobile industry; and furthermore it will bring into more general use the very efficient farm tractor, the product of a comparatively new industry that is closely related to the motor-car business.

In its broader application, this will tend to restore the confidence that has been so sorely lacking in recent months and which is so vitally necessary to put the nation again on its feet, commercially. Less will be heard in the next few months of the somewhat fantastic foreign trade and more of the deferred home requirements, which should fill the gap until Europe has weathered the storm of Bolshevism and has had time to nurse its sickly finances back to health.

The Railroad Situation

To follow the Wall Street theory of reasoning, one must avoid the obvious. Which explains why the Republican filibuster, leaving the Railroad Administration without funds with which to meet its obligations to the carriers, did not result in panic. The shock lasted about fifteen minutes, and "the Street" immediately began to reason that perhaps it was after all a blessing

in disguise. To the opponents of government control, with its attendant inefficiency (which has been demonstrated since the Government took over the roads), it represented a great opportunity.

This snap judgment has subsequently been partially justified. It has given the nation's large bankers an opportunity to play a big, unselfish hand, that should be of tremendous value in forming public opinion when the next Congress undertakes the task of finding an equitable solution of the railroad problem. The bankers, it was understood at the time of this writing, were prepared to assist the roads financially—and at the absolute minimum cost. The assistance of the bankers can be no more than a temporary expedient, as the amount owing the railroads on rent compensation amounts now roughly to about \$450,000,000.

The railroad predicament will, in the judgment of banking interests, be productive of much good. Their conviction that there would be an active application of facts, rather than theory, at the Peace Conference, is already partially borne out. What the financial community wants first is peace, after that it is willing to listen to the League of Nations theory. With peace once definitely established it will be possible for the bankers of the nations concerning to evolve plans for the correction of the existing weaknesses of the foreign exchange structure, which must be eliminated before Europe can again become a large customer of the United States. Business interests just returned from France, for instance, report a most deplorable condition, both financially and industrially. England, through necessity, is carefully guarding

against an excessive importation of materials and manufactures.

The Victory Loan

The next event of commanding importance on the financial calendar will be the Victory, and final, War Loan. Treasury notes will be issued with a five-year maturity and attractive tax-exemption clauses.

Obviously, the loan is planned to be attractive for institutional investment in the event the public should fail to respond as heroically as it has done on former occasions. Since the last loan the war has come to an end and the patriotic fervor of the masses has subsided appreciably.

There is excellent authority, however, for the assertion that one of the strongest points in the campaign of publicity will be the argument to the wage-earner and man of small affairs that the necessity for support on his part is imperative if the banks are to be left in a position where they can adequately provide the finances for an expanding industrial and trade movement, which in turn means full employment for the masses. The appeal undoubtedly will have its effect, but some capable students of finance are beginning to wonder whether, with no curtailment in wartime extravagance in living and the rediscount privilege of the Federal banks operative, not to overlook the extensive foreign financing that must be done here, instead of post-bellum deflation we are not likely to enter an era of intensive inflation such as was avoided during the war. It is too early yet to entertain definite convictions on this score. Yet the subject provides most interesting food for thought.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

SUPPLEMENTING A LIBERTY BOND INVESTMENT

Having bought my quota of Liberty Bonds, I have at present \$1200 in cash which I would like to put out at higher interest than the 4 per cent I receive at the bank. Can you recommend anything?

If the purchase of Liberty Bonds marks the beginning of your investment experience, we hardly think it would be advisable for you to withdraw all of the money on deposit in the bank (presumably a savings bank, or a bank conducting a savings department) for investment in securities of any kind. It is always a good thing to have a little surplus put away for safe-keeping in such a place, where it is usually available immediately to meet emergencies requiring ready cash. A part of your surplus, however,

might be used to purchase a sound bond of some kind to yield better than 4 per cent. The logical step from United States Government bonds seems to us to be into municipal bonds, which as far as fundamental characteristics go are very similar to Government issues, since they are supported by the taxing power of the communities which issue them. Possibly you might find a good bond of this class in \$500 denomination that would yield around 5 per cent. Why not take the matter up with some reliable investment banking house specializing in municipal bonds?

MORTGAGES AND MUNICIPAL BONDS

I expect very soon to have a few thousand dollars to invest, and am desirous of putting it in securities that are safe and yield a good rate of income. I am thinking of dividing the money between a mortgage and muni-

cial or public-utility bonds. What would you think of such a plan?

We think your plan may very properly be approved.

In saying this, we assume, first of all, either that you would make your mortgage investment through an experienced and unquestionably reliable banker, or that you are in position to satisfy yourself personally about the security underlying the investment; and that you would employ well recognized principles of discrimination in the selection of the bond investments.

As between municipal and public-utility bonds, our preference at this time would be the former, even if at some sacrifice of net income. With a good mortgage investment, however, yielding perhaps as much as 6 per cent, you would be able to make the average of your net income very satisfactory with municipal bonds of essentially conservative character, and it is our opinion that, especially if your circumstances do not require a very high degree of convertibility, such a combination would be the best for you to make.

A COMBINATION FOR GOOD YIELD

I have had no experience in investing in securities. I need your advice, therefore, in the matter of an investment of \$5000. What do you think I should buy?

Here is one combination that might be suggested in such circumstances:

United States Government Third Liberty Loan 4½ per cent. bonds, due in 1928.

United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland 5½ per cent. bonds, due in 1937.

Chicago & Northwestern general mortgage 5 per cent. bonds, due in 1987.

American Telephone & Telegraph 6 per cent. notes, due in 1924.

Swift & Company 6 per cent. notes, due in 1926.

We suggest the splitting up of your fund into five parts in order to get that degree of safety which is always afforded by minute diversification.

Such a combination as this one would give you an average yield of net income of about 5½ per cent., which is perhaps the maximum yield you ought to undertake to obtain until you have added considerably to your general investment experience.

MISSOURI PACIFIC GENERAL MORTGAGE BONDS

I noticed in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS some time ago that you recommend Missouri Pacific general mortgage 4 per cent bonds as a safe investment. Do you still regard them so, and do you consider the present a good time to buy them? Will you explain about how they are secured? Is there anything else in this class of securities that you would recommend?

As you suggest, we have on a number of different occasions referred to the general mortgage 4 per cent. bonds of the Missouri Pacific as being in our opinion a good investment of their type and class. However, we would not be understood as giving these bonds the rating of an altogether high-grade, conservative investment. They are relatively new and unseasoned and, while appearing to possess some pretty strong equities, are not without certain essential ele-

ments of risk. On the reorganized Missouri Pacific property, these bonds are a lien junior to 128,000,000 of underlying bonds which were undisturbed in the reorganization, and also junior to about \$47,000,000 new first refunding 5 per cents.

A bond which occupies very much the same kind of market position as the Missouri Pacific general mortgage 4 per cent. bonds, but which seems to us to possess in some respects stronger security, is the issue of St. Louis & San Francisco prior lien 4 per cents. These are also the obligations of a reorganized company which have not yet become seasoned. They are selling in the open market almost on a par with the Missouri Pacific general mortgage 4 per cents.

SAFE KEEPING OF LIBERTY BONDS

I have, or should have, several hundred dollars' worth of Liberty Bonds at the bank I patronize for safe-keeping. I have never seen the bonds, haven't their numbers, and do not possess anything to show that I am the owner of them. Can you recommend a better way of keeping bonds?

Your bank is the best place to keep the bonds, but if you have paid for them outright, it would be a matter of simple business prudence for you to obtain a receipt for them, showing their denomination and indicating which of the various issues they represent. It would also be advisable for you to inform yourself about the arrangements at the bank for collecting the coupons as they become due and either sending you the proceeds or crediting the same to your account.

RUSSIAN 5½ PER CENTS

I have two Russian Government 5½ per cent bonds, due in 1926. What would you advise me to do with them?

In your place we do not think we should undertake to do anything with them at the present time. Their status is, of course, an extremely uncertain one, but it is by no means a foregone conclusion as yet that they will not ultimately come through all right. The next few months may bring forth some interesting developments in this situation.

DENVER & RIO GRANDE BONDS

Please tell me what you think of Denver & Rio Grande Refunding 5 per cent bonds as an investment and explain what position they occupy in the finances of the road.

These bonds are in our opinion extremely low grade speculative securities entirely unsuited to the needs of a conservative investor. They are secured by blanket mortgage on the Denver & Rio Grande properties, and have ahead of them prior liens represented by closed mortgages amounting to approximately \$82,000,000. They are senior only to an issue of 10,000,000 Adjustment Income 7 per cent. bonds due in 1932.

As you may probably be aware the Denver & Rio Grande has been in the hands of receivers since January, 1918, and there are no immediate prospects for working out a satisfactory reorganization plan. It seems improbable in other words that any of the road's securities, aside from the underlying bonds, can be established in anything like a satisfactory position for a long time to come.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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A VIEW OF GENEVA, THE SWISS CITY WHICH HAS BEEN SELECTED AS THE SEAT OF THE FUTURE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(The photograph shows one of the numerous bridges crossing the river Rhone.)

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Europe
Only a
Year Ago*

A year ago the arrogance of Germany, feeding upon military success, was at a high point, and there was little further attempt to disguise Teutonic war aims. The program had developed rapidly, and was supported almost unanimously. There will, perhaps, be a difference of opinion among conscientious historians regarding the motives that had prevailed in Germany when the war was launched in 1914. Obviously it was expected that England would keep out; that France would be overcome within a few weeks; that Russia's collapse would ensure the success of the Pan-German program as regards the Balkans and Turkey, and that indemnities would be exacted. But whatever the conscious and definite aims of the German people were in 1914, there is no doubt at all as to what those aims had become in the spring and early summer of last year. The German Empire was regarded as permanently extended, to include great portions of what had been Russian territory. Finland had been made a German vassal; there was no intention of giving up Antwerp; parts of France were to have been annexed; an immense colonial empire was to have been acquired in Asia and Africa; the British navy was to have been surrendered; and the United States was to have been compelled to pay an indemnity to Germany that would have made the war financially profitable for the nation that had ventured to force its leadership upon the world.

*The
Dramatic
Reversal*

The turn in military fortunes, following Allied unity of command and the arrival of two million American troops, will through centuries to come be regarded as among the most dramatic happenings of all recorded history. Early in October, if not sooner, the German

military leaders knew that the structure they had been building was about to collapse. There followed Germany's appeal to President Wilson for armistice terms; and what ensued is known to everybody. Although the course of events is so familiar, however, it is necessary to consider it all with one's reasoning faculties, in order that the daily news from Europe may not be too bewildering. The chief landmark to keep in view is the military victory—a supreme benefit the value of which will not be sacrificed. Germany came very near winning the war a year ago; and that would have been an appalling thing for Europe and also for America. The defeat of Germany filled us with joy and gratitude six months ago, and those sentiments were justified. We should not be so short-sighted as to permit minor difficulties and disturbances to darken the skies that were made clear by Germany's defeat, and by the end of the war, last November.

*Victory the
Outstanding
Fact*

Although after the tides of battle began to turn, with General Foch's successes in France, we were confident that Germany had lost the war, it was the general opinion that the fighting would go on until the summer of the present year. Our participation had been serious, and, relatively to the numbers of our men engaged and the length of the period of actual fighting, our losses were heavy. Nevertheless, they were small in the aggregate as compared with what they would have been if the finish of the war had come this year instead of last. Those who keep their heads and think carefully are not only thankful, then, that we were spared the calamity of a German victory, but that Germany's full defeat came in 1918 rather than in 1919. These are great outstanding facts that nothing can alter.

*"Liquidating,"
a Tedious
Process*

Again, everybody who had conceived of the war in its magnitude and its intensity had known all along that it could not be "liquidated" easily, and that the settlements following it would involve much discussion and require the acceptance of compromises. It is natural enough that those who have been following closely the work of the Conference at Paris should at times have lost their sense of perspective, and should have been deeply anxious. When the results stand out and are visible as a series of things achieved, however, it is likely that praise will be far more general than blame. It was hardly possible to arrive at conclusions more rapidly, where so many nations were concerned. Every portion of the globe where there is organized human society is consciously affected by the work of the Peace Conference. We should not do justice to this gathering of the nations at Paris if we did not remember that for about five months it has been in essential fact a continuance of the coöperative work of the Allies, whose main purpose was to find deliverance from the menace of force and to establish not merely the theory but also the practice of justice as the rule among men.

*Outline
of
Peace*

The same principles which led the United States into the war have made it necessary for this country to have a part in the adjustments following the war. The whole German nation had accepted the view a year ago that Germany was to have expansion and enrichment beyond all historical precedents by right of conquest and by power of extortion. We must keep in mind this German program, in order to do simple justice to the contrasting attitude of the victorious Allies in their efforts to fix the main outlines of reconstruction. The famous "Fourteen Points" of President Wilson had been either explicitly or virtually accepted by all of the Allies, months before the defeat of Germany, as expressing cardinal principles of world order and also as specifying some of the particular adjustments that would have to be made. When Germany asked for the terms of an armistice, it was upon the avowed basis of Allied principles as set forth by President Wilson. After five months of discussion the main outlines of Peace are confirmed, and the principal details have been written into a treaty with Germany. The outcome is better than there was reason to expect. The Allies have met all tests honorably.

*Acceptance
of American
Principles*

Earlier in the war period the Allies themselves had a different theory of the future, and were adjusting, by secret agreements among themselves, the nature and extent of the advantages they were expecting severally to obtain as a result of victory. But the breakdown of Russian Czardom and the swift rise of America's military power changed the whole theory of the world's political future. It was perfectly understood that American armies were not in Europe to help build up one set of empires at the expense of another set. The public opinion of Europe, hating war and distrusting the old-fashioned statesmen and diplomats who were trained to play the game of empire, was ready to accept American principles. The peoples everywhere were heartily tired of war and willing to follow any reasonable program for getting rid of militarism. Thus the American principles, as they had been set forth by President Wilson in speeches and addresses, were adopted as a fundamental platform, first by the Allies, and next by their chief opponents. To the future student of civilization, this achievement will stand out clearly as among the greatest of the ethical and political events of all the ages. The principles thus accepted included the protection of small nations in all their equality of rights; the abolition of those dangerous conspiracies which had grown up through secret diplomacy; the ending of those applications of science and industry to the growth of military power which had made Germany a menace; the organization of the world for the making of rules and regulations, the safety of the seas, and the orderly settlement of disputes.

*Specific
Advance
Agreement*

Among the various adjustments of a particular kind that the whole world had agreed upon in the armistice preliminaries was the rebuilding of Belgium and the full payment of France and Belgium for damages incurred. It was well understood that Alsace-Lorraine should be restored to France; that a re-united Poland should be established as an independent government at the expense of Germany and of the Austrian and Russian empires, with access to the sea at Danzig. It was understood in like manner that Bohemia should become an independent country and that there should be suitable rearrangements of territory for the benefit of Rumania, Serbia and Greece. No one who had given even small attention to the details of the questions

A SCENE AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE—WITH G. N. BARNES, BRITISH LABOR MINISTER, ADDRESSING THE BODY

involved could have expected these territorial adjustments to be worked out in a few weeks with cheerful acquiescence on all sides. The important thing to remember is that, in the moment of their overwhelming victory, the Allies adopted ordinances of self-denial, and repudiated the principles of conquest that Germany had set up for herself.

*Considerate
Conquerors*

Since so many things have been asserted from day to day regarding the aims and methods of one or another of the Allies in the discussions at Paris, it is well to have in mind the main facts, and not to be misled by the details. In the first place, then, Germany has not been in danger of being trodden under the feet of her conquerors. Only a short time ago Germany was in military and political control of Belgium, a considerable part of France, immense portions of what had been Russia, and so on. This German occupation was oppressive to the last degree, and in defiance of international law and of all recognized usage. The Allies on their part have not been and are not now oppressively occupying Germany. The Allied armies are helping to keep good order, and are not interfering with essential rights. In these times of turmoil, the occupied parts of Germany are happier and safer than the unoccupied parts. Secondly, Germany is losing no territory that properly belongs to her or that is occupied by a population which resents proposed changes. That Alsace-Lorraine should go to France, and Posen to Poland, and that a part of North Schleswig should return to Denmark, was inevitable.

*German
Liberty
Conceded*

The German people within their own domains are to be allowed to govern themselves as freely as Frenchmen in France or Englishmen in England, excepting that they are not to be al-

lowed to build up a military machine intended to unsettle any of the just verdicts that are resulting from the war. For example, Germany agreed in her application for an armistice to make the necessary payments for damages inflicted, especially upon Belgium and France, but also upon British and other shipping. The final peace terms will have prescribed the methods and amounts. It will be necessary for Germany to show good faith in living up to these requirements. It will not be a light burden for her to bear, but, on the other hand, nothing that she can do by way of reparation will ever amount to much in comparison with the damage she has inflicted. There is not the slightest reason, therefore, to fear that Germany is to be oppressed or mistreated in war settlements, now practically completed.

*France
Entitled to
Security*

What, then, about the French attitude which we have seen some disposition to criticize? As a result of the stupendous war effort of France, the Republic has been greatly weakened. More than any other of the larger countries engaged, France will feel the loss of her young men who have been slain; and her industrial and financial recovery will be difficult. The French see clearly that Germany's domestic war debt represents futile effort made by her own people, and that it can be paid through some form of financing that will mask what is really repudiation and that will allow Germany to make a new start. There has, indeed, swept across Germany a wave of dismay and disheartenment that seems to have deranged all forms of organized life; but the French know very well how deeply rooted are the German habits of industry and civil order, and how superior is Germany's capacity for economic success and commercial conquest. France wishes to be protected against the danger of too rapid a

recovery of Germany's prosperity and power. This is a wholly natural feeling in France, and it could not have been otherwise in view of the facts of the past five years. Mr. Lloyd George's assurance to France as expressed recently, in an interview given to Mr. Stephen Lausanne of the *Matin*, was not merely the language of a suave politician seeking momentary applause at Paris. France is entitled to all that can be obtained by way of settlement, and she is further entitled to be told that the settlement, as agreed upon, will be supported. Great Britain, as the immediate neighbor of France, is best fitted to give assurances of direct and immediate military aid in case of need. The United States would naturally support the British Empire in any crisis arising by reason of an unjust attack of Germany upon France. The precise forms of military security along the Rhine, and of financial reparation, have been under keen debate, but with assurance of just conclusions and of unbroken cordiality between France and America.

The New Europe Emerging

It is plain, then, that the larger outlines of the peace agreement were already fixed in the terms of the armistice, and have not been under discussion. If we had fought for another year, the course of proceedings in the making of peace would doubtless have been different; but all of the powers really involved in the fighting, great and small, have good reason to be thankful that bloodshed was ended earlier rather than later. The wreckage and the exhaustion caused by the war were so terrible in extent and degree that another year of the struggle would have rendered recovery a far more hopeless process. The war was brought to an end through the internal conditions of Austria-Hungary. Racial discords within the Empire paralyzed the military strength of the Hapsburgs; and the Italian victory, followed by Austria's acceptance of armistice terms, exposed Germany to attack on the Bavarian flank. The Italian armies had obtained free right-of-way and the use of Austrian railroads; so that, with the friendly help of the Bohemians, the Allies could have been bombarding Munich within a few days. Even as the war was going on, Central Europe was recrystallizing itself along national lines, and Teutonic defeat was proceeding at once from within and from without. In this process of defeat, the outlines of new sovereignties were clearly emerging.

Armistice Basis Confirmed

With the signing of the armistice in November it was admitted on all hands that there should be an independent Poland with due symmetry and strength; a Bohemian Republic expanded by the annexation of the Slovak provinces; a union of the Serbian-speaking territories under a South-Slav government; an enlargement of Rumania by the addition of Transylvania and several kindred districts; and a number of other reasonably definite developments. The general outlines of peace adjustments, as they appeared last November, have not only survived the critical discussion of the past six months, but have been confirmed and strengthened. The disputes of March and April were to a great extent the hopeful indications of virility, rather than the querulous demands of broken and despairing peoples. "New Europe" shows life.

Poland on the Map

The case of Poland well illustrates this view. The Poles had suffered frightfully from the war, and, like the rest of Europe, have found no magic formula which supplies ample food and restores a normal economic life. But Polish independence, which looked so dubious ten months ago, is an accomplished fact in Europe that no human being disputes. Nor is there anyone who could be so bold as to predict the future subjugation of Poland, or the historical repetition of its parceling out. What Germany, Russia, Austria and Hungary now surrender to the Polish State they do not hope to recover at any future time. Quickly accepting the major fact of her resurrection, Poland asserts herself with all the hopeful energy she has recovered. She is aroused in order to lose no possible acre of territory; to secure boundaries as favorable and "scientific" as possible; and to obtain her promised access to the sea in the form that will best suit her traditional pride as well as serve her commercial purposes.

Importance of Details

All the more substantial facts of the restored Poland having been conceded, every point of detail assumes an intense importance. Settling the details is necessary, in order that the map of Europe may be fixed in the concrete terms of rivers and mountains, of towns and seaports. A year ago it would have taken more faith than was anywhere discernible to have believed that the summer of 1919 would see the Polish flag recognized on the high seas, and a great Polish Republic with recognized

A GLIMPSE OF THE CITY OF DANZIG, ON THE BALTIC, CLAIMED BY THE POLES AS THEIR NATURAL
OUTLET TO THE SEA

access to its own port on the Baltic. Yet this is one of the many things of tremendous consequence that are working their way to completion through the great mechanism of the Peace Conference at Paris. Never before in all history has the process of state-making been going forward upon plans and principles so worthy of approval. Those who have been in danger—by reason of alarming newspaper headlines—of losing their sense of proportion, should neglect the daily news for a few days and read history. They may learn that startling controversies over details in matters of negotiation have very frequently indicated that full agreement is already reached upon main issues, and that the final settlement is near at hand.

*Setting Up
the South
Slavs* Take for another instance the most stubborn of all the boundary disputes—that between the Italians and the South Slavs relating to the Adriatic coast. The trembling hope of Serbia for many years had been an ultimate union with Bosnia and Herzegovina. When Austria, after having occupied and governed Bosnia for almost forty years, proclaimed formal annexation in 1908 with the acquiescence of all the great powers, the sun of Serbia's hopes sank far below the horizon of things expected by practical men. Yet to-day Serbia, with the full consent of all Europe, is united with Bosnia and still further is federated with Croatia and other adjacent Serbian-speaking provinces that were formerly a part of Hungary. Still further, there is to be ample access to the sea for this expanded Serbian country known as Jugo-Slavia, and there will soon be seen for the first time in hundreds of years the Serbian flag floating on the high seas, and Serbian vessels lying at anchor in their own seaports.

Thus Europe is now benevolently providing for a Serbian future that is to be incomparably greater than any Serbian statesman had until very recently regarded as within the range of probable events.

*Adriatic
Outlet* Why, then, have we been hearing so much about the desperate quarrel between the Italians and the Jugo-Slavs over the disposition of the town and port of Fiume? The very fact of the tenacity of both sides and their intense earnestness about the matter has indicated two things, both of them auspicious. First, it has indicated vigor, hopefulness and rightful aspiration on both sides. Second, and most important, it has indicated the knowledge on both sides that whatever solution was arrived at by the Conference at Paris would have to be accepted in good faith as final. Italians and Jugo-Slavs alike are making gains at the expense of the former Hapsburg dominions. Far more than the Jugo-Slavs had originally expected is already assured to them. The Italians, when they entered the war, had been engaged in secret negotiations with the Allies for some time, and they were given assurance of support in territorial claims which circumstances have compelled them to modify. Italy desired security in the Adriatic, and is entitled to have it. The League of Nations will support Italy, just as it will support France, in the maintenance of settlements now agreed upon. Both Italy and France will be doubly secure, however, if the settlements of 1919 are those which, looking to the future, will prove to have what one may term stable equilibrium. Italy should have naval control of the Adriatic, but all the peoples to the eastward, Hungarians as well as Slavs, should enjoy unembarrassed commercial access.

*Compromise
Necessary*

Both Italy and France had territories to redeem, but the term "Italia Irredenta" should not be stretched to cover bits of sea-front not really needed by Italy and well-nigh indispensable to the great peoples beyond the Adriatic who will be pressing for outlets as their trade and commerce develop in the early future. Italy has more to gain from a generous policy, that will give her contented and agreeable neighbors, than from the acquisition of sea-frontage not essential to her but almost vital to the inland populations lying eastward. England and France have been somewhat embarrassed by the Italian claims because of the secret treaties signed when they were persuading Italy to come to their assistance. The United States has the utmost good-will towards Italy, and is well aware that in any case Jugo-Slavia will have obtained more than the Serbian-speaking people could only recently have hoped for. Nevertheless, it is the duty of the United States at the Peace Conference to hold the position of a disinterested umpire, promoting wise compromises and aiming at solutions which can be accepted as permanent and successfully maintained.

*Business
Problems
Delayed*

It is perhaps to be regretted that the Peace Conference should not have included a larger and more powerful representation of industrial and economic leaders, as contrasted with governmental officials and diplomats who are accustomed to view things chiefly from the political standpoint. Most of the fundamental

political questions were settled in principle when the armistice was signed. The military struggle being at an end, the overshadowing problems to be faced were in the sphere of business. For example, what Germany could pay and how to arrange it were questions that neither politicians nor military leaders could answer nearly as well as financiers, economists, manufacturers and labor leaders. The spirit of economic revolution is in no small part due to the lack of economic statesmanship at Paris. There was work for the military authorities in securing the disarmament of Germany and maintaining patrol and occupation. There was work for the diplomatists in fixing European boundaries; reconstructing the Turkish Empire; disposing of German colonies; creating the League of Nations. But there was an immense and pressing field of operation for the economists and financiers that required immediate attention. If these business matters could have been dealt with in a prompt and bold way by trained and capable men, the diplomatists could have taken their time in adjusting political questions with no danger by reason of delay.

*Economic
Conference
Needed*

Let us suppose there had been called together at once after the armistice was signed in November a body of the foremost European, British and American railway authorities, steamship men, steel manufacturers, bankers, merchants, heads of food and fuel administrations, general manufacturers (of agricultural implements for example), with trusted

leaders of labor. It is impossible to believe that such a body would have seen any advantages to be gained from idleness and hunger in any country whatsoever, whether or not it had been formerly hostile. We may easily predict that a body of this kind would have proceeded by methods almost exactly the opposite of those which the Allied governments have taken. It might well be claimed that the Allies, by their course since November, have hurt Belgium worse than they have hurt Germany. Our imaginary conference of men familiar with large business affairs would not have lost a day in providing for the rehabilitation of Belgium, and would not have hesitated for a moment to see the need of giving food and employment to everybody in Germany if by that method Germany could each day be sending back to Belgium quantities of machinery to take the place of what had been stolen, and all sorts of supplies and materials by virtue of which the Belgians themselves could resume work.

*Belgium
in
Europe* Only a deplorably small part of the normal industrial life of Belgium has been resumed up to the present time. A very large part of the rehabilitation of Belgium ought by this time to have been accomplished through the support by the whole business world, Entente which Germany is compelled to pay by its restitutions of road lines; and estimates are as high as \$100,000,000 in bills of damages of indemnity which have been almost as high as \$100,000,000. A conference of men might have utilized the resources of the Entente powers alike, for the rehabilitation of Belgium, possibly by the quick re-employment of such a method, "writing" Germany. The result has been that the damaged coun-try's diplomatists are unable to assess.

the use of business immediately after the war. It should have adopted the immediate industrial materials. It has not done so at every day of

MARSHAL FOCH WITH HIS CHIEF OF STAFF,
GENERAL WEYGAND

(Marshal Foch has emphasized chiefly the military aspects of future peace, and has secured satisfactory agreements)

dallying would make for chaos, and would diminish Germany's power to atone for her crimes and to work towards her own reinstatement as an honorable member of the European family. The great faults of the Peace Conference have not been the delay over the tedious problems of territorial adjustment, or the diversion of its efforts to the writing of the constitution for future world order. Its chief error has been that it failed to see the relatively greater importance for immediate action of business problems, which it was not well organized for solving. Its calling in of certain business experts in an informal way to give advice to committees has not sufficed. This method has obscured the business elements, and failed to give them responsibility for decisions that ought to have been made without delay.

*Nations
and the
Peace League*

The launching of a common-wealth, with sovereignty that is respected by all other nations, is one of the most majestic events that can be imagined. Nationalism is gaining rather than losing in value as a result of the Great War. Those who oppose the plan of a League of Nations on the grounds of patriotism do not think quite clearly into the practical situation. The League of Nations is to be built upon the wreck of empires which denied the rights of sovereignty to nations. The League is to support nationality as against its real enemies. Along with the birth of the League of Nations, France regains true boundaries and bids fair to enter upon her greatest period of truly national life. Italy completes the process of regaining and uniting the Italian districts, and stands stronger than ever as a member of the family of European States. We have alluded to the restoration of Poland to independence and sovereignty, and this event can hardly be overestimated in its importance. The dignity of citizenship in a country that has full standing is one of the things for which men are willing to make great sacrifices. The people of Poland are deserving not only of our sympathy but of our enthusiastic congratulations.

*American
and European
Freedom*

Americans of an earlier day did not hesitate to support the cause of Italian unity as fought for by Garibaldi and as proclaimed by idealists like Mazzini and statesmen like Cavour. Kosuth was an American hero in the period of his battling for Hungarian independence. The misfortunes of Poland, the struggles of the Greek patriots in Byron's day, the rise of Rumania, Servia and Bulgaria as the Turks were gradually driven back—all these movements were supported by the press and the people of America with unrestrained enthusiasm, and, for the most part, the American Government was at no great pains to maintain a correct attitude of neutrality. What we find now, in astonishing measure, is the fruition of those liberal movements for democracy and national independence that had been playing so great a part in the history of the past century.

*Bohemia
Claims Our
Friendship*

Thus, for example, the people of America are ardent in their good-will towards the new Czechoslovak Republic. The name Bohemia is more familiar to us, and if Czechoslovakia

should adopt the shorter and more easily pronounced name, such a decision would be generally welcomed. This Bohemian Republic remains under the provisional Presidency of Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk, reports of his resignation having been without foundation. Its Commissioner in the United States is Mr. Charles Pergler, and in the near future we shall, of course, see full diplomatic relations with Prague. Almost every country in Europe last month had boundary questions under agitation and it was not to be expected that the Paris Conference should have disposed of any of these problems without careful and somewhat protracted study.

*Four
Considerable
Countries*

Thus the newly constituted Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania were all involved, along with other countries, in disputes as to certain claimed territories. They were all, however, assured of their main areas, and it was certain that Poland would have an area of almost 100,000 square miles and a population of perhaps twenty-five million. Rumania was destined to emerge with more than 100,000 square miles of territory and something like fifteen million people. Yugoslavia was certain of at least 85,000 square miles and about eleven million people. The largest entity in this combination is Serbia with 34,000 square miles and about 4,500,000 inhabitants. Czechoslovakia is much smaller in area, being credited with about 36,000 square miles, but Bohemia has a highly developed industrial population of about seven millions, and Moravia is similarly well populated in proportion to its much smaller territory. Altogether the Bohemian Republic will have more than 12,000,000 people.

*Ample
Sovereignty
Remains*

It ought not to be difficult for Americans to understand that the League of Nations, far from creating a kind of internationalism that lessens the value and dignity of the individual nations making up its membership, has been devised for exactly the opposite reasons. It was the Hapsburg, Hohenzollern and Romanoff Empires, resting upon military power and never satisfied with their acquisitions, that crushed and denied the rights of nationality. Under the old system, the Hungarian and German elements in the Hapsburg Dual Monarchy held advantages over other peoples of which they are now to be deprived. This touches the pride and the

emoluments of hereditary nobles and members of the ruling classes, but it does not take away from the ordinary German of Vienna, or Magyar of Budapest anything that was of value to him. Those two cities will for a time lose something of their relative importance as political, military, and business centers. But Prague, Cracow and other lesser centers had for many years past been growing somewhat at the expense of the two Austro-Hungarian capitals. German and Magyar will retain full national sovereignty, and their natural and proper patriotism will have due scope.

*The League a
Practical Affair
for Europe*

It will be highly important for the welfare of the new Europe from the North Sea to the Bosphorus that the movements of commerce be restricted as little as possible. Each one of the re-arranged European states will understand definitely that military adventure is to play no part in its future fortunes for good or for ill. For the more than twenty countries of full and equal sovereignty that must live side by side on the continent of Europe, the League of Nations is very far from being a mere phantasm, a dream of idealists. It is the most practical thing for them—apart from the initial fixing of their respective boundaries and standings—that could possibly emerge from the great Conference. Americans who have been disparaging the

WELDING THEM TOGETHER
From the World (New York)

proposal of a League of Nations cannot have understood what life has meant for the past half century to scores of millions of Europeans. They have been in constant dread of war, and have almost literally slept in military boots, ready to be summoned like police reserves or members of fire companies. The League of Nations means that collective Europe, supported by the rest of the world, ordains an end of these conflicts. The League is primarily a European affair, but Europe is so involved with the rest of the world that North and South America, Japan, China, India and Australia, must agree to it and support it.

*Ending Wars
is the Supreme
Object*

The Russian revolution meant this one thing more than all else,—that the Russian people were tired of war and unwilling to endure any further sacrifices. The extent of popular war-weariness, in all of the belligerent countries at times during the great conflict, created situations about which military censorship would allow nothing to be printed. The League of Nations is coming, then, at the overwhelming demand, not of statesmen and diplomatists, but of plain people who are determined to put an end to war. The struggle over boundaries is merely the endeavor to fix the map of national jurisdictions in such a way that there may be reasonable stability. There is no pretense in any intelligent quarter that it will be an easy thing to operate the machinery of such a League, or that the adoption of a plan of this kind can turn the

AS CERTAIN AS THE SUNRISE

From Newspaper Enterprise Association (Cleveland, O.)

bear-garden of Europe into a paradise of harmony and love. The main object of the United States at Paris is to keep alive the spirit of hope, generosity and enthusiasm, and to help in reconciling differences and in setting up a practical working order to replace the demolitions caused by the war.

*Nations Will
Grow
and Change*

The dynamic forces that shape history are not to be paralyzed by any formal documents. There will be great changes in the future as in the past. There may even be great wars in the centuries to come. But through wise arrangements—in which paper constitutions and written agreements will have played an important part—we are expecting to prevent any great wars within the continental bounds of North America; and we are hoping with some confidence that there may be none in South America. We have tried in America to arrange things so that legal and orderly ways may be employed to adjust all differences before they become too serious for settlement. Within our formulas for keeping the peace and settling differences, there is ample room for development and national progress. It is not to be supposed that nations will stay permanently fixed, exactly as they are now placed. The growth of a tree will often displace masonry and cause strong walls to topple. The late Lord Salisbury once made some well-remembered remarks about living and dying nations. His hinted applications may have been erroneous; but there was some truth in the phrase. Germany had a great opportunity to lead all

Europe in the renunciation of militarism and in the adoption of new ideals of progress through science, education, and industry; but Germany accepted false views under bad leadership and her mistakes have set her far back. It will be well if the lesson of her discredited efforts to dominate by force is universally learned and applied.

*Future Changes
—An Unfinished
World*

For a good while to come there will in most cases be ample room for national development from within, without dangerous pressure upon boundary lines; but it would be a mistake to suppose that the League of Nations can be used to prevent the inevitable future "rise and fall" of peoples and States. We are not living in a finished world. It was the purpose of the Holy Alliance a hundred years ago to crystallize the world on the basis of the *status quo*, and to enforce peace. But the world will always refuse to be crystallized. If the United States west of the Rocky Mountains should ever propose to become a separate republic, it would not be the function of the League of Nations to use force to prevent, as treasonable, the realization of such a project. There will be great changes in the relative density and economic character of populations. Sooner or later, such changes may express themselves in shifts of sovereignty. At one time the eastern part of Canada had, within a few years, lost about a million of its people to the United States. In more recent years the western part of Canada has, in turn, been making a successful propaganda in the United States which has taken hundreds of thousands of our best young farmers and their families across the border. Such population shifts will go on in Europe, South America and Asia. In the long run there will be political changes due to now unforeseen racial growths and migrations. But it may reasonably be hoped that the League of Nations can so successfully put down militarism that future changes will come about through the working of democratic principles and without violence.

*The
League
Approved*

The League of Nations, as formulated at Paris, must be considered, then, chiefly in relation to the new map of Europe and to the complex problems that must inevitably arise from time to time. No international agreement can be too carefully scrutinized, and the discussions during recent weeks in the United

States have been creditable and valuable. It was fortunately shown that even those who seemed farthest apart were merely looking at the opposite sides of the same shield. The break-up of imperialism evidently requires a society of nations. As a pre-requisite to such a society, there must be a series of strong national sovereignties. Insofar as their distinctive policies are useful to these member nations and not harmful to others, the society of nations should be elastic enough in its form to be inclusive of all national policies.

*Monroe
Doctrine
Stands*

The Monroe Doctrine, for instance, has meant that the United States stood before the world as the especial champion of the essential rights of Western-Hemisphere Republics. In the very nature of the case, after the great and high-spirited part that America has played in the world situation, this country remains more than ever the champion of Western-Hemisphere freedom and progress. There is no nation in the world that is left to dispute these principles of freedom and progress in the Western Hemisphere, and certainly no nation would think it otherwise than commendable that America should still stand ready, no matter what became of the League of Nations, to see that the principles of the League were upheld on our side of the Atlantic. Undoubtedly this has been taken for granted from the start; but the explicit reservation is useful. If there are some individuals who think of the Monroe Doctrine as one of domination by the United States over Latin-America, the answer is that no

"THEY COULDN'T LOSE ME"
From the World (New York)

such view would be accepted by the great majority of the people in this country.

*American
and British
Spheres*

The Monroe Doctrine, however, expresses a policy that we have pursued for almost a century, and it is highly appropriate that it should be deliberately re-asserted at this time. Furthermore, besides the general principles of the Monroe Doctrine, we have assumed a special guardianship of small and undeveloped countries around the Caribbean, and we are quite certain in the future to resume exceptional relations with Mexico such as had existed previous to the recent revolution. Our spheres of influence, varying from the special agreements with Cuba and the Republic of Panama to the more distant and shadowy reaches of the Monroe Doctrine, constitute for us a general situation not wholly different from the obligations that England sustains under the phrase "British Empire." Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand and Newfoundland, with India in due time, are to have distinct membership in the League of Nations because they are to all intents and purposes separate countries. Yet they maintain some kind of intimate though indefinite political relationships with Great Britain. This grouping of free and self-governing peoples in the British Empire affords the world another great example of the advantages of association. Such advantages can be retained without the sacrifice of any essentials of independence or nationalism.

*The Two
Stable
Groupings*

The groupings that are signified by the phrase "Monroe Doctrine," and those that are signified by the phrase "British Empire," are in natural harmony with each other; and, taken together, they constitute the foremost guaranty of world order. They should be regarded, therefore, as in the large political sense interlocking rather than rival arrangements. The United States belongs morally to the grouping of English-speaking democracies, while, on the other hand, both Canada and Great Britain are almost as much interested as is the United States in the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine. An arbitrary and selfish application of the Monroe Doctrine in some particular instance by our Government might arouse deserved opposition; while arrogance in the exercise of sea-power by Great Britain might provoke very pertinent criticism. But as matters stand, the American Monroe Doctrine and the British exercise of sea-power conspicuously represent the practical situations in the world which make for security and freedom, and they denote, the solid concerns that are "underwriting" the League of Nations in its formative period.

*Politics
versus
Economics*

If the work of the Allies at Paris is to be criticized, it should not be so much for their dealing with what are in the true sense political issues, as for their giving too much of a political character to matters strictly economic. Thus Mr. Lloyd George had promised large things in his election campaign of December. He and his supporters assured the English taxpayers not only that there should be payment for actual losses of shipping and civilian damages, but that the British war debt would be largely wiped out through payments from Germany. As we have already said, it would

have been better if all these business adjustments could have been worked out by a separate organization of financiers and business men rather than by political leaders like Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and Wilson, whose financial advisers have not had sufficient independence or prestige. In these matters business leadership would have been more valuable than that of military men like General Foch, or masters of statecraft like Mr. Lloyd George. The Prime Minister had assumed more responsibility than was safe.

*Business
the Needed
Remedy*

If an authoritative conference of business men had been acting boldly in November and December, we should have seen by this time a much more hopeful condition of things throughout Europe. There are many who believe that a different business policy pursued towards Russia might have averted the Bolshevik seizure of power. Certainly a policy of putting Germany at work before the Bolsheviks had taken advantage of hunger and unemployment to promote revolutions would have been better for Belgium and France than Teutonic chaos. In these mat-

RT. HON. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE
(British Prime Minister)

ters the business world should have dictated to the political world. It is true that there is now a partial lifting of the blockade, and, after much delay, German ships are beginning to bring home American troops, while American supplies are beginning to relieve German necessities. It has never been a question of indulging Germany or of condoning her faults, but solely a matter of dealing with an economic situation of larger extent, in which Germany is involved as a necessary factor. European prosperity is not an affair of separate countries, but is now especially a problem to be viewed in its entirety. Generally speaking, it is to the advantage of every creditor to have his debtors

solvent and prosperous. Europe needs the tonic of prosperous industry.

*Shifting
Moods at
Paris*

During the latter part of March and the first half of April, the dispatches from Paris reflected violent discussion and fluctuating moods, and brought much more of rumor than of authentic news. An immense amount of work had been done by committees, and final results were being formulated by Messrs. Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George and Orlando, who were referred to in the dispatches as the "Big Four." Evidently the Conference was moving toward final conclusions, and each special interest was clamoring loudly, using its press facilities and pulling wires by day and by night. The correspondents at Paris were so close to all this clamor that few of them could see the situation as a whole. Reports of disagreement were enormously exaggerated. Thousands of columns in the newspapers were devoted to matters which, while seeming to be of immense consequence, let us say on Tuesday or Wednesday, were not even worth two lines of allusion, in a résumé of the week, on the following Sunday. Even Mr. Simonds, whose cable article of April 14 appears in this issue of the REVIEW, reflects the local Paris pessimism.

"DON'T WORRY!"

From the Central Press Association (Cleveland, Ohio)

*Pounding
on the
Umpire*

Since America's position, morally and physically, is exceptionally strong, and since America is more detached and disinterested in relation to European problems than any other country, it was natural that President Wilson should have more the status of an umpire than any other Conference member. The French delegation felt itself obliged as trustees for the welfare of the French people, to press constantly the claims of France. The British delegation, while broad-minded, was frankly engaged in urging British financial claims and looking out for the varied interests of the British Empire. The United States alone seemed to be working at Paris with the principal aim of securing the greatest good of the greatest number. It was to be expected, therefore, that there would be much "swearing at the umpire" from the bleachers, and that the clamorous press would deal with the affair from day to day as if it was reporting rounds in a prize fight, or innings in the decisive game of a "world's series." The megaphones on the side lines have been so noisy that it is not strange that serious onlookers have missed the real plays and attached importance to what have been trifling controversies or mere nerve attacks.

*Bolshevism
Following
Autocracy*

The war itself was a heavy enough price to have been paid by the peoples of Europe for the maintenance of autocracies in Russia, Germany, and Austria that should have been

abolished long ago. But now a second penalty has to be faced in the chaos that has followed the destruction of autocratic governments where the proper substitutes were not provided. Autocracy had maintained medieval class distinctions and privileges. Under autocracy, furthermore, the new forms of undue privilege and advantage in the hands of the masters of modern industry had become associated with the surviving abuses of the old order. It is under such conditions that revolution takes the extreme form of proletarian fanaticism. There is no imminent danger of Bolshevik revolution in countries that have had a reasonable kind of democratic growth, such as Switzerland, Norway, France, Great Britain, the United States, Canada. The setting up of a so-called Soviet government in Hungary has been due to the presence of masses of idle workmen and returned soldiers. This Hungarian revolution seems to be comparatively free from the kind of bloodshed and crime that have marked the Russian Soviet régime. More puzzling have been the accounts of bloodless revolution in Bavaria with an imitation Bolshevik government set up by third-rate artists, musicians, and actors. It is difficult to believe that moderate and intelligent counsels will not in due time bring to Hungary, Bavaria, and indeed to all parts of Germany, some orderly forms of republican government with security for persons and property.

*Labor's
Salutary
Methods*

It is plain enough that it is not going to need wild-eyed anarchy to secure for working men far better conditions in the world than they enjoyed a few years ago. Issues that were pending in England in March were to a great extent adjusted in April as a result of conferences and mutual concessions. The concessions, however, have been principally on the part of the employers; and the gains are expressed in terms that will sooner or later improve the living conditions of almost the entire British population. Workingmen in England are, upon the whole, contented to use the instruments of social progress that British institutions afford them. There are to be shorter hours; mining conditions are to be transformed; the wage level is to be kept high; educational opportunities are to be as good as they can be made; and there are to be wide popular reforms in housing, land control, and taxation. The British labor movement has not been free from mistakes, but it commands respect.

*Labor
Questions
at Paris*

There has been at Paris an international labor conference under the chairmanship of Mr. Samuel Gompers, head of the American Federation of Labor, who returned to the United States last month. This labor body formulated a report which the Peace Conference promptly approved. Specific recommendations include the eight-hour day, equal pay for women, prohibition of child labor, proper wages, and what may be called the protection of human dignity. A few years ago these principles seemed difficult of realization, but they are now in the realm of the practical. Labor reforms that recognize the value of private initiative, that respect the institution of property, and that understand the function and the rights of capital in productive industry, have much more to give the body of workers than can ever be derived from the economic programs of the Bolsheviks. The outlook in the United States is distinctly favorable for wage-earners. Hundreds and thousands of Italians and other foreigners are drawing their money from the savings banks and returning to Europe as fast as they can obtain ocean passage. Unemployment, reported in the newspapers at certain centers, is due merely to transitions. Great manufacturing cities like Detroit and Cleveland are busy and facing labor shortages. It will take a little time to distribute returning soldiers, especially since so many of them like to linger in Eastern cities for a time, and so many more of them in this country, as in England and France, do not

feel quite ready to settle down to steady work. Professor Kirchwey—whose talent for public service, like that of the late Professor Dutton, is always available in emergencies—is now directing the Government Employing Service in New York, and has written for us this month (see page 521) an encouraging analysis of our American labor situation.

*Dealing
with Human
Assets*

In this number, also (see page 504) is a remarkably interesting statement by Professor Raymond Dodge of the kind of work the psychologists did for the army in the war period. The principal asset of any country is its people, and it is worth while to encourage what Professor Dodge calls "human engineering." There are many men trying to do brain work unsuccessfully who would make excellent mechanics. On the other hand, there are many men in the ranks of the wage-earners who should be encouraged to become teachers or physicians. One of the principles to be demanded by the International Labor Conference is that of reasonable opportunity for each young worker to be advised and trained for success in life. Short hours of labor mean great opportunities for the ambitious and industrious.

*National
Economy
Required*

We shall have due occasion in the approaching months to discuss affairs at Washington, and are giving comparatively little attention to that governing center in this number of the REVIEW. It is probable that within a few weeks the new Congress will be called into session. Financial problems of great magnitude must be faced with firmness and intelligence if the Republicans are to earn the confidence of the country. Too much of the current national wealth is being garnered into the Treasury for unproductive expenditure. Wars are extravagant affairs, and economy is not a prime consideration in times of life and death; but the war is ended and the question of economy becomes vital. It is the tendency of government to find the most expensive possible ways of doing everything that it undertakes. The time has come for the adoption of a National Budget system and for intelligent public finance. The Government of the United States could be run upon an income of three billions a year; one-third for the payment of interest on our war debt, and two-thirds for Army, Navy, pensions and the various public services.

May—2

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REAR ADM. WILLIAM S. SIMS AND THE ACTING SECRETARY OF THE NAVY, HON FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

(Admiral Sims returned to the United States last month, after two years' service in supreme command of American naval units in the war zone)

*Defense
Bills in
Future*

The future of the army is one of the subjects that must be considered in the light of finance. The largest item in our war bill was the cost of creating an army of more than four million men. This involved primarily an immense amount of training, and secondarily a great supply of equipment. A wise use of these investments already made should provide for adequate national defense for many years to come with relatively small outlay of new money. With millions of exceptionally well-trained young men, and scores of thousands of officers, it should be possible to arrange a reserve system at moderate expense and maintain it on a basis of efficiency. The very obviousness and simplicity of the thing are likely to endanger it. There will be military men insisting upon an enormously expensive standing army, with the result of allowing the country to lose the benefit of the training it has already given to millions.

by reason of his father's eminence. He is well aware that the peculiar welcome he has been receiving everywhere is in large part intended to remind him of the country's regard for his father. But the younger man has been observed, in these last weeks, with keen eyes for his own qualities, by hundreds of men of his father's generation, and they have found him worthy to stand in his own right. He is in his thirty-second year, and before going into the army he had served an apprenticeship of a number of years in business after leaving college. He had meanwhile been a close student of political affairs from his father's standpoint, with his brothers.

© Waller Scott Shinn

LT. COLONEL THEODORE ROOSEVELT WITH HIS FAMILY

*The War
Veterans and
"T. R., Jr."*

Active steps have been taken for the organization of the discharged soldiers of all ranks, in one national patriotic body. Men whose names and characters inspire confidence will take the initiative. Foremost among those concerned with this project at the outset is Lieutenant-Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., whose recent return from France with a record of valiant service at the front has brought him into exceptional prominence. Sometimes public favor is fickle, yet it is fairly reliable in the long run. The late President Roosevelt's place in the affection and esteem of the nation is as fully assured as that of any American who had preceded him. The thought of a trustworthy and competent son succeeding a respected father is one that makes universal appeal. The second Theodore Roosevelt, eldest of the four brothers who served in the war, has never sought favor

*Our
Defense
Problems*

The organization of world-war veterans should not only be of mutual aid to millions of young men, but it should help to work out, on satisfactory lines, the prob-

lem of national defense through the general training of young citizens for patriotic duty. While militarism of the type that made Germany a menace can no longer be tolerated, there will be good reason for the universal training of young men to serve the community in military as well as other ways. The Swiss system is not a menace, and it meets the needs of defense. While Congress will be studying these matters, and while the army general staff and the war department will have plans, it is probable that in the near future the policies recommended by the society of veterans will prevail. It is important, therefore, that the society proceed in due time to develop its organization and lay out its work.

*Naval
and Aerial
Defense*

The two services of defense most important for the future are Aviation and the Navy. Mr. Collins, in this number, gives us a timely account of the remarkable current advances in the science and art of flying; while Admiral Peary presents an emphatic plea for a National Department of Aviation at Washington. The maintenance of a great Navy is expensive, but naval neglect has been calamitous at several critical periods in our

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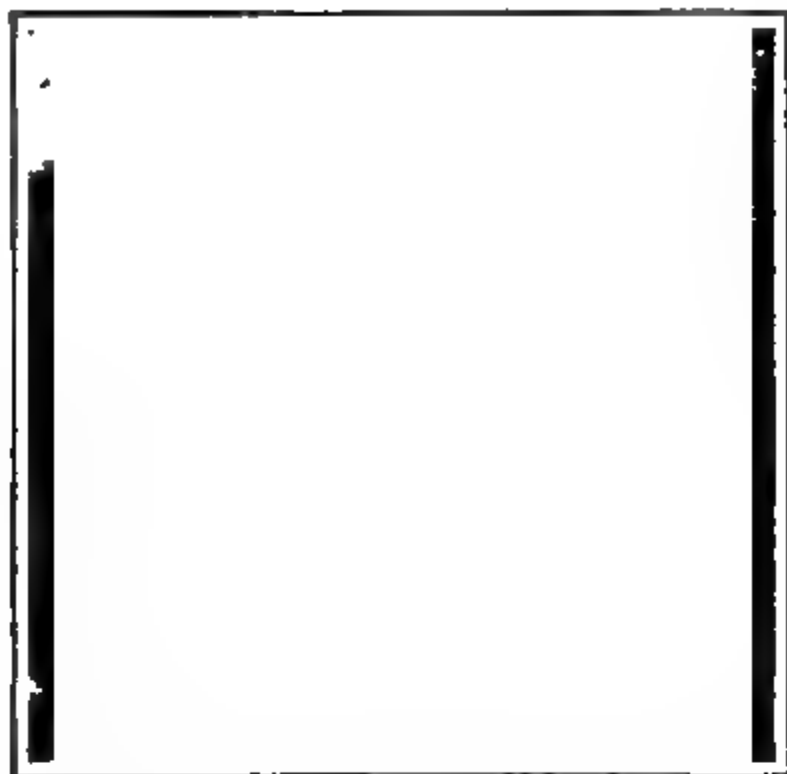
Paris have won
wise and concilia-
rsued, in general
delegates. Anti-

Japanese propaganda here has failed again.

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BARON MAKINO, ONE OF JAPAN'S ABLE STATESMEN
AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

On April 13, the terms of the "Victory" loan were announced by Secretary of the Treasury Glass. The amount asked for was smaller than had been anticipated,—\$4,500,000,000. The new loan takes the form of four year notes which may at the option of the Government be paid in three years, bearing $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. interest, free of State, local and federal normal taxes and convertible by the owner into notes bearing $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent interest, free of all taxes except those on estates and inheritances. The $3\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. tax-free notes are in turn convertible into the $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cents. Oversubscription will not be allowed and Secretary Glass announces that this will be the last Liberty loan. There is no reason for using the word "notes" rather than "bonds" for the new issue except its early maturity. The campaign to sell them was timed to begin on April 21. One of the most important considerations impelling the Secretary to wait until the last moment before deciding on the terms was that all the time and study possible was none too much to make sure that the specifications of the new loan should be such as to strengthen the market position of the Liberty bonds already issued, and such as to interfere as little as possible with the prices of other standard securities that tend to suf-



THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY, HON. CARTER GLASS, INSPECTING A VICTORY LOAN POSTER

fer in competition with the Government loans as the income yield of the latter gets higher and higher, some of the Liberty Loan issues here last month selling nearly seven points below par. It has even been suggested that these war issues should be made receivable at par in payment of certain classes of taxes.

*Secretary
Glass
is Confident*

Much pessimism has been in evidence as to the ability of the Government to float an enormous new loan when the intense patriotic stimulus of war times has ceased, in a year when excess profits taxes and income taxes are already taking about eight billion dollars from the American people, and at a time when the outstanding Liberty bonds are selling at such a heavy discount. It is also true that business profits are low as compared to their height in the period of active war purchases. Secretary Glass has had, however, no doubts as to the success of the issue. In public statements he has pointed out that the depreciation in the outstanding issues of our Government bonds has been the result of artificial causes, and that no one could be found who did not believe the Liberty bonds would sell above par before they matured. The Secretary pointed out that our present national debt was less than twenty-five billion dollars and that, after all the war bills were paid, it should not exceed thirty billion dollars, against which we shall hold some ten billion dollars of obligations of foreign countries; and that this net debt is "the barest fraction of our national resources."

*Our Debt
Compared
to Europe's*

With a net public debt of twenty billion dollars, there is an average indebtedness of about \$200 for each man, woman, and child in the country; but in the case of France the average debt per capita is \$1000. It is true, too, that we have not suffered by the loss of foreign lendings as France has, nor by the devastation of our best industrial districts. Also, during the war we have changed from a debtor nation to a creditor nation, while England has changed in the reverse direction. Our financial burdens are, indeed, the smallest among the Allies, with the exception of Japan's. In proportion to her wealth, Japan's debt is about 4 per cent.; ours about 8 per cent. Debts of other Allied countries run to nearly half their national wealth. The cost of our Civil War looks small as compared with the cost of our participation in the World War; in the former we spent about four billions, considerably less than one-seventh of our expense in this war, although it lasted only one-third as long. But we are very much more than seven times as strong in resources as we were in 1865. It is the duty of the country to take the "Victory" bonds, but it is to the self-interest of the country, also.

*Steel
and Coal
Prices*

It is unfortunate that there should not have been a complete understanding among the departments at Washington in the matter of Secretary Redfield's attempt to stabilize the prices of basic commodities, such as iron and steel, coal and lumber. The Industrial Board created by the Department of Commerce to confer with our captains of industry in an attempt to arrive at fair prices for the basic commodities (which meant, of course, lower prices), did so confer and actually succeeded in arriving at agreements by which, for instance, \$47 was to be the new reconstruction price for steel rails as against \$57 quoted in the market. It was believed that industrial operations would take a new lease of life when purchasers knew that there was for a time, at least, a pause in the downward tendency of prices and some temporary equilibrium. The project seemed to be going well until it was halted by the refusal of the Director-General of the railroads to accept the terms for steel rails that had been agreed on and recommended as "fair" by the Department of Commerce's Industrial Board. Mr. Hines' refusal to allow the railroads to pay the agreed prices was based on his opin-

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REPRESENTATIVES OF THE STEEL INDUSTRY, AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, WHO HAVE SOUGHT TO FIX A FAIR PRICE FOR STEEL PRODUCTS

(From left to right, seated, are: T. C. Powell, director of capital expenditures, U. S. Railroad Administration; Charles M. Schwab, chairman, president board of directors, Bethlehem Steel Corporation; Harry S. Garfield, U. S. Fuel Administration; George N. Peek, chairman of the Government's new Industrial Board; Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman board of directors, U. S. Steel Corporation; Wm. M. Ritter, president W. M. Ritter Lumber Co., West Virginia; James A. Farrell, president U. S. Steel Corporation, and J. A. Topping, chairman of board of directors of the Republic Iron and Steel Co. Standing: J. V. W. Reynders, president American Tube & Stamping Co.; James B. Benner, U. S. Steel Corporation; John A. Savage, representing iron ore producers; Mr. Trigg; Mr. McKinney; John C. Neale, Midvale Steel and Ordnance Co.; B. F. Jones, president Jones & Laughlin Steel Co.; H. S. Snyder, vice-president U. S. Steel Corporation; Thomas K. Glenn, president Atlantic Steel Co.; John P. Bush, president Buckeye Steel Casting Co.; Anthony J. Caminetti, Commissioner General of Immigration; George R. James, president Wm. R. Moore Dry Goods Co.; Edward T. Quigley, Department of Commerce; James A. Burden, president Burden Iron Co.; Leonard Peckitt, president Empire Steel & Iron Co.; F. H. Gordon, Inlons Steel Co.; W. A. Follansbee, Follansbee Bros. & Co., and Lewis B. Reed, secretary Industrial Board)

ion that they were too high. They were, indeed, some 80 per cent. higher than the ten-year pre-war average, and in some other lines of industry, notably copper mining, prices had already been scaled down to figures close to, or even below, the pre-war average. In spite of the example of copper, however, it would be difficult to see how greater reduction in iron, steel and coal prices could be made now without rendering it impossible for the higher-cost producers to operate. For any further radical reductions to meet Mr. Hines' ideas of proper prices, it appears to be necessary that the wage structure should be revised throughout industry in general.

*The Plight
of the
Railroads*

That such a revision of wages downward is not feasible at the present time is best shown by the Director-General of Railroads himself, who is, even now, further increasing wages. On April 11, it was announced that he had granted increases of pay to train crews, amounting to \$65,000,000 a year, and dating from January 1, 1919. The beneficiaries are chiefly the members of the so-called Big Four Brotherhoods, which had received an increase of about \$70,000,000 in wages under the Adamson Act and a further raise of \$160,000,000 last summer after the recom-

mendations of the Lane board. This most recent addition to the payroll of the railroads comes at a time when their actual earnings are lower in proportion to the investment than ever before. At first glance it is difficult to understand how the current earning statement of the roads under Government operation can be so bad as they are. With freight rates increased by 25 per cent., and passenger rates by 50 per cent.; with less adequate service to the public; in the best mid-winter month, so far as weather conditions are concerned, ever known; with the congestion and rush of war business no longer affecting their efficiency in any essential degree—the railroads under Government control earned, last January, \$36,000,000 less than the month's proportion of the "standard return" which the Government has promised them. Seventy-three large lines failed even to earn their operating expenses in that month, although the gross receipts were enormous. Fifteen more failed to earn both expenses and taxes. Although Director-General Hines is striving manfully to reduce expenses, and, particularly, to cut down costly overtime work by taking on additional railway workers, it is predicted that there will be a deficit for this year of not less than \$500,000,000. The first two months of 1919 alone produced a deficit of \$122,000,000.

*Promise
and
Performance*

When Director-General McAdoo took over the railways, he informed the Senate Committee that the roads were already earning \$100,000,000 per year more than the "standard return" promised them during Government control, and with economies to be effected through unified operation he confidently hoped for a profit to the Government. The critics of private railway management sharpened their pencils and figured the profit the Government was going to make at various sums ranging from \$400,000,000 to \$1,000,000,000 yearly. As a matter of fact, in spite of rate increases, which have added something like \$1,100,000,000 to the income of the roads, they are showing these huge deficits. How can it be? The answer seems to include three factors, two of which are more or less determinable: huge increases in wages, huge increases in the cost of steel, coal, and other supplies, and a lessened efficiency in labor under Government operation. Since the Government took over the roads, \$910,000,000 a year has been added to the payrolls, which, with the increases given by the private operators in 1916 and 1917, makes a total wage increase of \$1,260,000,000. The Interstate Commerce Commission allowed the railroad companies to add \$100,000,000 a year to their rates, and the Government added \$1,000,000,000 a year in 1918. Thus, before the factor of increased cost of supplies is reached at all, there is a net deficiency of \$160,000,000 a year, the amount by which wage increases exceed the rate increases. The railroads buy about 30 per cent. of all the bituminous coal mined, and their total coal bill is \$470,000,000, which has increased over pre-war years by no less than \$250,000,000. They are paying \$250,000,000 more for steel products, so that already we have a deficiency in income, as compared with pre-war years, of nearly \$700,000,000. Greater costs of materials and supplies other than steel and coal will greatly swell this, so that it is not difficult to understand the present inability of the roads to earn their keep.

*England's
Similar
Experience*

In April our Government was forced to appeal to private banking interests to get the money absolutely needed currently to finance the railroads, the last Congress having adjourned without appropriating the sum of \$750,000,000 specified by Director-General Hines as the amount absolutely required for the

months just ahead. The most pressing single piece of domestic business that will confront Congress in the extra session that will probably be called in May is a resolute and thoroughgoing handling of the desperate railroad situation. England is having an experience similar to ours, with the same causes operating. Sir Eric Geddes recently announced that England's railways, costing the Government \$100,000,000 a year, "were earning practically no income." That the cost to the English people looks so small beside our railway deficit is, of course, due to the fact that their roads aggregate less than one-tenth the mileage we have. In England, too, the fundamental cause of the bankruptcy is the necessity for increasing wages faster than rates.

*Our
Stupendous
Crop of Wheat*

One bright place in the lurid affairs of the world is our wheat belt. Nature has done us and the greater part of the civilized world a striking kindness in a year of need. With Russia's great granary producing, amid Bolshevik chaos, only a quarter or a third of its usual supply of wheat—certainly not enough for Russia's own needs; with Hungary and Rumania so far behind normal production that those two countries will do well to be able to take care of themselves, Europe will look this year chiefly to America to be fed. The American winter wheat crop is very much the largest that has ever been indicated. Plentiful moisture, widely distributed over the wheat-growing areas, has brought the fields to a phenomenal "condition," which the Agricultural Department estimated, on April 8th, to be 99.8 per cent.; some great wheat-growing States like Kansas were credited with a condition of 101 and Ohio with no less than 104 per cent. But not only is this average condition of 99.8 per cent. much the highest percentage on record—the ten-year average is 88.6—the acreage is also the largest ever planted in this country. Furthermore, the unusually prosperous condition of the wheat fields is very widely distributed. Among the States having one million acres or more of wheatfields even the lowest in percentage, North Carolina, shows 96. The Department figures on a total winter wheat crop of 837,000,000 bushels,—about double the average annual production in the five years before the war, and 50 per cent. more than the average crop of the war years. The value of this winter crop alone, at the guaranteed price of \$2.26 a bushel, amounts to nearly \$1,900,000,000.

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ARMY MANEUVERS IN GERMANY—BY AN AMERICAN DIVISION

(This is the Second Division, under command of Major-General Lejeune, just before review by General Pershing near Vellendar, Germany)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From March 15 to April 15, 1919)

THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT PARIS

March 18.—Committees decide that navigation of the Rhine shall be controlled by an international commission, and that Heligoland fortifications shall be dismantled.

March 20.—Neutral nations are permitted to express their views and propose amendments to the plan of a League of Nations.

March 21.—The Italian delegation—it is reported—threatens to withdraw from the conference unless the port of Fiume (claimed also by the Yugoslavs) is awarded to Italy.

The League of Nations Commission meets for the first time since February 14, and begins consideration of amendments proposed to the original draft.

March 24.—Consideration of the chief problems in controversy passes from a Council of Ten to a Council of Four—President Wilson and Premiers Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Orlando.

March 26.—It is decided, upon demand of the Italians, to prolong the conference and to fix terms with all four enemy powers, rather than to settle with Germany alone.

April 2.—The head of the Japanese delegation, Baron Makino, declares in a newspaper statement that "no Asiatic nation could be happy in a League of Nations in which sharp racial discrimination is maintained."

April 6.—A report that President Wilson has summoned his steamer, to be ready to take him home promptly, is interpreted as indicating a deadlock among the Council of Four.

Premier Lloyd George declares that "there is no divergence among the negotiators," but merely "technical difficulties, which can only be settled after close study."

April 8.—Premier Lloyd George receives a telegram signed by more than a majority of the House of Commons, reminding him of his election pledges to exact the utmost indemnity from Germany.

It is reported that the Commission on Responsibility for the War has decided to exclude the death penalty from punishment to be meted out to the former German Emperor.

April 10.—The League of Nations Commission, after a plea by President Wilson, adopts a section stipulating that the covenant shall not affect existing understandings, like the Monroe Doctrine, for securing a maintenance of peace.

The members of the French Senate sign a resolution expressing the hope that "full restitution will be exacted from the enemy, together with reparation for damage . . . and that the full cost of the war will be imposed upon those responsible."

April 11.—The Peace Conference assembles in its fourth plenary session; the Commission on International Labor Legislation presents its report.

The League of Nations Commission completes consideration of the covenant of the League of Nations; it is reported that Geneva, Switzerland, has been chosen as the capital of the League.

April 12.—It is reported that France's claim to the German coal region in the Saar Valley, as reparation for French coal regions destroyed, has been settled by granting to France perpetual control of the mines.

April 14.—On behalf of the Council of Four, President Wilson announces that complete solution is so near that German plenipotentiaries will be invited to meet with representatives of the

associated belligerent nations at Versailles on April 25.

It is reported that the amount of indemnity to be assessed against Germany for violations of international law has been fixed at one hundred billion gold marks (\$23,800,000,000); 26,000,000,000 marks are to be paid within two years; 40,000,000,000 during the subsequent thirty years, and an additional 40,000,000,000 at a time to be fixed by a joint commission.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

March 18.—The New Jersey Legislature adopts a resolution rejecting the prohibition amendment to the federal Constitution.

March 19.—A debate upon the proposed League of Nations, in Boston, by President Lowell, of Harvard University (a leading advocate), and Senator Lodge (a leading opponent), results in the establishment of common ground; Mr. Lowell would agree to amendments of the present draft, and Mr. Lodge would agree after amendment.

Suit is brought in the federal courts to prevent the Government from interfering with the manufacture of beer containing not more than 2.75 per cent. alcohol.

March 22.—The Treasury Department states that more than \$1,000,000,000, was received on March 15, when the first fourth of income and excess profits taxes became due.

March 24.—Ex-President Taft suggests amendments to the draft of the League of Nations, designed to recognize the principle of the Monroe Doctrine.

A bill extending the franchise to women in Presidential elections is signed by the Governor of Minnesota.

March 26.—Charles E. Hughes, former Justice of the Supreme Court, proposes a series of amendments to the draft of the League of Nations.

March 29.—The Postmaster a 20 per cent. increase in domestic postage.

March 30.—Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, proposes a series of amendments to the draft of the League of Nations.

April 1.—In the Chicago election, William H. Thompson (Rep.) is elected Mayor.

Sweitzer (Dem.). . . . In the Mayor James H. Preston (Dem.) is renominated by George W. F. Broening is the Republican.

April 2.—The Director General of Railroads refuses to accept reductions in steel prices recently fixed by the Industrial Board created by the Secretary of Commerce.

April 4.—A delegation of Filipinos presents to Secretary of War Baker a memorial from the Philippine Legislature asking for complete independence; a message from President Wilson is read to them, expressing hope that their mission will result in the ends desired.

April 7.—The Secretary of War, Mr. Baker, sails for Europe to arrange payments between England, France, and the United States for war material.

April 10.—The Director-General of Railroads grants to train crews an increase in wages estimated at \$65,000,000—making the third increase by Government direction within three years.

It is reported from Archangel, Russia, that American troops recently inquired of their commander why they should proceed against the Bolsheviks when fighting with Germany is over and the United States is not at war with Russia.

April 12.—The Chief of Staff of the Army announces that 686,000 troops have sailed from overseas in the five months since the armistice, and that a total of 1,700,000 officers and men have been discharged from the army; 1,980,000 remain in the service.

April 13.—The Secretary of the Treasury announces the amount and terms of the new Victory Liberty Loan to be offered to the public; \$4,500,000,000 in notes will be offered, to run for three or four years, with interest at 4¾ per cent. partly tax free, convertible into 3¾ per cent. notes free from all taxation.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

March 15.—The Argentine Government seeks to end a strike which has tied up the port of Buenos Aires, by nationalizing the service of loading and unloading vessels.

March 16.—A new German-Austrian government is reported established at Vienna, with Dr. Renner as Chancellor.

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PREMIER EBERT OF GERMANY (ON THE RIGHT) WITH
CHANCELLOR SCHEIDEMANN

(A recent photograph, on occasion of funeral ceremonies for victims of rioting)

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THE SPECIAL FILIPINO COMMISSION TO THE UNITED STATES, PRESENTING AN APPEAL FOR INDEPENDENCE

(In the center of the group, between Secretary Baker and General March, is Manuel Quezon, for many years Resident Commissioner at Washington and now President of the Philippine Senate)

March 18.—The new Socialist Premier of Bavaria, Herr Hoffmann, outlines his program; the Diet abolishes the nobility and prohibits rights of inheritance.

Disorders in Egypt, in furtherance of the Nationalists' demand for autonomy, are admitted by Government leaders in the British House of Commons.

March 22.—Upon the resignation of the Karolyi cabinet—coincident with the occupation of Hungary by Allied armies—a "dictatorship of the proletariat" is proclaimed by Workers', Peasants' and Soldiers' Councils, with a program of socialization of estates and industries.

March 24.—Martial law is proclaimed throughout Spain as a result of a general strike in Barcelona.

March 25.—A new Socialist cabinet is formed in Prussia, with Paul Hirsch as Premier.

The British Secretary for War, Mr. Churchill, —defending in the House of Commons the Government's proposal to keep an army of 850,000 men,—states that the whole of Egypt is virtually in a state of insurrection.

March 31.—The British House of Commons passes the Government's Military bill, 282 to 64, providing for an army of 850,000 men, in the face of charges of extravagance and abandonment of election pledges to abolish conscription.

French demobilization, it is estimated, has released 2,000,000 men to civilian life, with a somewhat larger number remaining under arms.

April 3.—It is reported that Gen. Aurelio Blanquet has landed in Vera Cruz, Mexico, for the purpose of leading a movement for the overthrow of the Caranza government.

The French Chamber rejects two woman-suffrage amendments to an Electoral Reform bill.

The British House of Commons passes the second reading of the Women's Emancipation bill, a Labor Party measure designed to "give effect to the political and legal equality of men and women."

April 7.—A Soviet Republic is proclaimed in Munich, Bavaria, the "workers" taking over entire public authority; Premier Hoffmann transfers his government to Nürnberg.

April 10.—Rioting in Cairo and Alexandria, Egypt, directed principally against Armenians, results in the death of fifty-eight persons.

April 11.—The Mexican War Department announces that Gen. Emiliano Zapata—the bandit who for years dominated the state of Morelos, south of the capital—has been found in hiding and killed by Government troops.

April 12.—The War Minister in Savoy is murdered by wounded soldiers who have been dissatisfied with peace-time pay.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

March 14.—A Bolshevik attack against Allied and American forces near the junction of the Dvina and Vaga rivers, in northern Russia, is not only repulsed but severely defeated.

March 31.—The American State Department and the Japanese Embassy at Washington initiate separate inquiries into rumors of land concessions granted by the Mexican Government to Japanese corporations.

April 4.—In an engagement between Bolsheviks and Allied troops, in the Archangel district of Russia, there are 800 Bolshevik casualties without loss to the Allies.

April 5.—After long and heated discussion by Marshall Foch and German Government leaders, the right is maintained to transport Polish troops home from France via Danzig (the German Baltic port claimed also by the new state of Poland)—but it is decided to send them some other way.

OTHER OCCURRENCES
OF THE MONTH

March 18.—The population of Rheims, France (for more than four years within range of German guns), is officially announced to have fallen from 115,000 to 8453.

March 20.—Marriage and divorce statistics are made public at Washington for the year 1916, showing 10.5 marriages per thousand of population, and 1.1 divorces.

It becomes known that wireless telephone messages were sent from New Brunswick, N. J., to the President's ship *George Washington* throughout the entire voyage across the Atlantic (see page 500).

March 21.—Casualties in the United States air service at the front are made public: 171 aviators lost their lives in combat (besides 73 missing), and 42 were killed in accidents; 135 were made prisoners, and 117 were wounded.

March 23.—It is stated at Washington that in the United States forces there have been 3034 major amputation cases.

March 26.—A British miners' conference decides to advise the men to accept Government proposals relating to wages and hours, thus averting a serious strike.

April 4.—A conference of representatives of capital and labor, in Great Britain, held under

Government auspices, accepts unanimously a committee report recommending: the creation of a National Industrial Council of employers and employees, with Government recognition; a 48-hour week; increase in state provision for unemployed.

April 8.—The Department of Agriculture forecasts a winter-wheat crop of 837,000,000 bushels—50 per cent. larger than the five-year average.

April 11.—A German official estimate of war losses places the total dead at 1,486,952, besides 134,000 died of disease.

April 12.—A new airplane record from London to Paris is made by a British army aviator, who covers 215 miles in 75 minutes.

OBITUARY

March 17.—Kenyon Cox, the mural painter and writer on art subjects, 62.

March 18.—William H. Pleasants, prominent in the coastwise steamship trade, 56. . . J. Taylor Ellison, elected to many offices in Virginia, 72.

March 26.—James Alfred Roosevelt, director of electric light, power, and railway company in British Columbia, 34.

March 26.—Joseph P. Bass, for forty years editor of the *Bangor (Me.) Commercial*, 83.

March 28.—Henry Martyn Blossom, Jr., author of musical comedies, 53.

March 28.—Samuel T. Dutton, D. D., 69 (see page 480).

April 2.—Owen Brainard, of New York, a noted architect and consulting engineer, 54.

April 4.—Sir William Crookes, a famous British chemist and physicist, 86.

JOHN ROGERS HEGEMAN

(For half a century an officer of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Society, and for the last twenty-eight years its president)

April 6.—John Rogers Hegeman, for twenty-seven years president of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 75. . . Donald Paige Frary, an authority on international affairs and on European government systems, 25. . . William Rheen, president of the Standard Oil Company of California, 57.

April 8.—Frank Winfield Woolworth, originator of the five-and-ten-cent store, 66.

April 9.—Sidney Drew, the comedian, 54.

April 10.—Robert H. Roy, a justice of the Supreme Court of New York, 51.

April 13.—Mrs. Phoebe Apperson Hearst, prominent in charitable and educational work in the West, 76.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN CARTOONS

THE MELTING POT

From the *Bulletin* (Sydney, Australia)

IT has seemed worth while, this month, to present a selection of cartoons reflecting opinion in widely separated capitals throughout the world on the doings at Paris. In many instances these revelations of national and racial sentiment give suggestive hints regarding the world's attitude towards the conference and its leaders.



PEACE

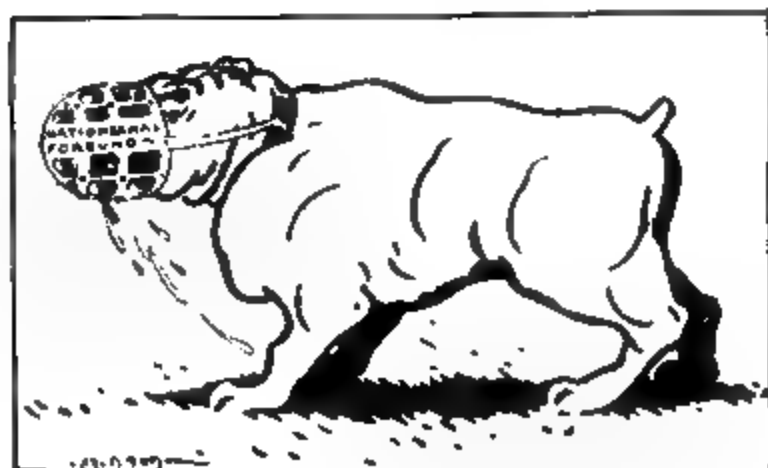
"We are now advancing with great strides."—From *Il 400* (Florence, Italy)

LLOYD GEORGE AND THE TUG OF PEACE
 From the *Daily Express* (London)

THE MINSTRELS OF PEACE
 From *Ravnen* (Copenhagen, Denmark)

From London to Australia and Bombay, the central figure of the conference is President Wilson, and no one has been quicker than the cartoonist to seize on this fact and give it meaning. Our English friends cannot resist the temptation to make puns on the

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND HOW IT WILL OPERATE
 From *Blanco y Negro* (Madrid, Spain)



THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE DOG OF WAR
 From *Söndags Nisse* (Stockholm, Sweden)

NORWAY'S PLACE

Mother Norway will certainly find a prominent place in the League of Nations.—From *Hæpse* (Christiania, Norway)

OVERWEIGHTED

PRESIDENT WILSON: "Here's your olive branch, now get busy."

DOVE OF PEACE: "Of course I want to please everybody, but isn't this a bit thick?"—From *Punch* (London)

THE RIDDLE OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE

From *L'Asino* (Rome)

President's name. One of the most culpable of these is the one concocted by the London *Daily Express*, reproduced on page 477.

On the opposite page are three striking London cartoons on the British labor situation, which has been exceedingly acute.

From the *Bystander* (London)

A MUTUAL HOPE

MR. WILSON: "I hope I don't intrude, Mr. Bull?"
MR. BULL: "I hope you *don't*, Mr. Wilson!"

From *John Bull* (London)

THE PEACE BIRD'S TASK

(In the Great European Peace Conference "Circus")

PROFESSOR WILSON: "A clever bird to write what I think and say!"

From the *Hindi Punch* (Bombay, India)

ENGLAND EXPECTS—

BORN LIONS (together). "Unaccustomed as I am to lie down with anything but a lamb, still, for the public good . . ."—From *Punch* (London)

THE CRITIC

"I say, Bill, wot a ruddy mess those Bolshies are making of their country!"—From *Opinion* (London)

DON QUIXOTE [LABOR] AND THE WINDMILL—BUT IS IT GOOD BUSINESS?

From the *Passing Show* (London)

A TEACHER AND LEADER

A PERIOD of upheaval in human affairs while testing men and masses, throws into high relief the qualities of true leadership in individuals. As the generations grow in intelligence and in democratic equality, they are not so much swayed by personal authority at the hands of rulers, and they are less disposed to follow blindly the individual orator or demagogue, or the fanatical exponents of movements and creeds. With public opinion ruling in our relatively enlightened communities, personal leadership of the earlier types is so much less dominant that we seem at times to be inferior in the qualities which are supposed, traditionally, to mark the "heroes" or "representative men" or personages worthy to be named in history.

In point of fact, there was never so great an opportunity for the exercise of leadership as our own times afford. The more advanced the community, the more susceptible it is to the effort and influence of a leader who would carry it further in some aspect of social progress. The better attuned the instrument, the finer the results of the master hand that employs it.

The Nature of Modern Leadership

In the clash of arms and the crises of states, there is so much discussion and controversy about leaders and their capacities that we sometimes forget to analyze the nature of modern leadership. A man may be put in a place of high authority through the working of official systems without having been a leader in previous experience and without becoming one while in official power. The function of leadership becomes specialized and subdivided. The real leader may be the private adviser or the obscure adjutant, and not the man who is nominally at the head. When future Americans look back with due perspective upon the present age, the foremost men of achievement and leadership may not bear the names of those about whom we are now reading most frequently in the newspapers. Individuals or groups working serenely and unselfishly in the fields of science, of education, of public health, of international good-will,—may be placed at the very top of the list among the leaders of this generation.

Leadership counts for most in these days when it works in association with tendencies, and does not therefore stand out too conspicuously. Thus recent progress in aviation—owing much to one man and another who will in due time have just credit for leadership—has been amazingly accelerated because leadership was exerted where favoring opportunities were so numerous. An immense series of developments in the fields of invention, of engineering and of industry made leadership far more successful even though less noted.

A Modest Type of Leader

The career of a worthy educator who died last month illustrates remarkably well the new kind of leadership that accomplishes great results without notoriety, and with honor and esteem but without popular acclaim. Professor Samuel T. Dutton was a leader in education and philanthropy. He was not a challenging and bitter-tongued reformer, although he saw what was wrong in human relations with clearness, and had unfaltering courage in standing for justice. But it was not so much his mission to lead crusades, or to demand bold innovations, as to cooperate tactfully with wholesome tendencies of sound human progress, and help to construct the better order along with everybody else who was facing in the right direction.

To some readers this characterization may seem quite negative, if not commonplace and vague, when one seeks for "upstanding" heroes of another mold. Why, in these days when "current history" asserts itself in spectacular ways, should space be given to recording the qualities of a quiet, self-effacing educator, rather than to some other man whose recent death has been announced in large headlines? It is indeed quite possible that the man whose death is noted by millions or hundreds of millions may have been a true and typical leader, as well as a man of contemporary fame. This may be said in the most emphatic way of the late Theodore Roosevelt, whose power for almost forty years to influence and lead his fellow citizens lay in his being so essentially an embodiment of American qualities, and so fearless in sup-

porting the things he believed in. The qualities of leadership were always present in Mr. Roosevelt, and their exercise did not await the political accidents which placed him in high office. No one was keener than Mr. Roosevelt to recognize the intrinsic qualities of leadership in all useful spheres of activity, and to distinguish between the genuine leader and the spurious, or between a worthy fame and an accidental notoriety.

Human Contacts as a Teacher

Professor Dutton was born, some seventy years ago, on a New Hampshire farm and had the heritage of a worthy and hard-working New England family. By his own efforts, he went through the preparatory academy and through Yale College, graduating when he was two or three years older than his classmates who had not been obliged to make their own way. But this relative maturity as a student was doubtless to his advantage. He was able at once to secure a good position as a school superintendent, and after a few years was called back to the university town, where he became first the head of a preparatory school and then Superintendent of Education for the City of New Haven. After some years in the pleasant environment of his alma mater, his professional work led him to that select part of Boston known as Brookline, where he had further opportunity to express, in fine results, his conception of what a public school system ought to be.

Almost twenty years ago he was brought to New York by the authorities of Columbia University in order that he might help to set the standards for the training of teachers and the direction of schools. He became a professor in Columbia, the chief of the School Administration Department in the Teachers' College, and the organizing head of what soon became the most famous of American establishments for the education of children, namely, the Horace Mann School, which is an adjunct of the Teachers' College. During these two opening decades of the Twentieth Century, Morningside Heights in New York City has been our foremost center of experiment and influence in the training of professional teachers. Its influences have been world-wide and its policies have been shaping human progress.

Professor Dutton had, through text books and personal addresses, become widely influential among American educators before his work at Teachers' College began. This

THE LATE SAMUEL T. DUTTON

influence was greatly extended by reason of the opportunities afforded him in New York to help in the professional instruction of student teachers from all parts of the United States and from almost every foreign country. Since 1915 he had been Professor Emeritus, and being relieved of his active duties in Teachers' College and as principal of the Horace Mann School, he had found opportunity to devote himself to various public enterprises, wholly in the spirit of what had been the work of his entire career. It would take half a page to list even briefly the activities that he aided.

He was a profound believer in the quiet growth of human society through educational processes. The technical phases of school organization and management never obscured his vision of the broad social objects of education. His sympathies followed the teachers he helped to train as they went everywhere to act as local leaders. He found time for occasional visits to Europe and Asia, and never went anywhere without making some real and lasting contribution to the advancement of institutions for permanent culture. Thus he became a trustee of a college in China, and one of the principal officers and advisers of the American College for Women in Constantinople.

Leadership Through Harmony and Tact

Dr. Dutton's was a rare talent for useful effort through organization. The marked success of his leadership lay in his ability to bring together people who were of like minds and sympathies, so that their united efforts might be effective. He was one of the most devoted of the leaders who have for a number of years past been trying to bring the best sentiment of America into union for the advancement of the cause of world peace. He was not merely a man of sentiment in his opposition to war, but he was a practical student of international affairs, with wide acquaintance and experience. He was the American member of an International Commission that visited Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania and Turkey in 1913, and reported upon the Balkan War with particular reference to current reports of atrocities and violations of international law.

During the war period he was one of the principal organizers of relief work, and an indefatigable leader in the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian relief, while aiding in the direction of other relief societies. His judgment was so valuable, and his spirit so harmonizing that his presence and help lent assurance to many a committee. He knew how to get groups moving toward substantial success in their aims, without seeming to dominate. He was gentle and unobtrusive, but always equal to the occasion. He was one of the principal founders of the World Court League, which has in recent weeks and months been doing much to unify the efforts of societies which have had the common ideal of international justice and of the substitution of legal and political remedies for the disasters of war. Through his efforts as its most active member, the World Court League with affiliated societies was brought into general accord with the League to Enforce Peace and other American agencies which have supported the general plans of the Paris Conference for a League of Nations.

Professor Dutton had no thought of himself as a leader of men, much less as a citizen of distinction and eminence, widely recognized for character and achievement. He was wholly free from vanity and self-consciousness. He could act with quick initiative, without timidity but also without noise or demonstration. He had not merely the spirit to serve, but he was trained to serve capably. He had none of that false kind of

modesty which some men of sensitive disposition cultivate as an excuse to themselves for dodging responsibilities. Dr. Dutton never shirked, but knew how to bear responsibility openly, without assertion. He was cheerful and companionable, with an unfailing sense of humor. It was a privilege to serve with so excellent a comrade.

Opportunity of the Teaching Profession

In these times of change and unrest, it is well to look for firm foundations and for elements of stability. Our best hopes rest in such qualities of character as are exemplified in the personality and career of men like Samuel T. Dutton. More than ever, our American society is to be influenced and shaped by the schools. The teaching profession has increasing opportunities before it. The school takes on a fresh conception of its functions as regards the moral, physical and economic, as well as the purely mental training of children. A man who, like Dr. Dutton, has been able to inspire teachers, is to be reckoned with when we are studying the new times in their relation to the past.

All teachers are underpaid and have many sacrifices to make. Every good citizen should do what he can to see that the teaching profession is better maintained. But, meanwhile, the teacher may find compensation in the opportunities that lie around him for leadership and influence, not merely in the school itself. The value of America to itself and to the world is to be found in the quality of its neighborhoods, small and large alike. All the great causes of the present day, the work and support of the Red Cross for example, would languish if there should fail the spirit of coöperation, under wise and intelligent leadership, in each of thousands of neighborhoods.

It is this kind of guidance and initiative that makes a country like America what it is, and that constitutes the difference between modern leadership for an intelligent democracy and that of former periods. It was once the fashion to tell every boy that he ought to be ambitious because he might some time become President of the United States. It is the wiser and better plan to teach every boy that he may be a useful citizen in his own community, and may contribute something towards the well-being of the country. Where there is willingness to serve, along with definite training, there will be no lack of fit leadership for whatever work the times may demand.

A. S.

EUROPE'S CONVULSIONS AND THE PARIS CONFERENCE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

[Mr. Simonds' article, herewith, comes half by mail and half by cable. It reflects with undoubted accuracy the situation as it appeared to the best-informed observers in Paris from the middle of March to the middle of April. We may indulge strong hopes that May will bring some return of optimism to Europe, but it is worth while to record the doubts and worries of March and April.—THE EDITOR]

THE exigencies of mail and of cable compel me to divide my article each month into two distinct parts. The present portion for May covers the period between the 15th of March and the 1st of April. I shall cover events from the 1st of April to the middle of the month by cable later.

What I desire to discuss here and now are:

- (1) The return of the President;
- (2) The paralysis of the Paris Conference, and
- (3) The rise of the Bolshevik storm in the East.

I. PRESIDENT WILSON'S RETURN

When President Wilson arrived in France for the second time, in the middle of March, he found awaiting him a cordial welcome and on the whole a more genuine welcome from the representatives of the governments of Europe, as distinct from the people, than that of his first coming. His speeches in America had won instant and widespread approval in Europe. At the very outset Europe (and in the main this means Britain, France and Italy) had concluded to accept Mr. Wilson not merely as the Ambassador of the United States but also as the spokesman of the united American people. Political differences within the United States were interpreted as having only domestic significance. Mr. Wilson had become in the eyes of Europe as in fact, the exponent of the will of his country.

Coming to Europe Mr. Wilson was the evangel of the gospel of the League of Nations; and for the masses of the plain people of Europe the League of Nations was a symbol of a settlement which should end war, begin peace on a new basis, rescue man-

kind from all the horrors of war and all the perils of armed peace. As the spokesman of America, he was for exactly the same vast number of people the representative of the country whose soldiers had arrived tardily but in time to deliver the decisive thrust, and whose enormous resources, generously distributed, had brought salvation to devastated regions, conquered provinces, and otherwise abandoned districts.

From the beginning, then, Mr. Wilson was accepted by the people of Europe; and whatever was the desire or the will of the governments of Europe, they had no choice but to accept Mr. Wilson, not merely as the spokesman of America but as possessing in Europe too great prestige to be opposed. Unmistakably not a few statesmen and diplomats regarded with doubt and suspicion Mr. Wilson's program of the League of Nations. The abstract theories left the practical men cold. But the practical political problems of their own situation compelled their assent. European statesmen and people alike were at one in recognizing that it was a matter of life and death that America should remain in Europe until the war had been liquidated and peace fortified. The statesmen could regard the League of Nations project of Mr. Wilson as the price they must pay to keep America here. The people might and did regard the League of Nations as a moral guarantee of future security.

Europe having arrived at this decision permitted Mr. Wilson to make the formulation of the program of the League of Nations the first business of the Paris Conference. When this was done Mr. Wilson returned to America. While he was on his way home Europe heard for the first time in the Senate an authentic voice of American op-

position. It identified that voice with the extreme utterances of certain Republican statesmen who clamored for an instant, complete and final withdrawal of America from Europe. It recognized in this demand a death-sentence to the hopes of all Europe on the Allied side for the future. It recognized that if America should withdraw her aid, her material and her moral support, the element of hope would disappear and the way would be open for the coming of Bolshevism from the East.

Therefore in the period between the departure and the return of Mr. Wilson there was a remarkable transformation in the European situation—a transformation among the statesmen. The people continued to be sustained by the hope that America led by Mr. Wilson would remain. The statesmen recognized, or believed that they recognized, that only by the victory of Mr. Wilson in America could the continued participation of the United States in the European task be assured. Therefore on his return they welcomed Mr. Wilson in a more frankly friendly spirit than before, since for them he had become an Ally at last, the spokesman in America of the cause which was lost if America abandoned Europe. This roughly represents the history between the sailing of Mr. Wilson for America and his arrival at Brest for the second time on March 13.

II. THE PARALYSIS OF THE PARIS CONFERENCE

When Mr. Wilson reached Paris he found this situation: The American Commission in conference with the representatives of the other nations had practically completed a program which amounted to the formulation of the terms of a preliminary Treaty of Peace to be served forthwith upon Germany. In my article for April I sketched the outline of the terms. This preliminary Treaty of Peace was in substance to fix the frontiers of Germany, the extent of the disarmament of Germany, the size of the financial reparation to be paid. It was to follow the analogy of the preliminary Treaty of Peace made between France and Germany within a few weeks after the signing of the armistice which ended the military operations of the Franco-Prussian war. The definite peace was to follow later, when the intricate but relatively minor questions had been resolved by expert means.

In this preliminary Treaty of Peace there

was to have been included a declaration of principle covering the League of Nations, but the covenant and the exact permanent form of its association were to be drafted for the final treaty. This was not due to any desire to shelve or to subordinate the principle of the League of Nations, but purely and simply to the recognition of the extent of amendment which was necessary and the imperative necessity of immediate action in the direction of a preliminary Treaty of Peace.

No sooner had Mr. Wilson reached Paris than by a single statement he seemed to demolish the whole program. He asserted that the League of Nations must be an integral part of the preliminary Treaty of Peace and demanded the complete change of program which this involved.

We had then for something like forty-eight hours a tense situation. In the end the representatives of the Allied nations bowed to Mr. Wilson, the program was changed, and the Conference undertook the difficult task of combining the League of Nations, which involved the reorganization of the future society of the world, and the preliminary settlement of peace terms with the great enemy.

The result of the change in program was almost tragic. It amounted to a practical paralysis (for the time being) of the entire business of making peace. While conference after conference sought to fix the precise and permanent language of the definite Covenant of the League of Nations, other conferences wrestled unsuccessfully with the practical problems of re-making the map of Europe. We settled and unsettled the question of Poland half a dozen times. The dispute between the Italians and the Jugo-Slavs mounted hourly. The division between the Rumanians and the Serbs became bitterer with each day. Half a dozen little wars went forward while half a dozen commissions sitting in Paris strove to find a solution on paper for questions which were already being resolved by force.

In a word the Paris Conference, after three months in session and four and a half months after the first armistice, had fallen into precisely the condition of the Congress of Vienna a little more than a century ago. It had so far been unable to make any practical decisions and the single time when it seemed on the edge of making a practical decision it abandoned that under the impulse of Mr. Wilson.

III. THE RISE OF THE BOLSHEVIST STORM IN THE EAST

Meantime the situation had undergone a change of momentous character. From the East of Europe there had come news hardly less impressive than the announcement which reached Vienna that Napoleon had landed from Elba. With no preliminary Treaty of Peace made, Paris learned in the later days of March that Bolshevism had established itself at Budapest and the Hungarian Soviet had extended its hand to Moscow.

Nor is this all. Of a sudden at the moment it became known in Paris that Hungary had been claimed by the Bolsheviks, it was also learned that Poland was undermined to the point of collapse, that Rumania was in the gravest peril, and that the last vestiges of Ukrainian resistance to Bolshevism were crumbling as the Soviet forces arrived at Odessa. In a word, Eastern Europe was at the mercy of the new enemy.

Coincident with this news came the mounting conviction that Germany would refuse to sign the Treaty of Peace which the Allies were vainly seeking to formulate. It became appreciated that German strategy would be the strategy of Trotsky and Lenine at Brest-Litovsk, to refuse assent and to make no active resistance, to permit the armies of the Western Powers to cross the Rhine and advance whither they would, relying alike upon the influence of Bolshevik propaganda upon the armies and upon domestic unrest in the Allied countries to produce a situation which in the end would permit the resurgence of Germany.

While Paris was thus attempting to liquidate a victory it perceived that a new war was opening and the very bases of just settlement of the previous conflict being destroyed. It saw Bolshevism in a few brief months passing the Carpathian bulwark against which three Russian invasions had beaten in vain, and it beheld Germany arriving at a situation which offered at least as brilliant promise of ultimate renaissance as that which faced Prussia after Jena had been liquidated at Tilsit.

On the day when Paris learned that the Bolsheviks had taken Budapest the Committee of Ten, which is the master of events here, debated the ultimate disposition of the German cables. On the day when the news arrived that Odessa was falling the same Council of Ten agreed to send a mission to Syria to investigate the will of the people

as to their future state. In the hour when the Council of Ten solemnly resolved to accord to the Protestants of the Masurian Lake district the right of self determination Paris and London were apprised of a revolt in Egypt growing out of the Egyptian demand for self-determination in accordance with the principles of the League of Nations. In the hour when the Italians served an imperative order upon the Council of Ten asserting their purpose to hold the port of Fiume, the sole avenue of the Jugo-Slavs to the open sea furnished with adequate railroad communications, the Allies adopted in principle the allocation of the city of Danzig to the Poles as an essential to the existence of an economic, independent Poland.

Perhaps these not unimportant circumstances are an adequate picture of the fashion in which the Paris Conference, with an industry which passes power of language to describe and a concentration beyond the limits of belief, addressed itself for the fourth month to the solution of the moral, ethnographic and economic problems of two thousand years, while Bolshevism advanced from Moscow to Budapest.

It may be that the arrival of Bolshevism at Budapest will bring decision in Paris. In the judgment of many of the best-informed observers such a decision, however promptly arrived at now, may come too late. In their opinion, whether we decide upon the articles of the Treaty of Peace now or not, we shall be at war again before they are signed. The Paris *Temps* said in so many words, "The war commences again." This war is not of course immediately a new war with Germany, but it is a new war and out of it no nation but Germany can draw profit. There was an hour when we could have sustained the Ukrainians, the Rumanians, the Poles and the Czechoslovaks, when we could have transferred war material and a certain number of troops to their areas and erected a barrier—a living barrier of more than fifty millions of people—between the Baltic and the Black Sea against Bolshevism, which was still restricted to ancient Muscovy. Bolshevism in its essence is communistic, international, class war. We had four months ago in the Ukraine an economic system of small holdings which supplied the reason for Ukrainian resistance to Bolshevik Communism. We had in Rumania and in Poland as well as in Czechoslovakia an explosion of nationalism incident to the realization of age-long patriotic aspirations.

We left Poland, Rumania, Ukraina unsupported. We drew armistice lines which turned thousands of Rumanians temporarily over to the mercy of Hungary, who used their day of grace for murder. We permitted the Poles and the Ukrainians to consume against each other the munitions needed to resist the Bolsheviks. Now Bolshevism has established a corridor between the Poles and the Rumanians and approaches Vienna.

The arrival of the news that the Bolsheviks are at Budapest brought to Paris something approximating panic but it did not bring any perceptible evidence of a policy. The onrush of the Bolsheviks broke the Eastern front in March, 1919, exactly as the "Kaiser Battle" of Ludendorff broke our western front in March, 1918. Then we had resort to unity of command and under a common commander presently had our own July counter-offensive. I do not think anyone can fail now to recognize the fact that Bolshevism will advance until it arrives at that place where Western civilization at last chooses to fight it, whether it be at the Danube, the Rhine or the Channel. I do not pretend to know whether Germany will go Bolshevik, as some say, or whether it will await the hour when Bolshevism has so

broken the victorious Western Powers that it may rise again as Germany, as Prussia, Austria and the smaller states of Europe rose against Napoleon after Moscow. If Germany goes Bolshevik we shall have nothing left to us in Europe west of the Rhine and the Alps. If Germany awaits her hour we shall have still to fight Bolshevism and at the same time to impose our will by arms upon Germany.

Such was the situation in the closing days of March. I do not suppose that any group of men in all human history tried more faithfully, more earnestly to restore the world than did the men who made up the Paris Conference, but the single fact which emerges is that the war was so long, the destruction of institutions as well as of life and property was so wide ranging, that only decision and prompt decision would have avoided what had become one of the greatest crises in history. For I do not think anyone in Paris or out of it failed to recognize that the crisis of March, 1919, was quite as terrifying as that crisis which was ushered in a year earlier by the falling of the shells of the Big Bertha in the vicinity of the place where the Conference of Peace now performed its daily labors.

BY CABLE (APRIL 14)

IV. AGREEMENTS REACHED REGARDING GERMANY

A month ago I told my readers that there was at least a fair possibility that the treaty of peace would be written and ready for submission to the Germans before my article was in their hands. There is that same possibility now—but I do not think there has been any great increase in likelihood of prompt settlement in the month that has passed. We have had on the contrary a series of tides which have ebbed and flowed, leaving us alternately stranded and at the mercy of the current. At the present moment, on April 14, we are actually confronted by a very real reaction in Europe induced by the delays and failures of the Peace Conference in reaching its decision, and by the rise and advance of Bolshevism in the East.

As it stands at the moment, the Paris Conference has practically agreed upon guarantees to be taken against Germany to reserve the Rhine as a military frontier. It has agreed that Germany shall pay the costs of

the war and has fixed thirty (30) billions of dollars as an approximation of the sum of money that she will have to pay, specifying five (5) billions as the immediate payment within the next two years. The Conference also is approaching a solution of the Saar Valley coal question, which will leave this district in French hands, although the terms of French possession may be somewhat camouflaged.

As far as Germany is concerned, one great outstanding problem is whether Poland shall have Danzig and its corridor to the Baltic sea, or will be compelled to depend upon a German outlet for the future. The Polish Premier, Paderewski, is here in Paris at this moment, making his final appeal for Poland, with frank realization abroad that, if Danzig does not go to Poland, Poland may go to Bolshevism. Once the Polish question is settled, the Germans can be invited to Versailles and directed to sign the treaty.

But will they sign it? This is one of the greatest pre-occupations of the present hour. The majority of conservative men are of

opinion that, particularly if Danzig goes to Poland, the Germans will not sign, but will adopt the Brest-Litovsk course of Trotsky and Lenine, and at the same time refuse to sign and concede their inability to resist Allied military pressure. There are those who believe that, even if Danzig does not go to Poland, the Germans will not sign a document as drastic as will in any event be framed.

Apart from purely German questions, all of which seem on the point of settlement (but any one of which, according to precedents, may be reopened, with delaying consequences), the problem of Fiume is the most serious at this moment. Italian claims upon this sole outlet of the northern half of the new Jugo-Slav state have been pressed with ever-increasing energy. Twice in the last few weeks, the Italians have threatened to quit the Peace Conference if they were not promised this port. A compromise, creating an international port at Fiume, has gained much ground, as had a similar solution for the Danzig difficulty. Both compromises have their essential weakness, and President Wilson, up to the present moment, has set his face firmly against Italian possession of Fiume—a course which is supported by all right-thinking Americans.

Behind the Fiume question there lie a dozen different problems, all of which must require some time to settle. Difficulties between Jugo-Slavs and Rumanians, between Rumanians and Hungarians, between Poles and Czechoslovaks, and the whole tremendous problem of Russian frontiers, await decision. Practically no progress has been made in the matter of settling the Turkish Empire problems; and the nationalistic uprising in Egypt has given a wholly different complexion to the Pan-Arabic movement in Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia.

In sum, then, while a certain promise of decision has been reached, both as to the eastern and the western frontiers of Germany, and the financial reparations to be demanded, all Eastern Europe and Western Asia await the action of the Paris Conference, or rather are marching from one form of anarchy to another while Paris prolongs discussion.

It remains now to discuss the amazing reaction which has been the outstanding feature of the last ten days. This reaction had its origin in two spontaneous outbursts, and in French sentiment against the direction which the Paris Conference seemed to be

taking under the joint leadership of Lloyd George and President Wilson. Last December, Great Britain had its khaki election, which gave the conservatives a great majority, and gave Mr. Lloyd George complete control, on his pledge that a strong peace should be made with Germany, and that this should include putting the costs of the war upon the enemy. At all times and in all circumstances, the French have been united in their demand that Germany should pay the costs of war, and that France should have guarantees for the future of a substantial military sort against a new German attack.

V. POLITICS AND BOLSHEVISM

Discussions in the Paris Conference after the President's return caused long delays, and involved disputes over guarantees for France both on the Rhine and along the Saar. It was the apparent desire both of the British Premier and President Wilson, in the face of Bolshevik uprisings in Europe, to modify the terms against Germany, and to negotiate with the Bolsheviks. This precipitated a storm in England, which amounted to a demonstration that Mr. Lloyd George must change his policy or lose his directing power.

In France, the outbreak was more gradual, but no less pronounced. The French felt themselves to have been abandoned by their British Allies, and suspected that peace terms that were being formulated would leave them bankrupt financially, as a result of German devastations and of expenses for their own defense, and would also leave them helpless in the face of a resuscitated Germany, within a few years. There was very clear opinion in France, expressed in many directions, that international finance had taken advantage of Mr. Wilson's well-known idealism, to prepare the way for saving Germany from the consequence of her crimes, and thus smoothing a path for the prompt realization of German industry.

The storm which broke took the shape of a violent newspaper campaign against Mr. Lloyd George in the British press, and of outspoken declarations in both Houses of Parliament against all the policies that the British Prime Minister was believed to have been advocating in the Paris Conference. Mr. Lloyd George found himself suddenly confronted with a choice between continuing in his close support of President Wilson at

the cost of political disaster at home, and completely changing front and supporting France's policy and French claims.

The British Prime Minister chose the latter course, with the result that President Wilson, without warning, discovered himself more or less isolated and in the presence of a new association between France and England, based alike upon the principles of a "Strong Peace" against Germany, and of vigorous action against Bolshevism. This change of British purpose was followed promptly by polite but unmistakable intimations that British support of those amendments to the Covenant of the League of Nations which were asked by President Wilson as the result of American criticism—particularly modifications with respect to the Monroe Doctrine—could not find immediate favor. This meant that if the British pursued their course the League of Nations covenant would inevitably be rejected by the United States Senate. This was the point at which Mr. Wilson directed his official spokesman in Paris to announce that he had sent for the *George Washington*, and the American correspondents here were officially invited to speculate upon the meaning of this gesture, which recalled the course of Disraeli at the Congress of Berlin.

On that occasion, in 1878, the British Prime Minister, faced with opposition, ordered a special train to take the English delegation home.

Following this gesture, there was a period of intense excitement, a great deal of bad feeling, and an unmistakable change in the tone and temper of the whole Conference. This new temper still remains. Solidarity between the French and English was not shaken by President Wilson's course, but on the contrary, in the debates that followed, the British support of France more and more increased.

On the other hand, it was true that both sides—contemplating the possibility of a collapse of the Paris Conference after five months—presently resumed their conversations. If this was not done in the old spirit, at least it was with some appreciation of the common necessity of making peace, and the particular political necessities of statesmen engaged in the task. We had, therefore, after a tense moment, the gradual resumption of activity, and a certain amount of progress, which I have indicated already.

The single substantial circumstance that

it is necessary to emphasize now is the fact that there has been a total change of view among the peoples of Allied countries with respect to the Peace Conference. Hopes of real settlement, and of the laying of the foundations of world peace in future through the League of Nations, have largely disappeared. In the discussions of the last three weeks, the League of Nations covenant itself has almost passed out of sight.

This is due to two circumstances. First it is due to the feeling in Great Britain and in France that President Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George—that is, the American and British representatives who gave to the League of Nations its inception, its form, and, its real strength in Paris—had sacrificed to this project the interests which to the British and the French people seemed of primary importance, namely security against a new German attack and reparation in fullest measure. And second, it was due to the feeling that with the storm of Bolshevism arising in the East and sweeping westward irresistibly, counting Budapest and Odessa among its recent conquests, the League of Nations which was not able and ready to deal with this peril by force when necessary, was, after all, little more than an academic ideal.

Thus, in unmistakable fashion, a reaction had set in. The dreams and hopes of four months ago, had come to seem like illusions and disappointments to millions of people. This emotion endures, and it must be recognized in America if one is to understand future developments in Paris. British anxiety to please America, to extend good feeling between the two nations, and to expand the association of the two English-speaking countries, in some considerable measure endures; but there is no longer any readiness or willingness to subordinate to this the practical, Continental understanding with France, or to sacrifice to it the claims against Germany, growing out of the last war.

When I came to Europe, four months ago, the note of idealism was everywhere. To-day, pessimism and realism are everywhere to be felt. Hope in the League of Nations has declined, as the Paris Conference which was in itself accepted as a preliminary League of Nations, has more and more broken down in the face of the real problems of European peace.

It may be that with the completion of the task, new confidence will return; but for the moment it has vanished.

THREE ESSENTIALS OF AERONAUTICS

BY REAR-ADMIRAL ROBERT E. PEARY, U. S. N., RETIRED

(Chairman, National Aerial Coast Patrol Commission; President, Aerial League of America; Member of the Board of Governors, Aero Club of America)

AMONG the Titanic proposals now before the United States, there is a group of three new figures, such as have never before presented themselves.

These three figures are brothers. Their family name is Aeronautics. Their individual names are: *The United States, the First Air Power in the World; a Separate Department of Aeronautics; an Aerial Coast Patrol.*

These figures are neither academic nor theoretical. They are as living as breath and blood. On them in the future will hinge the security of our national existence.

To those who have followed, with keenest interest, the astonishing progress of aeronautics and aviation during the past few years, certain things of the near future, the enumeration of which may startle the layman, are as definite as if already materialized.

The next war (with apologies to the League of Nations) will be fought and won in the air.

The military air equipment of a country will overshadow in importance its army and navy combined.

The air equipment of a country, military and commercial, will be its greatest individual asset.

In order to put the layman in touch, or somewhat in touch, with the immensity of this matter of aeronautics, it seems desirable to note some primary things.

The atmosphere is the greatest thing on earth. It is a great ocean, sweeping unbroken around the entire globe. Aeronautics and Aviation mean the conquest and utilization of this great ocean, for travel and transportation of all kinds.

Certain peculiarities of the utilization of

this great unbroken ocean are of the utmost import. Some of these are as follows:

With its utilization, every city, town, village, in fact every bit of land or water anywhere on the face of the globe becomes a port of possible departure into it, a point of possible arrival from it.

In this new ocean, the route between any two points is a straight line between these two points. In this new ocean are no shore lines or mountain ranges, and no roads have to be built, adverse air currents being the only obstacles. The number of roads is infinite and they are already laid.

Stop a moment a grasp the meaning of these statements, which are neither dreams nor fantastic imaginings, but simple recitals of fact.

Then it may not be difficult to see, with those who are looking into the future, watching the startling progress of Aeronautics—the air filled with thousands of airplanes engaged in the transportation of passengers and material, and busy with numerous other occupations such as are now carried on by vehicles of transportation upon the land and sea.

For several years the writer has urged in every possible way, in season and out of season, the three great things noted at the beginning of this article.

It has seemed that not only the necessity for keeping pace with other nations, but also our national pride as well, should inspire us with the determination to be *the first air power in the world*. Our resources, our means, our well-known mechanical and engineering skill and ability, render it perhaps easier for us than any other nation to attain and hold this appropriate position.

The extent of our national domain and the fact that we have an imperial coast line on two great oceans, demand a large military

air equipment; and the wide expanses of our great country permit the utilization to the fullest degree of all the commercial possibilities of aerial navigation.

To achieve this position, undivided and concentrated authority and responsibility are absolutely essential. To those who are informed in this field, this statement seems to be so axiomatic as to be impossible of argument.

It means a Separate, Independent Department of Aeronautics, with one of the ablest organizers and executives in the country at its head, to have complete and undivided control of ALL the nation's aeronautic activities.

The desired great results have not been, will not be, and cannot be, obtained under the present divided control in which several departments have separate and varying organizations, methods and programs.

This statement would also seem axiomatic, but as is well known, truth never lacks for opponents. Opposition to an independent department of aeronautics has come:

First—From those departments which, having an aeronautic division, are loath to give it up.

Second—From those who honestly have not been able to grasp the great importance and enormous possibilities of aeronautics; and

Third—From obscure and powerful influences which have been difficult to locate.

Possibly, however, the greatest obstacle to the establishment of such a department has been the inertia arising from the general public's lack of knowledge in regard to this new and astoundingly rapid growing thing.

That obstacle is being removed with gratifying speed through the education of the public, and with its disappearance, the creation of centralized control—a department of aeronautics—is inevitable. Bills for this purpose will be introduced in the next Congress, as they have been in previous ones, and while their passage may be delayed by hostile influences, their eventual passage is inevitable.

Just a few words in regard to the Aerial Coast Patrol proposition:

To those at all familiar with the aerial coast patrol work of foreign countries during the recent war, it is well recognized that this country must guard from the air not only its own immediate coast lines, but must patrol aerially every sea approach to the continent of North America.

We must have a great Aerial Coast Patrol System, extending on the Atlantic from Cape Farewell to the Panama Canal, and from the Canal to the Aleutian Archipelago on the Pacific.

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THE GIANT BRITISH DIRIGIBLE "R-33," STARTING ON HER MAIDEN VOYAGE

(With her sister ship, the *R-34*, this vessel represents Britain's improvement on the Zeppelin rigid type of airship. She is 670 feet long and 80 feet in diameter, but weighs less than 30 tons. Nineteen hydrogen-filled balloonettes inside the aluminum framework sustain the vessel. Motive power is furnished by five 250-horsepower engines, carried in four gondolas. On one trial voyage this British dirigible returned to her hangar after a flight lasting nineteen hours. It is expected that she can cross the Atlantic, with favorable winds, in less than two days—then turn around without landing on the American side and make the return voyage home.)

TRAVEL BY AIR ROUTES OVER LAND AND SEA

THE TRANSATLANTIC RACE—TRANSITION FROM WAR TO PEACE CONDITIONS—COMMERCIAL AERONAUTICS—PROGRESS OF THE DIRIGIBLE

BY FRANCIS ARNOLD COLLINS

a formidable fleet of aircraft. Our main dependence is probably the great Navy flying boats of the N. C. 1 type, which are now being tuned up for the race. One of these airboats with a wing spread of 125 feet has actually carried 51 passengers in flight, reaching a speed of upwards of 100 miles an hour. By utilizing this carrying capacity to stow away gasoline the boat, with a crew of four men and their provisions, will have a cruising radius of over 2000 miles. At least one of these boats has been equipped with four Liberty Motors developing over 1200 horsepower, which gives it four chances to one over a single motored machine. America and England will cooperate in placing swift torpedo-boat destroyers at intervals of sixty miles along the course, which will be in constant communication by wireless telegraph or telephone with the flying craft.

An army pilot may attempt the flight with one of the huge high-powered Martin bombers. The craft has a wing spread of

 THE UNITED STATES NAVY'S CANDIDATE IN THE TRANSATLANTIC AIR RACE THE N. C. 1 TYPE

(These Navy-Curtiss machines have a wing spread of 125 feet, and are equipped with three and four Liberty motors. The three-motored machine can travel 100 miles an hour, and can carry a load of 24,000 pounds. Each engine requires 36 gallons of gasoline per hour. Estimating twenty hours for the longest "leg" of the transatlantic journey, such an airplane must carry gasoline weighing 12,000 pounds)

100 feet, an unusual carrying capacity, and a speed higher than that of the flying boats. The land machine carries no pontoons of any kind, but should it be forced down in the water it is planned to send up a small balloon attached to the forward part of the craft, which will serve to keep it afloat indefinitely, as well as signal over an extended radius for assistance.

It is rumored in the trade that at least two aircraft manufacturers are working on special machines for oversea flights whose secrets are being carefully guarded. America will also be represented in the contest by at least two airships. The largest of the Naval dirigibles, a 200-foot blimp, is being made ready, and a well-known balloon manufacturer has constructed a giant dirigible 650 feet in length designed for oversea flying.

British Competitors

Great Britain is America's most formidable rival in the air race. In the early spring the Handley-Page Company leased for a year a square mile of land at Harbor Grace, Newfoundland, and began its preparations. A hundred men are employed building hangars and preparing landing fields at an ex-

pense of \$50,000. The first British machine designed for the race, a one-motored Sopwith, reached Canada late in March with its two pilots, Harry Hawker and Lieutenant-Commander Mackenzie Grieve.

Another aeroplane entered for the contest, a Fairy biplane will be piloted by Sydney Pickle, an Australian aviator of the Royal Air Force, while a machine built for the race by the Martinsyde Aeroplane Co., will be flown. An aeroplane of the Shortt Brothers will be flown westward from the Irish coast to Newfoundland. The Royal Air Force has announced that it will not compete for the prize, but will make the voyage with one of its great dirigibles as a training for its men. A non-stop flight is planned from Scotland to Newfoundland where a passenger will be set down, when the dirigible will return without landing overseas. A second flight by British dirigible is announced over the southern route from Africa to Florida.

French, Italian, Swedish, and German Interests

The French flag will be carried in the race by a land machine of the Farman Aero-

bus type, equipped with two motors, developing 800 horsepower. Although the French aeroplane may be mounted on pontoons to support it on the water, it will not be able to rise from the surface. A great Caproni machine, designed for ocean flying, is building in Italy which is reported to have engines with a horsepower of 5000, with cabins housing 100 passengers. Italy will not attempt an early flight,

but is building with confidence for the future of transatlantic air travel. An American-built machine with two engines, christened the *Sunrise*, piloted by Captain Sunstedt, will enter the contest under the Swedish flag. A formidable German Siemens-Schuckert biplane with a wing span of 165 feet has been built for the contest, and is reported to have had a preliminary trial at Doberitz. It is driven by four propellers operated by six engines developing 1800 horsepower. A great German dirigible may also enter the race. With such a craft, the Germans may face the winds of the Atlantic air lanes with more confidence than they face their American reception.

Claims of the Flying Boat

There are two general plans for flying the Atlantic: one by employing the flying boat, the other, a land machine. There is no lack of volunteers willing to venture out in light machines, each with a single motor, counting upon the greater speed of such a craft. The flying boat, on the other hand, with its

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THE NAVY AIRPLANE CAN REST UPON OR TRAVEL UPON THE WATER

multiple engines, is much heavier, but may be kept aloft as long as any of its motors are running, and if forced down, can rise from the sea. Even in case of accident to the wings, such a craft can make good progress in comparatively rough water as a motor boat. From these experiments, perhaps at the price of several machines and human lives, the form of the successful transatlantic flyer will be evolved. The cash prizes awaiting the successful pilot, comprise the *London Mail's* prize of \$50,000 and other sums totalling \$125,000.

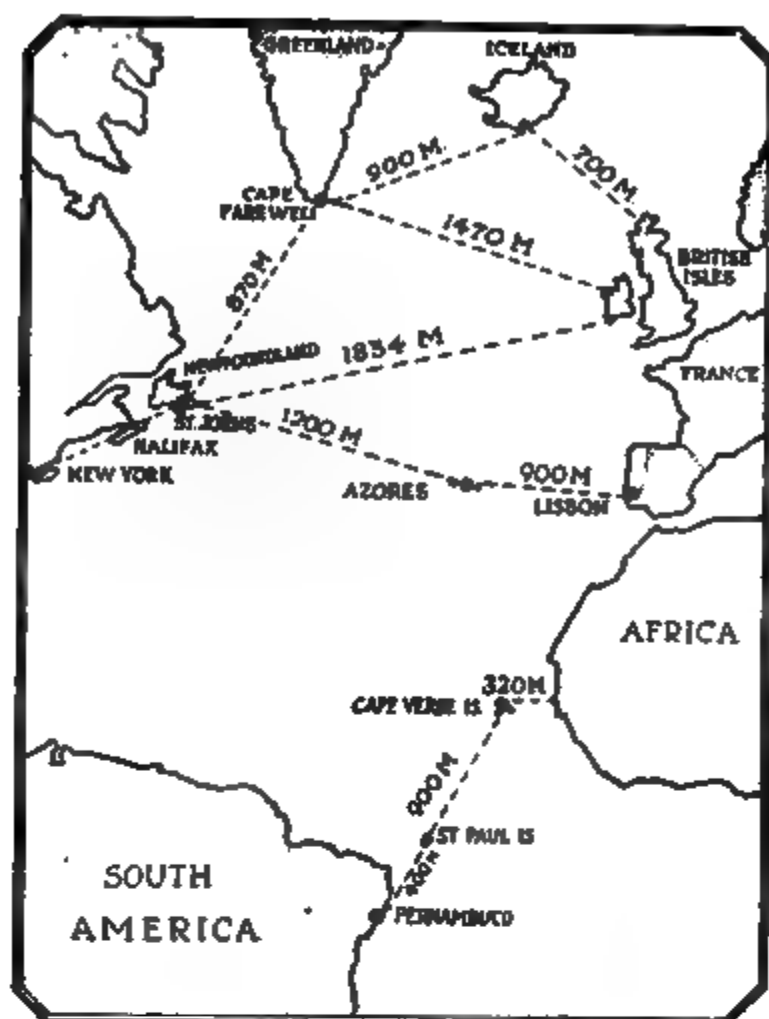
Departure from Newfoundland

Since the race is to be flown from west to east America enjoys a valuable natural handicap. The air currents over this course, at the 2000-foot altitude chosen for flying, favor the eastward flight. The tableland near St. John's, Newfoundland, being the eastern extremity of the continent, has therefore been chosen both by the United States and England as the point of departure. From this point, measured as the crow or the aeroplane flies, the distance to the nearest part of the Irish coast is 1834 miles. The actual oversea flight may be shortened by using Cape Farewell, Greenland, as a stepping-stone. The nearest point of the Greenland coast lies 870 miles from St. John's, and Scotland is then but 1470 miles distant. By calling at Iceland the distance is further divided into flights of 870, 900, and 700 miles, but at no season of the year are these northern flights attractive to pilots.

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A GREAT FRENCH AIRPLANE USED IN LONG DISTANCE FLIGHTS

(The French route for transatlantic flight is by way of Africa, Cape Verde Islands, St. Paul Islands, to the coast of Brazil—see map on the following page)



TRANSATLANTIC AIRPLANE ROUTES AND DISTANCES

Southern Routes

The comparative nearness of the Azores with their summer seas determines the southern air route. A flight overseas from St. John's of 1200 miles brings the aircraft to these islands, while Lisbon lies but 900 miles further eastward. The South Atlantic is more easily spanned, however, by sailing from Cape Verde at the western extremity of Africa, and calling at the Cape Verde Islands 400 miles off the coast, when a straightaway flight of but 900 miles brings the pilot to St. Paul's Rocks, a group of islands off the coast of South America. A flight of 400 miles separates the islands from Pernambuco. With the ultimate development of aircraft no-stop flights will doubtless be possible, and the air lanes will disregard these stepping-stones.

Recent Notable Air Feats

The enthusiasm of aviators for the future seems justified by the recent achievements in the air. An aeroplane has carried five passengers from London to Constantinople, and thence to Salonica, covering more than 2000 miles. The flight from Turin to

Naples and return, a distance of 920 miles, has been made without alighting. A journey has been made by air from Paris to Cairo, Egypt, by way of Constantinople.

The Alps and the Pyrenees have been repeatedly crossed by aeroplanes, as have the Mediterranean and Adriatic Seas. So bulky a piece of freight as a piano has been transported by aeroplane from London to Paris, demonstrating the aircraft commercial possibilities. Passenger transportation is already a reality.

Daily Passenger Schedules

An aeroplane has flown across the United States in fifty-two hours. An Italian machine has carried aloft seventy-eight, and an American flying boat fifty-one passengers. Daily flights are made between London and Paris, when a score of passengers seated in upholstered cabins, decorated with gilded mirrors and lighted with electric candles, are carried 250 miles on a two-and-a-half-hour schedule. The fare is one shilling a mile! In Germany a daily passenger service is maintained between Berlin and Munich—a distance of 350 miles.

A flight was made the other day from Washington to New York in eighty minutes, reducing the time of the best express train to about one-fourth. The average speed throughout the flight was 162 miles an hour, and even this record has been increased five miles an hour in the Middle West. At this rate Chicago is brought to within five hours of New York and San Francisco less than twenty. A revolution in transportation, comparable to that which came with the railroad after the stage coach, seems assured for the near future. The advantages of a passenger-carrying craft which thus overlaps all natural obstacles at such a pace, assure

THE FARMAN AEROBUS, MAKING REGULAR TRIPS BETWEEN LONDON AND PARIS, CARRYING PASSENGERS
(The machine makes the 250-mile voyage in two and a half hours)

its acceptance. An American express company has recently offered to fill all active aircraft with express matter, leaving the rates to be adjusted. The change from a war to a peace basis in aeronautics, is a question merely of readjustment.

Aeroplanes as Mail-Carriers

The first commercial service of the aeroplane to be arranged to schedule was naturally in mail-carrying. The mails are so concentrated a form of freight, and the time element is so vital in their transmission, that the aeroplane seems especially adapted to this service. For several years isolated attempts were made to establish air service, but the aeroplanes were not yet sufficiently dependable. The New York-Washington service, which has now been in uninterrupted operation for ten months, has gained public confidence. In good weather and bad, summer and winter, the mail aeroplanes weave back and forth with the certainty of a railroad schedule. In the first six months 68,892 miles were flown, and the time for carrying the mails advanced from twelve to six hours.

The flying records established in this service are unequalled in the history of aviation. In 100 consecutive flights there were but seven forced landings, and only twice did the machines fail because of weather conditions. A letter posted in Washington as late as 10.50 is delivered in New York by four o'clock. In half a year 7452 pounds of mail was carried between the two cities at a cost of \$75,165 allowing for depreciation and interest, while the revenue was \$60,653—certainly a most reassuring record.

The next extension of the aeroplane mail

From the Manufacturers Aircraft Association

THE AIRPLANE MAIL OVER NEW YORK

(Making daily flights between New York and Washington via Philadelphia)

service will probably be from New York to Chicago. Letters will then be posted at six in the morning in either city and delivered before three in the afternoon. The air mail time across the continent over the Woodrow Wilson Airway will probably be less than forty hours, while secondary routes will extend to large cities north and south. Plans have also been completed for a line from Boston to Atlanta. From the experience of the Washington-New York line it is assured that such routes will make no greater claim upon Government mail subsidies than the average land routes.

The economy of time is especially remarkable in remote regions, notably in Alaska, and in connecting the mainland with islands off the coasts. There are seven mail routes in Alaska, for instance, from 200 to 300 miles in length, where as much as 1000 pounds of mail matter is carried twice weekly by dog sleds. In some cases 100 hours is required to cover a mail route, over which the aeroplane could travel in almost as many minutes, and maintain a more regular service. Many Alaskan problems will doubtless

LUXURY OF MODERN TRAVEL BY AIRPLANE

(This is a side window in the fuselage, or body, of a modern Handley-Page machine)

A PLANE SUITABLE FOR PLEASURE TRIPS, HUNTING, TRAVEL, OR A
HUNDRED USEFUL OCCUPATIONS

be solved by the commercial aeroplane. It is proposed to establish air services between New Bedford and Nantucket, Massachusetts. The distance, 52 miles by air route, which now requires from five to six hours, will be reduced by aero post to about forty minutes. In Europe more than thirty regular mail aeroplane routes are being operated in ten different countries.

The Sportsman's Interest

Flying craft of every form makes an especial appeal to the sportsman. The "speed mania" which has been so important a factor in training horses or building yachts or automobiles will have its influence upon the development of aircraft. A special type of aeroplane will be developed in which every superfluous part will be sacrificed to speed. An international air race across the United States has been definitely planned and prizes offered to be continued annually as a great national aerial derby. Such contests will keep alive the element of novelty in flying, and stimulate by healthful rivalry, the construction of better machines as well as the skill of pilot. The wealthy sportsman already demands an aeroplane of special design. The recent aero show at New York exhibited a number of craft built for such patronage.

The pleasure flight has become a popular attraction. A single company flying its planes at Atlantic City and at Florida resorts last year carried in all 4000 passengers without a single accident. The popularity of those flights and the fearlessness of the passengers promised well for the future. A variety of aircraft are thus employed. The flying boats, for instance, carried fishing

parties far out to sea while many enjoyed the novel sensation of shooting birds upon the wing from a craft which could overtake them in their flight.

Wide Range of Usefulness

Almost daily new and unexpected uses are being discovered for flying craft. The New York police force has established an aviation squad and other cities will doubtless soon follow. The Government is planning to use aeroplanes in connection with the life-saving stations

along the coasts. It has been shown during the war how invaluable is aircraft for scouting. An aircraft which could do a hundred miles an hour or better would bring relief to many otherwise hopeless wrecks. Aeroplanes are employed to herd sheep or cattle.

The forest patrols can cover immense areas by aeroplane on their lookout for forest fires. The State Constabulary in remote sections where long beats must be patrolled find the aeroplane invaluable, enabling one man to do the work of twenty. The list might be lengthened indefinitely. The perfection of the wireless telephone renders all such patrol work vastly more effective. The air pilot thus equipped can talk readily over a range of 250 miles. The

aerial police, for instance, who observes an illicit still below him, or the forest scout who sees the smoke of a fire, can communicate with his headquarters instantaneously.

The Airman as Map-Maker

The observation work of aircraft during the war and the detailed mapping of enemy positions worked a revolution in warfare. Aero photography has been so perfected that a camera operated automatically beneath an aeroplane will take thousands of photographs, completely reproducing a section of land in a few minutes' flight. These photographs are assembled in a "mosaic map" which reproduces every detail of the country. The aero map is invaluable in peace as well as war. An aeroplane flying a hundred, perhaps a hundred and fifty miles an hour, does the work of a surveyor and his chain dragged laboriously over the same territory. Is it realized that only one-seventh of the earth's surface has been scientifically mapped? There are 30,000,000 square miles of little known territory and 8,000,000 square miles wholly unsurveyed.

Progress of the Dirigible

In watching the amazing progress of the aeroplane the public has lost sight of the development, scarcely less significant, of the air ship. Even before the war passenger

WASHINGTON MONUMENT FROM ABOVE
(Illustrating also the use of aircraft in map-making and commercial photography)

Zeppelins flew on regular schedule each carrying a score of tourists. Course dinners were served aloft, and the passengers enjoyed the luxuries of a Pullman car, with the absence, of course, of the smoking room. One of these ships made 224 trips about Berlin in two years, remaining aloft in all for upwards of 10,000 hours, carrying 2286 passengers and covering 15,000 miles.

During the later stages of the war the dirigible was largely discredited because of the greater speed and cheapness of the aeroplane, but the growth of the balloon within its limitations is full of promise. The present speed of the air ship of 77.6 miles an hour is only relatively slower than the aeroplane, while its flying radius has increased to nearly 10,000 miles. It is capable of remaining aloft for eight days, and of rising to an altitude of 23,000 feet, or more than four miles. During the war dirigibles of the warring countries flew more than 2,500,000 miles.

Airships are being built in England to-day 800 feet in length and the 1000-foot ships seem assured. Such craft have a lifting force of upwards of 100 tons, and of this 58 per cent. is available for merchandise or passengers. There is no question in the minds of aviators to-day that the dirigible balloon can cross the Atlantic in fifty hours with little danger of serious accident. Sev-

AN AMERICAN DIRIGIBLE AIRSHIP ON OBSERVATION DUTY AT ROCKAWAY BEACH. OUTSIDE THE ENTRANCE TO NEW YORK HARBOR

eral large airships are now building for a regular transatlantic service. There seems to be no limit to the size and speed of these craft. The largest of them carry cabins 400 feet in length, which will afford all the comforts of modern travel, and the use of helium may even introduce the smoking room.

Air Travel Not Relatively Hazardous

There is a very general misapprehension as to the dangers of air travel. The frequent accidents of the early days of flying and the hazards of the war are still fresh in the public mind. The actual figures, which come as a surprise to the layman, are very reassuring. After the United States entered the war 8600 flyers were trained at home. The students made flights totalling 880,000 hours spent in the air, covering 66,000,000 miles. The official reports show that there was but one death through accident for every 3200 hours spent in the air or for every 240,000 miles flown, and even these accidents were among beginners, while the licensed pilot enjoyed an even greater degree of safety. The motorist who drives one hour a day for 3200 days, or nearly ten years, covering 240,000 miles, probably faces as great a danger.

What Is Demanded in Commercial Aircraft?

Throughout the war the aeroplane remained exclusively a fighting machine, its form being determined by stern necessity. The commercial aeroplane, suited for entirely different conditions, is now rapidly taking shape, both here and abroad. The recent Government specifications for mail-carrying aeroplanes are significant, indicating as they do the requirements of commercial craft. The new peace aeroplanes are designed

to carry three men or more, while their freight capacity ranges from 1500 to 5000 pounds. All such machines must be bi-motored, that is, equipped with at least two motors to assure continuous flight in case of engine troubles. In these aircraft the mechanic must have access to the engines, so that minor repairs may be made in the air without coming to earth. The landing speed of such craft is about thirty miles an hour, which assures increased safety. The speed of all such craft must be from 90 to 100 miles an hour with a possible 110 if required.

In the commercial craft again the comfort of the pilots and passengers is carefully considered, in striking contrast to the discomforts of the war pilot. The seats of the

THE SAFETY OF MODERN AIRPLANE TRAVEL

(A few years ago an aviator's passenger was forbidden to move or even to talk. Recently both American and British have demonstrated the practicability of walking all over planes while in flight, and an American lieutenant actually transferred himself, by means of a rope, from one machine to another thousands of feet in the air. The photograph was taken from another machine)

pilots and passengers are often enclosed with sheets of isinglass, offering the protection of a limousine body. Complete suites are now available electrically heated to assure a comfortable temperature for the passenger at all altitudes. The aeroplane of tomorrow will carry wireless-telephone equipment which serves to keep the air traveler in instant communication with the earth.

Aircraft Production

The great war plants built to supply fighting craft were convenient to the Atlantic ports, but the industry in future will be widely distributed. The demands for aircraft in the East will probably make permanent the great plants already established. The Pacific Coast, however, because of its convenience to the spruce supply, so vital in aircraft manufacture, will doubtless develop great industrial plants. The variety of accessories demanded by the new industry is surprisingly large and varied and their development may equal those which have sprung up about the automobile.

The opening of the world war found aviation largely in its experimental stage.

THE FAMOUS MARTIN BOMBER

(Capable of carrying heavy loads and making long flights)

In the five years which followed, the embattled nations spent \$10,000,000,000 on aeronautics. No expense was spared, no price of human life or labor was considered too high to purchase a valuable improvement. Under this amazing stimulus, unprecedented in all history, the development of a single year equalled that of a decade under peace conditions. To the war, therefore, the world may be said to owe half a century's advance.

To-day the situation is highly complicated. The war production outdistanced the natural demand of peace times. The great factories quickly assembled for quantitative production, and the armies of hundreds of thousands of skilled employees, were distinctly a war product. With time, perhaps a very brief interval, the natural growth of aeronautics throughout the world will again demand the output of these plants and their workers.

In the United States an intelligent effort is being exerted to educate the public by aeronautical exhibitions to the possibilities of commercial aeronautics. The recent national aero exhibition in New York was a revelation to the layman. During the entire month of May an open air exhibition will be held at Atlantic City where a variety of contests will be held. Movements are afoot to establish municipal landing places for cities large and small, and to inaugurate passenger-carrying schedules, at first perhaps under some form of private subsidy. Upon America's readiness to welcome the new order and prepare for it will depend largely our future in the air.

WIRELESS TELEPHONING

BY FRANK B. JEWETT

[*Dr. Jewett is Chief Engineer of the Western Electric Company. He served during the war as a Lieutenant-Colonel in the Signal Corps, and was last month awarded the Distinguished Service Medal "for exceptionally meritorious and conspicuous service in connection with the development of the Radio Telephone and the development and production of other technical apparatus for the Army."*—THE EDITOR]

THE great public interest recently aroused by the various announcements that have been made of radio telephone experiments have, in addition to stimulating the imagination, raised a number of general questions as to the present and prospective state of the art in this field and the place which radio telephony is likely to have in the future communication system of the world. In this article will be given a short explanation of the method of operation of wireless, as contrasted with the familiar wire telephony, and an effort will be made to predict what bearing its development may have upon the approach toward the engineer's goal of absolutely universal service.

There is an undoubted fascination in the thought that some time any person, anywhere, may communicate instantly and intimately by speech with another, whether he is in the air, under the water, or in the desert, and it is hard to imagine any single factor of more importance in the unification of men and of nations. But realizing the immense value of such an achievement is not sufficient; it is still necessary to count the cost and weigh the physical possibilities before a rational basis for prediction can be reached. In the following pages the main features of this analysis are discussed with the idea of making the whole situation clearer to the interested, but non-technical, reader.

In order to transmit intelligence between two points it is first necessary to have a connecting link between them. It is then necessary to transmit along this link changes which may be translated into symbols of ideas. In ordinary conversation the link is the air and the changes are changes of pressure which affect the ear. The distance over which a conversation may be carried on is limited by the effort required to fill the surrounding air with sounds and also by the amount of undesirable or interfering noises or other and simultaneous conversations. It was early realized that both the effort re-

quired to send sound in all directions (rather than in one) and the disturbance due to foreign noises could be decreased by allowing only a small tube of air, extending directly from speaker to listener, to be agitated. The result was the speaking tube, which, for communicating over moderately great distances, is a distinct advance over *broadcast* speaking.

The need for greater distances of transmission was met by the ordinary telephone, in which an electric link is maintained between speaker and listener by means of a wire. The function of this wire is to confine the electrical changes to a narrow channel, and thus not only to avoid loss of energy in undesired directions, but to prevent overlapping of conversations which would result in confusion. The conductors in our familiar system of telephony so well serve their purpose that a million conversations may go on simultaneously within the range of one speaker without the slightest inconvenience to him. Thus by constructing material connections we secure secrecy, direct and selective communication, and a low cost of power for maintaining the connecting link. The one disadvantage of this otherwise ideal system is that we must have a wire, fixed and to some extent accessible for repairs, extending along every foot of the speech highway.

Ether Itself as a Medium

Radio telephony dispenses with the wire, but at a tremendous cost. It is a reversion from the speaking-tube to the broadcast method of communication, which, while simple, direct and cheap, becomes impossible in a large group of talkers, in a noisy room, or if secrecy is desired.

In radio telephony the link between speaker and listener is not a narrow channel, but the same medium which spreads light from a lamp—energy is propagated approximately uniformly in all directions and the whole of the listening world within range is taken into the speaker's confidence.

This light-carrying medium, or ether, whose uses have been extended to include those of connecting human beings for conversation can be disturbed, or varied in its properties, by electric currents. When a strong electric current varies rapidly in a high conductor, or antenna, the ether in its neighborhood varies its states correspondingly and these variations then spread out in all directions at an enormous speed, getting weaker and more attenuated as they extend to greater distances, but still preserving the characteristics impressed upon them at the transmitting antenna. A similar antenna at a distance will have produced in it, by the impinging disturbances, currents similar to, but perhaps a million times smaller than, those used to start the disturbance. Moreover, other receiving antennæ, at an equal distance from the transmitter, will be equally affected.

Modulating Currents

We now have a link, or carrier, for our signals. In the early days of radio telegraphy there was found a device for translating the currents in the receiving antenna into displacements of a telephone diaphragm in such a way that twice the sending current, for example, would produce twice the displacement in the telephone. In order then to telephone by means of this carrier it is only necessary to make the strength of the rapidly varying current in the sending antenna vary in the same way as does the air pressure in front of the speaker's mouth—the telephone diaphragm at the receiving station will then move correspondingly and will reproduce speech.

Now in wire telephony this *modulating* of an electric current, in accordance with speech, is not difficult because the current at the sending end is not very much larger than that small current required at the receiving end to operate the telephone receiver. It therefore does not represent a great amount of energy and the familiar carbon microphone type of transmitter is sufficient. But in radio telephony the power required at the sending end may be millions of times larger and cannot be controlled directly in this way.

Here was a difficulty which, for practical purposes, remained unsurmounted until a few years ago when there was found and developed a device, called the audion, for magnifying and faithfully reproducing the very small currents which may be modulated by a telephone transmitter. The develop-

ment of this device into an efficient and powerful instrument has undoubtedly made radio telephony practical.

Speaking Across the Atlantic (1915)

The first attempt to use this method of modulating large currents for very long-distance radio telephone communication was made in 1914, the attempt resulting, in the summer of 1915, in successful radio transmission of speech from the Arlington antenna at Washington, D. C., to Paris, Darien, San Francisco and Honolulu. These experiments were carried on by the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. and the Western Electric Company through the courtesy of the United States Navy officers, who extended the use of their radio stations, and of French Government officials through whom was obtained permission to use the Eiffel Tower Station for a short time each day. These experiments were given some publicity at the time (September and October, 1915) and for the first time bridged the Atlantic with speech.

Communication Between Airplanes in Flight

During the next year considerable development work was done and at the time of the entry of this country into the war the Western Electric Company, at least, and probably other investigators also, had made large advances in the art of radio telephony. At this time attention was directed toward the possibility of holding communication by speech with and between airplanes in flight. This work proceeded so rapidly that when, in May, 1917, the Chief Signal Officer of the Army requested the Western Electric Company to attempt the solution of the problem, an experimental airplane telephone set was in operation in their laboratories and was soon after installed on an airplane at Langley Field. During the summer strikingly successful two-way telephone communication was established between planes and from plane to ground and the production of practical sets for this purpose was started. Recently a number of demonstrations of this type of apparatus, usually taking the form of the control of airplane evolutions from the ground, have been reported and, because of their rather spectacular nature, have given rise to very natural enthusiasm and bursts of prophecy in the newspapers. Other even more useful, if less spectacular fields of application of radio telephony in war have been naval, for example in the equipment of the submarine-chaser fleets with direct telephone

facilities for intercommunicating between vessels by speech.

Will Public Use Exhaust the Ether

These uses of radio telephony, and the established use of radio telegraphy and other forms of transmission through the ether, such as in direction finding and location of ships and airplanes, warnings, news broadcasting, time and weather signals, etc., will perhaps suggest to the reader, in view of the universal nature of ether transmission already explained, that government and international demands upon the ether may exhaust its possibilities, leaving no ranges for private use. This condition may indeed become less serious in the near future because of recent work leading to a more economical use of the ether, but congestion is certain to occur as the traffic increases. This is due primarily to the fact that the only practical way known at present for selecting a given station and avoiding interference with other stations is by *tuning* the two stations together, exactly as two tuning forks are made responsive to one another by properly proportioning them to have the same rate of vibration. It is obvious that the range of frequencies over which resonant systems of this kind can operate would soon be exhausted, since different pairs must be set at a sufficiently large frequency difference to avoid overlapping.

Susceptible to Interference

We are now in position to form an opinion as to the future of this new art in relation to the older one of wire telephony.

All radio communication consists in sending out from the transmitting station a large amount of energy in the form of electro-magnetic waves and receiving a very small amount of this energy on the wires of the receiving station. That the amount of energy available at the receiving station is but a minute fraction of the energy which starts from the transmitting station can be appreciated when it is realized that the electro-magnetic waves radiate from the transmitting station in all directions and that only that part of the initial energy which can be picked up by the wires of the receiving station is available there. The minuteness of this received energy renders all radio communication very susceptible to interference from natural electrical disturbances and from other radio stations.

In radio telephony the problem is still

further complicated by the fact that the continuous wave train which would serve as the basis for a radio telegraph channel is required to perform the additional task of acting as the carrier for the voice waves. Since all radio communication employs the same common conductor and since freedom from interference between messages is dependent solely upon the ability to use a different range of frequencies for each message, this added condition, which greatly broadens the band of frequencies required for a radio telephone message, as distinguished from a radio telegraph message, very greatly limits the number of non-interfering conversations to be sent or received from a given area.

So limited is the number of non-interfering radio telephone messages from a given area that in the present state of the art from this cause alone it would be possible to handle only a small fraction of the normal telephone business of a city like New York.

Messages Not Secret

More important even than interference from other radio stations are the questions of natural interference and non-secrecy. Because of the fact that all radio communication employs the same medium of transmission it is, of necessity, essentially non-secret and anyone possessed of the requisite apparatus can easily receive the messages from any desired station. This is particularly true of radio telephony, where even that form of secrecy made possible by the use of codes is difficult to obtain. Further, the broad band of frequencies required for speech range makes it easy to tune in the receiving station.

In the matter of natural disturbances, and without attempting to judge of the value of the recent static eliminators which have been announced, it is sufficient to say that the so-called static disturbances have thus far proved the most serious bar to reliability in all radio communication and that great difficulties must be overcome under certain conditions if anything like the continuous service called for in an operating telephone plant is to be obtained.

How Far Can Radio Service Be Extended?

From a physical standpoint the state of the radio telephone art since 1915 has been one in which it was possible under certain conditions and at certain times to telephone between two ordinary telephone instruments located at widely distant points on the earth's surface and to do this either wholly by radio

or by a combination of any number of wires and radio links. Prior to the middle of 1917 this communication would have been limited to telephone stations located either on land or sea. Thanks to the developments of airplane radio, however, it is now possible to include telephone stations located above the earth's surface in the communication area.

While, as stated, it has for some time been possible to hold radio telephone conversations between very distant points, it has not been and is not now possible to give a widely extended and reliable general radio telephone service. As matters stand, what, then, is the probable future of radio telephony and to what extent, if at all, is it likely to supersede wire telephony? At a time when epoch-making developments in physical and electrical science are succeeding one another in rapid succession it is dangerous to prophesy what can and what cannot be accomplished in the future, but it seems clear that, except for developments so radical as to alter completely the scheme of radio communication as we know it to-day, there will probably be a few clearly defined uses for radio telephony.

For certain classes of telephonic communication radio telephony at present offers the sole prospect of realization. These classes are between ships at sea, from ships to shore, to and between airplanes and between points on land which are separated by regions, whether water or land, across which it is impossible or impracticable to erect and maintain telephone circuits. As indicated above, all of these classes of service could probably, if desired, be made a part of the general wire telephone system. All of these fields of utility are subject to the limitations of interference from natural and artificial causes, which were noted above, and for this

reason there is considerable uncertainty as to how reliable the service can be made. Further, some or all of these fields are in the region where military requirements are of the utmost importance and it is not clear as yet how far these requirements will re-act in the direction of limiting the use of radio telephony for purely commercial purposes.

To Supplement Wire Service

In view of all the data now available, a reasonable interpretation of the future of commercial radio telephony would seem to be one in which its use was confined solely to those services where telephonic communication was desired and where such service could not be given by ordinary telephonic means. Certain it is that both natural and governmental limitations will act to restrict the indiscriminate use of radio telephony on a large scale between land stations. Even if there were no military requirements involved the needs of prospective services at sea and in the air are sufficient to utilize all the non-interfering channels now available for radio telephone communication.

The existing fundamental conditions dispose at once of the idea of everybody having his own small radio telephone plant and calling at will anyone with whom he or she might desire to talk.

For radio telephony, as indeed for all forms of radio communication outside the realm of war, there seems to be little doubt that the developments of the future will be in the direction of apparatus and methods to extend and supplement the existing wire service. There is no present indication of any radio developments which will supplant or even curtail the use of wires for telephone and telegraph operation.

MENTAL ENGINEERING DURING THE WAR

BY RAYMOND DODGE

[While it is generally known that the chemical and physical laboratories of the universities and colleges rendered the Government a vast and varied service during the War period, it is not so well known that the professors of psychology were also exceedingly active and useful. Among the men who were prominent in the Psychology Committee of the National Research Council, Professor Raymond Dodge, of Wesleyan University, Middletown, Conn., is particularly well qualified to speak of the various activities of the committee. He was a member of the Psychology Committee from its beginning and a chairman of several of its subcommittees; one of the original members of the Committee on the Classification of Personnel in the Army; Psychologist member of the Committee on Industrial Fatigue; Consulting Psychologist of the Chemical Warfare Service, and the Training Section of the Bureau of Navigation; and later commissioned Lieutenant U. S. N. R. F., assigned to scientific duty. This article by Professor Dodge will give some indication of the range of the work undertaken for war purposes in the field that has been happily characterized as that of "Mental Engineering."—THE EDITOR]

IN an address at the Personnel Officers' School at Camp Meigs less than a year ago, Major-General Hutchinson, C. B. D. S. O., Director of Organization of the British Army, spoke very frankly of the serious mistake of Great Britain in recruiting her skilled labor indiscriminately into fighting units. They made good soldiers, but the plan seriously interfered with the development of technical units and the "output of many vital things."

No one has computed the cost of bringing back those skilled men from the Western Front after they had been trained as soldiers, or of having the vital things made elsewhere that might have been made at home. If it had not been for the great American reservoir of skilled labor it would probably have cost the war. That the United States did not make a similar, and with the exhaustion of the reservoir, a disastrous mistake in the military distribution of our skilled labor is due primarily to the Committee on the Classification of Personnel in the Army.

The work of this committee is commonly regarded as one of the great contributions of civilians to the efficiency of the Army. It is probably the greatest single piece of mental engineering that has ever been attempted in this country. But it is by no means the only task of the war that was successfully met by an application of the principles of the science of human behavior to war conditions.

Mental engineering as an organized war service of American psychologists began at an informal meeting of experimentalists in the spring of 1917. They asked themselves

the universal question, what they could do to help win the war. The answer to that question as it finally evolved, has come to be more than a matter of historic interest, more than a war measure, more than practical applications of a single science. It is a permanent contribution to the organization and utilization of human forces. It inevitably projects itself into the great reconstruction, and supplies at once a prophecy and an obligation. This is the reason that the editor of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS has invited me to talk about it.

Mobilizing Knowledge

The Committee of the American Psychological Association that was formed for military service had no illusions of military wisdom. We were mere students; but we were students of human behavior. We realized better than most of those in the service that, if we were to win in the life-and-death struggle with the most highly organized military nation in the world, we must mobilize for military purposes not only our material resources, our finances, coal, grain, steel, and human bodies, but also each bit of knowledge, experience and skill that was needed by our army.

In order to get a comprehensive view of the scope of the psychologists' plans for war service let me give *seriatim* a list of the various sub-committees and their chairmen:

1. Psychological Literature relating to military affairs. Madison Bentley (University of Illinois).

2. Psychological examination of recruits. Robert M. Yerkes (University of Minnesota).
3. Psychological problems of aviation. Harold E. Burt (Harvard); Geo. M. Stratton (California); E. L. Thorndike (Teachers' College, Columbia).
4. Selection of men for tasks requiring special aptitude. Edward L. Thorndike (Teachers' College, Columbia).
5. Recreation in the Army and Navy. George A. Coe (Union Theological Seminary).
6. Problems of vision that have military significance. Raymond Dodge (Wesleyan University).
7. Pedagogical and psychological problems of military training and discipline. Chas. H. Judd (School of Education), University of Chicago; William C. Bagley (Teachers' College, Columbia).
8. Psychological problems of incapacity. Shepherd Ivory Franz (Government Hospital for the Insane).
9. Problems of emotional characteristic. Robert S. Woodworth (Columbia University).
10. Propaganda behind the German Lines. James R. Angell (University of Chicago).
11. Acoustic problems in relation to military service. Carl E. Seashore (University of Iowa).
12. Tests of deception. John F. Shepard (University of Michigan).
13. Adaptation of instruction in psychology to military educational need. Raymond Dodge (Wesleyan University).
14. Methods of selecting and training observers for the Division of Military Intelligence. John B. Watson (Johns Hopkins University); Madison Bentley (University of Illinois).
15. Problems of the gas mask for the Chemical Warfare Service. Raymond Dodge (Wesleyan); John W. Baird (Clark University); Knight Dunlap (Johns Hopkins).
16. Adaptation of the army intelligence tests for the S. A. T. C. Louis M. Terman (Leland Stanford University).

Classification of Personnel

We have already mentioned the Committee on the Classification of Personnel in the Army. It was organized under Sub-Committee No. 4, with Walter Dill Scott as director and W. V. Bingham as secretary, both of the Carnegie Institute of Technology. It was particularly fortunate in its problems, in its leaders, and in its contacts with broad-minded officers and officials of the War Department. The original task for which it was called was to supply a uniform rating scale for grading students in the Officers' Training Camps. A success from the start, this scale rapidly became the official means of expressing the military fitness of all army officers. But almost immediately the committee discovered the vital need of its broader and vastly more difficult task, namely, the discovery and distribution

of the specially skilled men that a modern army organization needs.

Rounding up Motor-Truck Drivers

Motor-truck drivers, for example, were a vital necessity for the Army Supply Service. The demand greatly exceeded the supply and it was essential that every drafted man who could drive a truck should be found and assigned to duty at the earliest practicable moment. Much the same was true of acetylene gas workers, cooks, divers, electricians, foresters, gunsmiths, horseshoers, interpreters, locomotive engineers, mechanics, pigeon experts, radio operators, stenographers, tin-smiths, wagoners and hundreds of other skilled workers.

The first step in solving this gigantic personnel problem was to devise an indexing system that would classify and locate every man who had any kind of special skill that the Army might need. With the invaluable coöperation of expert employment managers this was accomplished by means of an enormous card catalogue. Each of the four million cards contained all the necessary personnel data for one soldier. On it were entered from personal interview the details of his occupational history, including the names of firms worked for, his wages, and length of service. It stated his education, linguistic ability, previous military experience, personal history, the results of medical, mental, and trade tests; and it provided spaces for recording his successive military assignments.

By a system of colored celluloid flags sticking up above the card at special places, these files showed at a glance who were available in each cantonment for motor-truck drivers as well as for forty-six other kinds of skill that were most in demand. Over 500 other kinds of special occupational skill could be located almost as quickly.

Making Civilian Trades Available in the Army

But this was only the beginning. Horseshoer, in the modern army, does not always mean a shoer of animals. If the unit is a motor unit the "horseshoer" must be able to repair motor trucks. There are about twenty distinct kinds of "electrician." But a "master signalman electrician" in the Army may have nothing at all to do with electricity. In a carrier-pigeon company he is in charge of training pigeons and is responsible for their care and condition, in an aero squadron he must be an airplane mechanic.

These are extreme cases, but military duties practically never exactly duplicate civilian trades. So it became necessary to analyze the various army tasks and to determine the civilian occupations that most directly corresponded. A parallel necessity was to list the exact specifications of each civilian trade that was catalogued, so that personnel officers and requisitioning officers could speak the same language. These trade specifications fill a book of over 230 pages, and cover 565 civilian occupations.

Applying Trade Tests

To the Washington office of the Committee on the Classification of Personnel fell the task of assigning men with special skill to meet the requisitions. It supplied the skilled men that were called for by General Pershing, as well as those needed by the growing army at home. Almost a million men were selected in this way for technical duty.

Early experience showed that a soldier's own estimate of his own skill could not be trusted, even when he had the best intentions. To meet this difficulty the Committee developed a series of trade tests. These consisted of verbal questions; the identification of technical drawings, tools, and jobs; the solution of trade problems, and the construction of objects from working drawings. These tests standardized for the first time in America the classification of novices, apprentices, journeymen, and experts in the most important trades. The scientific care with which these trade tests were prepared may be indicated by the fact that each test before it was adopted passed through a process of development, trial, and evaluation consisting of twelve distinct stages.

The Committee on the Classification of Personnel in the Army was organized by civilians under the Adjutant General. It is understandable that before the war closed the whole organization was taken over by the General Staff and made a permanent part of the Army.

The value of the work of this committee is not confined to war. The scientific placement of personnel is one of the major social and industrial problems. Reliable trade tests are in constant demand by employers, both private and public. It is not impossible that the principles that underlie the table of trade specifications may be of even greater social importance. In a recent address Colonel W. V. Bingham suggested a related educational task. He pointed out the boon it

would be to both teachers and students if there were available for consultation and comparison a careful analysis of just what kind of special skill each trade and profession demanded, and of exactly what each phase of the educational program was expected to develop.

Testing the Intelligence of Recruits

The work of the Committee on the Psychological Examination of Recruits was another of the notable mental engineering achievements of the war. Its original purpose was to help to eliminate from the Army at the earliest possible moment those recruits whose defective intelligence would make them a menace to the military organization. But the military value of an early and reliable estimate of the general intelligence of each recruit proved enormously greater than had been anticipated. Of the total of about two million men who were psychologically examined, 3 per cent. were rated below the mental age of ten years. It is probable that none of these men were worth to the Army what it cost to train them. One-half of 1 per cent. were so defective as to be recommended for discharge. Three-fifths of 1 per cent. were recommended for development battalions and about the same number for limited service in tasks that required a minimum of mental activity.

But in the enormous task of building up an efficient army organization it proved important to discover at the earliest opportunity those recruits who could learn the new duties that were required of them as soldiers in the shortest time. To train the quick learners and the slow learners together in the same companies was an intolerably wasteful process. Moreover, the army needed an enormous number of men with superior intelligence for officers. While high general intelligence did not guarantee good officer material it was a conspicuous fact that good officers regularly ranked high in the intelligence tests. In the selection of men for officer training camps mental tests were obviously preferable to the opportunity of influential friends. They proved greatly superior to personal impressions.

Necessity of a Scientific Basis

For a variety of reasons mental testing has aroused an unusually widespread popular interest. It was initiated and first developed in France as a scientific instrument for educators. It has become an important

adjunct to the juvenile court, and bids fair to become a valuable instrument for social research, and a practicable device for solving a considerable number of perplexing educational and industrial problems.

For example, the various trades represented in the draft made rather insistent demands not only on physical strength and endurance but also on that ability to meet new and complex situations which we call general intelligence. We commonly deplore spoiling a first-class mechanic to make a poor executive. Apparently the scientific measurement of general intelligence will go a long way in estimating whether a person has the general intelligence that is required for average success in any given trade or profession.

But it is easily possible to expect too much of mental tests. Prophecy of the future is vastly more difficult than a record of actual developments even in such relatively simple matters as the weather. The only final indicator of the inability of a person to succeed in a profession is failure; and even a failure may be the one factor in the complex conditions of the mental life that is necessary for success. In view of the suddenly developed popular interest in mental tests, it is necessary to point out that no so-called mental test is of the least scientific value unless it rests on a scientific analysis of the process to be tested, and unless it has been thoroughly systematized and statistically evaluated. The preparation of the army tests of general intelligence was a notable technical achievement of far-reaching importance.

Other Tasks of Mental Engineering

We have sketched in some detail the two most important contributions of psychology to the military organization; but if neither of these great services had been realized the other war activities of the Psychology Committee of the National Research Council would have been properly regarded as a substantial military service. We have space only to enumerate a partial list of the other mental engineering tasks that were accepted and satisfactorily consummated by American psychologists in military service.

They cooperated with the Air Service by studying the effect of oxygen-lack on the mental processes, and by devising test indicators of the ability to resist the effects of high altitudes; by studying the conditions of effective aerial observation, and by elaborating test indications of good observers; by study-

ing the coordinations of aerial combat and by devising an adequate test and training instrument; by analyzing the general conditions of efficient flying, and developing presumptive indications of the ability to become a satisfactory flier with normal training.

They cooperated with the Army morale service in devising and carrying out under General Munson a program that was wonderfully successful in putting recruits into harmony with their training-camp environment. This program also helped to raise the morale of the civil population.

They cooperated with the Chemical Warfare Service by a systematic investigation of the sources of discomfort in wearing gas masks, and by suggestions for eliminating them; by discovering the application of the law of adaptation to the wearing of gas masks, and by suggestions for the development of maximum tolerance in minimum time; by comparing the relative tenability of various types of masks.

They cooperated and are still cooperating with the various rehabilitation agencies by a study of the processes of re-education; by developing methods for re-educating lost neuromuscular coordinations, and the will to succeed; by active participation in the laborious and exacting re-education program.

They cooperated with the Navy by analyzing the mental factors that were involved in a considerable number of naval tasks; and by devising tests for the selection of recruits who could be trained for the several tasks in minimum time; as well as by devising a number of useful training instruments. The most productive analyses were those of gun-pointing, fire-control plotting, anti-submarine listening, and the lookout service.

Selecting Gun-Pointers

Let me illustrate this kind of war work by a single concrete instance in which the details are not military secrets. The first problem that was referred to the sub-committee on vision was the question whether we had any way of selecting those Naval recruits who could be trained most quickly as gun-pointers for the armed merchant ships.

The first step was to learn exactly what a gun-pointer had to do. The next was to reduce the more or less complicated processes of gun-pointing to their simplest neuromuscular terms. It was a definite problem for analysis; and, because of the perfect systematization and high specialization of Naval tasks it was relatively simple. The third

step was to adapt approved scientific technics to the study of this particular complex of neuro-muscular processes. For this purpose an instrument was devised that would show all the following facts on a single record line: 1, the time that it took a sailor to start his gun-pointing reaction after the target at which he was aiming started to move; 2, the accuracy with which he was able to "keep on" the moving target; 3, the time that it took him to respond to a change in the direction of motion of the target; 4, the ability to press the firing key when he was on; 5, the effect of firing on his pointing.

All these data were so simplified that they could be accurately estimated from simple measurements of a single line without elaborate computations. A succession of records indicated the probable quickness with which the sailor would learn the new coördinations. The final step was to test the probable military value of our instrument and its records by performances of expert and inexpert gun-pointers.

The first trials proved the usefulness of the device. It clearly differentiated between the qualified gun-pointers, the partially trained, and the untrained. It picked a number of promising novices and indicated the faults of some who were slow to improve. Predictions based on the records were uniformly corroborated by subsequent experience. Somewhat later it was possible to construct a robust training instrument along similar lines that was rather enthusiastically reported on by various Naval officers, and was widely reproduced by the Navy for use in the Naval Training Stations.

At a time when every available gun was needed for service afloat, the utility of our relatively simple and inexpensive training instrument that closely reproduced the coördinations of actual service needs no emphasis.

Value of Group Coöperation

The list of incompleting services that were cut short of full fruition by the signing of the armistice would be too long to even mention here, though it would include some of the more difficult and important enterprises of psychological service.

The most important facts that appeared in the war work of the psychologists were, first, the value of the applications of the principles of psychology to concrete military problems; and, second, the importance of coöperation in practical scientific service. To

the military tasks the psychologists brought their appreciation of the distinctly human and mental aspects of the problems that were involved, their training in the technic of mental analysis, their laboratory methods for estimating human reactions, and their ingenuity in developing new instruments for special purposes.

But in no case was the necessary skill and practical experience in the possession of any one person. The best work of the psychologists was the product of group coöperation for which the far-sighted guidance of the chairman, Major R. M. Yerkes and his colleagues of the National Research Council was an important condition. Success in our undertakings would have been impossible without the will to coöperate with each other, with representatives of the other sciences, with employment managers, industrial and educational experts, as well as with officers of the Army and Navy. While it was not always easy to convince responsible persons that we could help, when they were once convinced the only limit to our service was the limit of human endurance. At the end of the war, avenues were opening for genuine coöperation in scientific matters between the various scientific bodies of the Allies.

At the conclusion of our war work two real dangers confront us, one military and the other social. The military danger is that with the passing of the military crisis we shall stop our study of the mental factors in war. If some other country with more permanent policies should take up the mental analyses where we have left them, and develop a real military psychology, they would have a military instrument vastly more effective than 42-cm. guns.

But even if the efforts of our statesmen are successful and war is forever abolished, the relative importance of psychological offensives will not be diminished. On the contrary, when mental weapons become the only legitimate means for securing national ends they will become increasingly more important. Whether the reconstruction is military or non-military, the need of coöperative studies of vital mental problems and of coöperative efforts at scientific mental engineering will certainly not be less important for society than the scientific and engineering problems that concern material things. In view of these future needs, our war-time activities, however interesting, and however successful they may have been, seem relatively trivial and insignificant.

IN THE HEART OF A BROWN PELICAN COLONY—SHOWING ADULTS AND YOUNG (PASS A'LUTRE, LOUISIANA)

THE CASE OF THE BROWN PELICAN

BY T. GILBERT PEARSON

(Secretary, National Association of Audubon Societies)

THOSE whose interest it is to watch closely State and federal legislation affecting the fortunes of our wild bird life are quite familiar with the sudden outbursts which every now and then take place against some bird hitherto unsuspected of any special wrong doing. Usually relief is sought at the hands of the legislative bodies, and these assemblies are asked to remove the iniquitous laws that unwisely protect the feathered pests.

Thus arose the momentous fight in New Jersey to take protection from the robin, because it was supposed to be destroying the cherry crop. Not long ago it was declared that in Arkansas and Texas wild ducks were creating vast ruin in the rice fields and the offending wild fowl should therefore be destroyed. Two years ago a great cry arose in Arizona that the gentle mourning dove was eating all the alfalfa, and about the same time the California legislature was thrown into turmoil by the efforts of certain well-meaning members who wanted to remove protective laws from the meadow lark on the absurd charge that these birds were eating grapes.

The Audubon Societies or their friends are able usually to produce sufficient evidence in the bird's behalf to save it from legislative condemnation. Now and then some such measure becomes a law, however, and much mischief is wrought before its repeal can be secured. For example, on April

30, 1917, the legislature of Alaska declared a bounty of fifty cents on the head, or in reality the feet, of every American eagle killed within its boundaries and in the nineteen months following the territory actually paid for the killing of 5100 of these emblems of our national independence.

CHARGED WITH THE DESTRUCTION OF FOOD FISH

A year ago one of the most vicious attacks ever made against the reputation of a supposed well-behaved bird broke out at various points along the Gulf Coast of the United States. The object against which the vials of wrath were so furiously poured out was the brown pelican. It was declared by some high officials of Texas, and echoed in the press, that these birds were found along the coast in countless thousands and "every day they consume more food fish than the people of Texas get in a year." The fish catch in Texas has fallen off much in the past three seasons, and the pelican was charged with being responsible for the shortage.

It was alleged that the pelican population of Florida (estimated at one million) destroyed \$950,000 worth of food fish every day. Certain Florida papers took up the fight and denounced the Government for having created bird reservations along the coast where pelicans could breed in safety. So much excitement was developed in that State that on the night of May 10, 1918,

YOUNG BROWN PELICANS ABOUT TO TAKE A PLUNGE

some man landed on Pelican Island, a government bird reservation in Indian River, and clubbed to death 400 young pelicans in their nests.

THE GOVERNMENT INVESTIGATES

Florida's supposed grievance was laid before the Federal Food Administration at Washington. Other protests poured into the capitol, all to the same effect, that if we were going to have enough food in this country to win the war these birds must be exterminated. "Kill the pelican or the Kaiser will get you," was the battle cry of these campaigners.

There came a time when the gentlemen of the Food Administration felt that they must give some attention to these ever-increasing complaints, but before issuing an edict that the pelican must die it was decided to investigate the correctness of the reports. The writer was thereupon asked to visit the Gulf Coast and after personal study report on these three points: First, how many brown pelicans were living along the coast; second, determine the character of their food; and third, recommend to the Federal Food Administration what should be done.

The State authorities having to do with conservation matters in Texas, Louisiana, and Florida, generously agreed in each case to supply a vessel, crew and provisions for cruising its waters. June was selected for this work because then the pelicans would be assembled on their several breeding islands. Certain precautionary measures were taken to insure unquestioned accept-

ance of the report when made. Each pelican colony was visited with an official representative of the State in whose waters the colony was situated, and all counts and estimates of birds were made with the coöperation of these agents.

Pelicans both old and young readily regurgitate their food when alarmed by the approach of an intruder. This food was in all cases collected in the presence of, and often with the help of, these state officers. While they looked on, the pelican food thus taken was placed in tanks of formalin and shipped for identification to the United States Bureau of Fisheries at Washington.

NUMBERS OF BIRDS HAD BEEN EXAGGERATED

As these birds usually make their rude nests on the ground on barren islands it was easy to determine closely the numbers of breeding birds by counting their nests. In all cases 30 per cent. was added to this count to cover the non-breeding birds, viz., the young of the year before, old bachelors, and unmated females. Here is what was found as to numbers: Of the seventeen islands on the Texas coast said to contain colonies of pelicans, we were able to visit all but one. A group was found breeding on only one of these and here we found eighteen eggs and thirty-two young. In a cruise of about eighty miles north from Rockford, through the heart of the pelican country, not over one hundred pelicans were seen. However, to be generous, we credited Texas with 5000 birds, and went elsewhere. Every foot of the Louisiana coast was cruised

- A COMPANY OF YOUNG BROWN PELICANS GATHERED AS IF FOR MUTUAL PROTECTION

and the colonies all visited. Fifty thousand we recorded for that State.

On the west coast of Florida the birds build their nests in the low mangrove bushes of small keys, but it was not difficult even here to arrive at an estimate of their numbers, on which my host, the Shell Fish Commissioner, and I could readily agree. We found in this territory about 8000 pelicans, instead of the reported one million. In Mississippi and Alabama pelicans do not breed, but a few are always found feeding about the larger bays and harbors. It is the writer's opinion that in June, 1918, the brown pelican population along that fourteen-hundred mile strip of coast from Mexico to Key West did not exceed 65,000 adult birds.

LIVE ON FISH NOT USED FOR HUMAN FOOD

Regarding the food of the pelican at this season Dr. Hugh M. Smith, Chief of the United States Fish Commission, reported that every specimen sent him that was collected between Rockford, Texas, and Tampa, Florida, was the Gulf menhaden, a fish never used for human consumption. Neither the writer nor the State's representatives with

me could find one single food fish. In south Florida menhaden were not so plentiful as farther west and this may account for the fact that the fish collected were of seven varieties, viz., common mullet, pigfish, Gulf menhaden, pinfish, thread herring, top minnow, and crevalle.

Of the 3428 specimens taken in Florida waters only twenty-seven individual fish were of a kind ever sold in the markets for food, and not a single specimen of the highly prized varieties, such as trout, mackerel, or pompano, could be discovered in the possession of any pelican.

These large, grotesque-looking birds afford winter tourists much interest as they flop about the docks or scramble for fishheads thrown overboard, and many postcards bearing pictures of pelicans are sent north every year. It is quite possible that the profits made on pelican postcards at Florida newsstands exceed in value the total quantity of food fish captured by the pelicans in the waters along its charming coast.

The Federal Food Administration has felt constrained to say that the charge against the brown pelican has been disproven.

What bird will next be indicted?



AMERICANIZATION AND IMMIGRATION

BY ROBERT DE C. WARD

THE war has taught us a lesson which many years of peace failed to teach. It has shown that, in many parts of our country, our "melting pot," of which we talk so much, does not melt; that millions of our foreign-born are in no way assimilated, and, as the late Gen. Francis A. Walker expressed it, overload our national digestion.

That is, perhaps, the misfortune rather than the fault of our foreign population. The blame is partly, but not altogether, our own. We have come to realize that, in spite of the splendid record which our soldiers and sailors of foreign birth or parentage made in the war there is still a real and very important task of assimilation remaining to be done. The Americanization campaign deserves and should receive hearty support. It requires much time, and vast sums of money, and the services of all who love their country and their fellow-men.

Four Steps to Naturalization

The complete Americanization program involves more than many of those who are at present engaged in it yet realize. There are four phases of it: First comes education; second, assimilation; third, Americanization; and fourth, naturalization. These different steps are here separated, for the sake of making the problem clear, although all four phases are naturally and inevitably closely related. The dominant notes in the Americanization campaign at present are education and naturalization, the latter immediately following the former. Far too little attention is paid to the logical sequence of the four stages above named, every one of which is essential to the complete accomplishment of our purpose.

The first step is obviously education. We have suddenly become keenly alive to the danger of having large numbers of aliens among us who cannot speak or read our language, and we realize that the first step must be to give them all a knowledge of English. But it is most important to remember that a common language alone cannot

immediately and completely wipe out all discordant racial differences. We have relied far too much on our public schools to accomplish Americanization for us. We have expected too much of flag exercises and of compositions on George Washington. What is necessarily in many cases often a rather thin veneer of Americanization has been generally thought to be sufficient. The war has shown us that we have a far greater responsibility in this matter than simply to see that our alien population goes to school. A common language is, indeed, an implement of Americanization, but it is only one implement. It by no means completes the structure.

The importation, for some decades past, of several hundred thousand non-English-speaking alien illiterates annually has tremendously increased and complicated the task of educating the millions of native-born American illiterates, of whose presence in the United States many of us have lately for the first time become aware. It surely does not decrease our national burden of illiteracy when millions of alien illiterates are added to millions of native-born illiterates.

The second step is assimilation. This, as the term is here employed, means the adaptation of our alien population to the general standards of living which we designate as American—standards of cleanliness; of hygiene; of public order and safety, and the like. Assimilation is not Americanization, although it is a long step in that direction.

The third stage is Americanization. While assimilation has to do largely with the physical, Americanization is chiefly concerned with the mental and spiritual. It is, of course, true that Americanization to some extent begins at the very beginning, with education, and continues throughout the process of assimilation. But what is here meant by Americanization is the acquirement of such an understanding of our history, our institutions, our government and our ideals as will give all of our foreign-born so deep an appreciation of and love for

our country that they will naturally and inevitably wish to become its citizens.

Both assimilation and Americanization need long, close, patient and unselfish personal contact on the part of intelligent and sympathetic Americans with the foreigners whom it is sought to amalgamate into our body politic. This is no "cheap" and "easy" thing. Neither lectures on American statesmen, nor talks on municipal sanitation, can in any conceivable way replace what personal contact alone can give. As Miss Frances A. Kellor recently pointed out in the *Yale Review*: "We face the indisputable fact that almost without exception every foreign-born male adult is a member of some racial organization which takes precedence in his mind over every other form of association of which he is a significant part."

The Final Stage—Naturalization

Thus we come naturally to the fourth, and final, stage in the process of complete Americanization, that of naturalization. And right here it is important to point out that naturalization is no infallible remedy for the evils of non-assimilation. Normal naturalization, which is the result of an alien's own natural desire to become a full-fledged American citizen, is a sane and healthy process. It is good evidence of his intention to become thoroughly assimilated. But forced, wholesale, artificially stimulated naturalization is undesirable. It does not tend to produce 100 per cent. Americans. It may put on the veneer, but by no means necessarily involves that deep and lasting appreciation of our institutions which is vital in our democracy. It too often results in a situation which is already far too common in this country, in which the "magic" expected of a naturalization court does not work.

When aliens do not of themselves ask for naturalization, they are not very likely to be desirable citizens. They may go through the motions without changing their racial prejudices, and without acquiring either our ideas or our ideals. To quote the words of another, "When you persuade a man to join a club he is very likely not to pay his dues in a year or two, and if you persuade him to join our national society when he does not care much about it, the effect is likely to be similar." The Deputy Commissioner of Naturalization has recently called attention to the fact that there are at present several millions of foreign-born in this country who have not become naturalized.

Colonel Roosevelt's "Polyglot Boarding House"

Far better that the remaining unnaturalized millions should remain such than to force them through the naturalization courts before they are thoroughly Americanized. The movement for immediate and wholesale naturalization of our alien population is ill-advised, even dangerous, unless it involves, as a preliminary, complete and honest Americanization. Common citizenship unless it be of the right kind produces the appearance but not the condition of unity. Theodore Roosevelt's last public words expressed his views on this matter in his characteristically forceful language:

We have room for but one language here, and that is the English language, for we intend to see that the crucible turns our people out as Americans, of American nationality, and not as dwellers in a polyglot boarding house; and we have room for but one soul loyalty, and that is loyalty to the American people.

No American wants any part of the United States, no matter how small a section of it, to be a "polyglot boarding house." Yet that expression perfectly describes the situation which exists to-day in many places.

Why Immigration Should Be Restricted

There is one further step which is an absolutely essential part of the Americanization campaign. The problem is difficult enough, at best, to require all the energy, and time, and money that can be given to it. But no thorough Americanization can possibly be accomplished unless the numbers of incoming alien immigrants are kept within reasonable limits. It is an absolutely impossible task properly to (1) educate, (2) assimilate, (3) Americanize and (4) naturalize our foreign-born population if millions forever keep pouring in. It is exactly like trying to keep a leaking boat bailed out without stopping the leak. To expect any reasonable success in this campaign, immigration must be restricted.

The balance of expert opinion on the question of our probable immigration in the years immediately ahead is that, as soon as ocean transportation is again fully established, there will be a far larger immigration than ever before. It is the opinion of American diplomatic and consular officers in Europe, and of competent correspondents who have recently traveled extensively abroad, that there is everywhere a more widespread desire than ever to "go to America." All the arguments

which may be urged in favor of a decreased immigration, based on the need of labor for reconstruction and for agriculture abroad, collapse when we remember that the great magnet of "America" will continue to draw immigrants to this "promised land." Our part in feeding and caring for vast numbers of people abroad, and in helping to win the war as liberators of the oppressed, and as ready to sacrifice, if necessary, any number of lives and endless sums of money for an ideal, will prove new incentives.

Immigration is essentially a matter of economic conditions here and abroad. As the late Gen. Francis A. Walker so well put it, "the stream of immigration will flow on as long as there is any difference in economic level between the United States and the most degraded communities abroad." A recent writer, after considerable study of the subject, has put the probable annual number of immigrants who will soon be coming here at 2,000,000. Be that as it may, the most enthusiastic believer in the success of the Americanization movement can hardly face the prospect of a steady annual immigration of even only several hundred thousands without doubt and discouragement. To hope to accomplish successful Americanization when the supply of aliens keeps up is to have an optimism "beyond all bounds of reason." A real restriction of immigration is a necessary and a logical part of the Americanization program.

Temporary Decrease Due to the War

The effect of the war in temporarily diminishing the volume of immigration to the United States was, of course, expected. From an annual immigration of nearly a million and a half during the fiscal years 1913 and 1914, and an annual net increase in alien population (*i. e.*, deducting the numbers of those who returned to their own countries) of 800,000, the number of immigrant aliens fell to a little over 325,000 during the year ending June 30, 1915. In the fiscal years 1916 and 1917, about 300,000 came, while in the year ending June 30 last the number of immigrant aliens was only 110,000.

While 110,000 is a very small immigration as compared with the very much larger numbers in the years preceding the war, it is worth noting that these alien immigrants arrived at the rate of more than 2000 a week and nearly 10,000 a month.

From July to November, 1918, the number of immigrant aliens was 45,909, and of non-

immigrant aliens 30,456. How all these immigrants have managed to get here during wartime is a mystery. Obstacles innumerable have been in their way, yet they have kept coming. That they have done so, in spite of the difficulties, shows what is likely to happen on a vastly greater scale in the next few years, when transportation by rail and steamship is once more fully restored.

It has always been held by those who are concerned regarding the admission into the United States of mentally and physically defective aliens that, with a smaller number of alien arrivals, the work of inspection can be more effectively done, with the inevitable and greatly to be desired result that fewer undesirables will escape detection. Our experience during the war has borne out this view. The increase in the percentage of rejections during the past four years is to be ascribed, according to the Commissioner-General of Immigration, to two causes: first, a deterioration in the quality of immigration itself; and second, to more rigid inspection made possible by decreased numbers.

In the earlier days of the war there was a large emigration from the United States of men belonging to the various belligerent countries who went home to fight. The majority of these will naturally come back. As soon as transportation conditions become more normal, there will be a further considerable exodus from the United States of both men and women belonging to the nations which have been at war. These recent immigrants will go home to ascertain the fate of their relatives and friends; to see what has become of their family property, and to bring back with them to this country as many as possible of their families and friends still left abroad.

The New Immigration Law

Our present Immigration Act, after having been twice vetoed by President Wilson, was passed over the veto by both Senate and House, and became law on February 5, 1917, about two months before this country declared war. The new statute became effective on May 1, 1917. It is by far the most comprehensive immigration legislation ever enacted in this country, and *if properly enforced* would be of immense benefit to our future race.

If any further arguments were needed to show the value and importance of this new legislation the war has supplied them. This law is our only breakwater against the ad-

vancing tide of alien immigration, which will be both increased in quantity and lowered in quality. Everything should be done to secure the effective administration of the new law, which has not yet had to stand the test of a large immigration. Its rigid enforcement will unquestionably result in an improvement in the mental, physical and moral qualities of immigrants even if not designed to reduce greatly their numbers.

In its final report (1915) the National Commission on Industrial Relations reached the following conclusion:

The immigration policy of the United States has created a number of our most difficult and serious industrial problems and has been responsible, in a considerable measure, for the existing state of industrial unrest. The enormous influx of immigrants during the last twenty-five years has already undermined the American standard of living for all workmen except those in skilled trades, and has been the largest single factor in preventing the wage scale from rising as fast as food prices. The great mass of non-English-speaking workers who form about half the labor force in basic industries, has done much to prevent the development of better relations between employer and employee.

The new Immigration Act, while a great advance on previous legislation, goes only a very little way toward remedying the conditions here referred to. This act is *qualitatively selective*, not *quantitatively restrictive*. It will not greatly reduce the numbers of our immigrants.

Our newspapers have lately been making much of the deportation of alien anarchists and of other groups of agitators. Such deportation, while most desirable in every way for the internal peace and safety of the country, is not a large or important factor in our immigration policy. It concerns a few thousand persons only. These deportations are made under the provisions of the Immigration Act of 1917, as expanded and strengthened by a supplementary Act of October 16, 1918. Under this legislation, the United States may expel and deport at any time after their landing, anarchists and similar classes of aliens who preach or practise the use of violence against persons, property or organized government.

Proposed Measures of Restriction

The almost certain prospect of a greatly increased immigration closely following the ending of the war; the manifest injustice of exposing our returning soldiers and sailors to competition with the low-priced labor of Europe and of Western Asia, and the

conviction that our present immigration law is selective rather than numerically restrictive, have naturally resulted in a widespread demand for immediate further legislation which shall really limit the numbers of our alien immigrants. During the Short Session of the Congress which ended on March 4, 1919, the Immigration Committee of the House of Representatives reported a bill (H. R. 15302, Union Calendar No. 359; Report No. 1015), suspending immigration for four years, with many exceptions in the cases of certain professional classes; the near relatives of aliens now in, or who have become citizens of the United States; aliens from Canada, Newfoundland, Cuba and Mexico; aliens who are refugees because of various kinds of persecution, and aliens admitted temporarily under regulations to be prescribed. No action was taken on this bill.

At the hearings which were given by the House Committee on Immigration, the bill was strongly advocated by the American Federation of Labor and by other organizations which stand for the maintenance of American wages and of American standards of living, and which, especially in view of demobilization and of the dangers of unemployment, wish to prevent, at least temporarily, the influx of large numbers of alien workers.

The line-up of the opponents of the bill was the same as in previous years. The old argument was used that there is already enough restriction, and it was urged that there should be more hearings, and further delay. Organizations from whose sympathies the hyphen has by no means been eliminated, and "interests" directly or indirectly concerned with cheap labor and with transportation, were represented among those who spoke against the pending measure. One of the opponents, representing certain labor bodies composed of recent immigrants, maintained that the more immigrants and the more other labor we have in this country, the higher will be the wages of the workers, and the higher will be the general standard of living!

Another bill, which was not reported (H. R. 11280), based on the conviction that one of the best tests of assimilation is the wish to become naturalized, limits the number of aliens to be admitted from any country in any year to from 20 to 50 per cent. of the persons born in such country who were naturalized at the date of the last census. The exact per cent. is to be fixed annually by the Secretary of Labor, with reference to existing labor conditions in the United

States. The percentage plan has the merits of being more than a temporary "reconstruction" measure, and of being sufficiently elastic to respond to varying economic conditions.

That a further real *restriction* of immigration is necessary for the best interests of American labor, and for the proper assimilation and Americanization of our heterogeneous population, has long been obvious to the large majority of those, both Americans and foreigners, who have impartially studied our immigration problems.

Idealists Have Not Solved the Problem

Our attitude on this question of immigration should be clearly defined. Sentiment will never solve this, or any other great national problem. There is no place here for the idealist who shudders at the mere thought of a further regulation of immigration, and who, holding fast to the vision of the universal brotherhood of man, calls "un-generous" and "un-American" anyone who suggests any further immigration legislation.

The idealist points out what an enormous debt our country owes to its foreign-born citizens. He is constantly reminding us of the remarkable achievements of foreign-born children in our public schools. He has absolute confidence in our capacity to assimilate all people, of all lands, who choose to come here. He believes in the "melting pot," where race hatred and race differences are to be forever done away with. He produces such endless statistics to show that our recent immigrants are far ahead of the native-born in all that pertains to good citizenship that the rest of us sometimes cannot help wondering how our ancestors, of Anglo-Saxon stock, who originally settled the United States, ever had the genius and the wisdom and the courage to fight the Revolutionary War, or to develop our American democratic government.

Yet the idealist is obviously inconsistent when he says that he believes in keeping the United States forever the "asylum and the refuge for the down-trodden and oppressed of all nations." He does not really believe in a "haven" open, unrestrictedly, to all comers. He does not want to admit, unreservedly, the insane, the idiot, the criminal, the prostitute, or those who have "loathsome or dangerous contagious disease." Few of his group want our doors wide open, for all time, to the incoming of millions upon millions of Chinese, Japanese and Hindus. He is beginning to realize that, owing chiefly

to his persistent opposition to the enactment of adequate immigration laws, his "asylum," of which he has said so much, is becoming an insane asylum, and his "refuge" is turning into an almshouse and a penitentiary.

Open-Door Policies "Ungenerous" and "Un-American"

Not immigration restriction but indiscriminate hospitality to immigrants is the "un-generous" and "un-American policy." To grant free admission to all who want to come may give us, for the moment, a comfortable feeling that we are providing a "refuge for the oppressed." But it is in the highest degree "ungenerous" in us, the custodians of the future heritage of our race, to permit to land on our shores mental, physical and moral defectives, who, themselves and through their descendants, will not only lower the standards of our own people, but will tremendously increase all future problems of public and private philanthropy. It is in the highest degree "un-American" for us to permit any such influx of alien immigrants as will make the process of Americanization any more difficult than it already is.

Again, our so-called "traditional" policy of admitting practically all who have wished to come has not helped the introduction of political, social, economic, and educational reforms abroad, but has rather delayed the progress of these very movements, in which we Americans are so interested. Had some of the millions of European immigrants remained at home, they would have insisted on reforms in their own countries which have been delayed, decade after decade, because the discontent of Europe found a safety-valve by flying to America. Have we, in any way, helped the progress of all these reforms abroad by keeping the safety-valve open?

By encouraging the discontented millions of Europe and Asia to come here after the war, are we likely to hasten, or to delay, the development of enlightened social democracies in Armenia, in Syria, in Hungary, in Poland, in Russia, in Turkey? Our duty as Americans, interested in the world-wide progress of education, of religious liberty, and of democratic institutions, is to do everything in our power to help the discontented millions of Europe and Asia to work out, in their own countries, for themselves, what our forefathers worked out here, for us. That would be the greatest contribution we could make to the progress and preservation of American ideals.

AMERICANIZING NEW YORK

BY EDWARD A. STEINER

[In the sympathetic interpretation of America to immigrants, and of the new Americans to those of older stock, Dr. Edward A. Steiner holds somewhat the same place to-day that the late Jacob A. Riis occupied a number of years ago. Dr. Steiner is a Professor at Grinnell College, Iowa, who spends a considerable part of each year in addressing audiences, and keeping in close touch with the trends of life in the America now building out of the blending of old and new population elements. He has written admirable books and is himself a master of the English language, though born and educated in Central Europe. He has spent the past winter in New York, in close contact every day with the hopeful, though crowded, masses of the East Side.—THE EDITOR]

DR. WALTER LAIDLAW, who has a passion for statistics and a picturesque way of presenting them, claims that New York City is the youngest city in the world, in that it has the largest number of people between the ages of one and forty. An observer who feels the spirit of things rather than the letter, who is impressed by quality rather than by quantity—let us call such a man a poet—would come to the same conclusion. Stretching her limbs, sore from growing pains as she expands upward and downward, knowing no limits in any direction, drowning her melancholy periods of indecision in mild riots of pleasure, unheeding the warning voices of her elder sisters, who have become one with Nineveh and Tyre; learning her lessons only because she must, and not because she will, forgetting the yesterdays and heedless of the morrow, she is by every nervous movement of her slender body, by the exultant note of her strident voice, by the swiftly flowing blood in her veins a young city, the youngest in the world.

Chicago and Denver, San Francisco and Tulsa, Oklahoma, will no doubt object to Doctor Laidlaw's diagrams and challenge them, but if they will come to New York City, and walk with me (who am neither a poet nor a statistician) from the Battery to Bronx Park, say on a sunny Saturday, a glance at the horizontal avenues and perpendicular streets crowded to overflowing by children will convince them, reluctantly of course, that New York is ahead in children. I shall be careful, however, not to take them to the so-called residential section, where the birth rate is somewhat checked by the care and expense necessary for the welfare of Pekinese dogs. Even deducting the less populous West Side, or certain select sections of it, the voice of New York is the voice of

children, and though they are of every breed and race and tongue, they are American in their reckless darting between moving vehicles, in their disrespect for the rights of their elders, in their knowledge of the times and seasons for skipping rope and playing marbles, for baseball and football; also, thank God, in their happiness, they are American children, speaking the language of their adopted country, singing her songs, knowing and loving her history.

The Language of the Children

I have walked the streets of New York City the last four months, I have listened to the young, vibrant voices of her children which I hear from six in the morning till eleven at night, and I have not heard a single word spoken in any other than the English language. What is true of New York is true of the United States as a whole. It is a young nation, its voice is the voice of children, the language they speak is the English language, and their children and children's children will speak no other tongue. With the possible exception of out-of-the-way rural regions, and of those States which were once Mexican, this assertion holds good of the entire country; the language of the children is English.

Those of us who are of foreign birth, who have tried to maintain another language in our homes for sentimental or cultural reasons, have found it impossible, except perhaps in a cruelly mutilated form, where the mothers have not learned to speak English correctly, as by their domestic cares they have been kept from contact with Americans. Yet even in these homes the war has helped put an end to bi-lingualism, although not without tragedies which the native-born cannot understand. Recently

I took dinner at one of these homes, and the mother in an unguarded moment lapsed into German. Immediately the oldest son of the family rose and made protest, threatening to leave the house if that should happen again.

The foreign-language press, which has been indiscriminately denounced, for it is not an unmixed evil, is rarely if ever read by children; and the churches, transplanted from the Old World, have had to add occasional services in English to hold the young people. One would have to go among those far above twenty to find any considerable number who do not speak English, and they would be found only among those who work at hard, manual labor, and live among congested groups of their own countrymen, where contact with Americans is reduced to a minimum. But, even there, sad havoc is wrought with the imported language, for English words and phrases creep in and gradually maintain a place in their vocabulary. The following complaint was made to me by a young man who could not speak English: "Der landlord hat die rent geraist." This is pretty nearly good American English. I listened one day to some Chinese who were discussing something which was absolutely Chinese to me, but there were three words frequently used which I could understand—"sure" and "you bet!" They are the first breach in the "Chinese Wall" and more words will follow.

Aliens Fighting for the Stars and Stripes

It is true that the draft disclosed a lamentably large number of foreigners who could not speak English, and who belong to this category. It does not excuse our neglect of this class to say that the draft net was very large, and that it drew in a great number of newcomers not yet citizens. That fact did not interfere with discipline, or with their loyalty. Major-General Crowder, in his report to Congress, cites an instance in which 1500 of these aliens were told that the Government had no legal right to hold them to the colors. The doors to life and freedom swung open; but only 200 passed through them; more than 1300 remaining to fight for the flag which was not yet theirs, and to which they swore fealty, in the face of death. Never before have foreigners assumed the responsibility of citizenship under severer test. A letter from one of these, written in Croatian, reads in part as follows:

MY DEAR BROTHER:

I am young and life seems very attractive. I

love my home, and the temptation to go home is great; but none of my Fathers ever had a chance to fight for democracy. I am going to take that chance. I have sold the civilian suit you sent me to another fellow who does not think the way I do.

Native Speech as a Bulwark of Nationalism

I do not wish to stress this point of the loyalty of the foreign-born youth, even though they could not speak English like this young hero, because an inflamed public mind does not wish to be reminded of the fact. It is among the older adults, especially among the women, that English is an unknown tongue, and they have not only the desire but the need to preserve their native speech. Here, again, I fear I am striking the inability of the American to understand the situation.

Many of these, especially the Poles, Slovaks and Magyars, have come to America from countries in which the struggle to preserve their nationality revolved wholly around the question of language. Bohemia's heroic fight against Germanization is the great epic of modern nationalism. Poland, though politically severed, has maintained unity through its language. The cruelty of their oppressors was the continued compulsion exercised upon language, and it became to the Poles a bulwark to be defended, a sacred symbol and a strong fortress.

Moreover, the more intimate relationships in life, the aspirations of the soul, cannot be easily translated or readily understood in any other than one's native language. The action of certain governors of Western States in prohibiting worship in any other language than English was to those involved a sad reminder of oppression which they did not expect to experience in the land of the free. By that action many were driven into radical camps, and the learning of the English language was made obnoxious.

America a Nation of One Language

There are certain things which need to be remembered. First of all the United States is a uno-lingual nation. If America remains a nation a thousand years—and may it be deathless—the language of Congress will be English, the language of commerce and education, of literature and social expression will be the same. It holds undisputed sway.

The languages of the early conquerors and colonizers, French and Spanish, are nearly gone, with exceptions in the case of Spanish. German remains as a corrupt dialect in Pennsylvania, though eaten through by

English phrases wherever it is found. The scholars and authors who were sent over on their propagandist mission found no understanding among the German masses, and had to confine themselves to colleges and universities, where the intensive students and teachers of German philosophy and literature were mostly Americans.

Should the Use of English Be Compulsory?

Yiddish, Italian and Slavic will vanish with the cessation of immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe, and there is no indication that these languages will corrupt or influence our English speech. To me, born and reared as I was in the center of the European language struggle, the achievement of America in keeping its language dominant is as remarkable as it is rare, and is due to many reasons—among them the fact that there was no governmental pressure to achieve it. I am a frequent visitor of foreign-speaking lodges and societies, and I find that fully 90 per cent. of them have forsaken the use of their vernacular, and have adopted English, poor English in most cases, but English nevertheless.

On the twelfth day of February I was asked by a lodge whose membership is made up entirely of foreign-born men and women, to speak on Abraham Lincoln (and wonders can be wrought among them with that name). This lodge has a service flag of over thirty stars and four of them have turned into gold. It was also left to me, for I was the guest of honor, to present a gold watch in the name of the lodge to a returned and wounded soldier, one of their members. The exercises were remarkable for their fervor and sense of devotion to the United States, and for the fact that the lodge members made their present to an Austrian, who had been fighting Austrians on the Italian front. It is easy to imagine that if there were a law to *compel* these societies to conduct their ritual in English, the sense of spontaneity would be gone, and no such fine exhibition of loyalty would have taken place.

It is urged that the study of English should be made compulsory in order to stamp out sedition and radicalism. I do not know just how many extreme radicals there are in this country, but I am safe in saying that most of them speak the English language, while many of them are native Americans springing from the oldest of that stock. Those who were convicted of obstructing the draft were able to speak English. The

curbstone orator speaks English, and most of the radical press is printed in the same language. Evidently, knowing English has not prevented Americans and foreigners from becoming disaffected and dangerous.

My own conviction is that the illiterate foreigner is not the most menacing element in our population, and that a little English, which is all that most of them could learn, may be "a dangerous thing." The English have succeeded in making the Irish speak their language to the point of almost losing their Gaelic speech; yet knowing English has not made the Irish loyal to England.

English Can Be Better Taught Without Compulsion

The people of Alsace-Lorraine predominantly speak German, it is the language of their literature; but that has not prevented them from *feeling* French, though most of them do not know that Latin tongue. Compulsions have nearly always bred opposition and disloyalty, and I can imagine all the foreign-born people in the United States speaking English as eloquently as Daniel Webster, and spelling it as correctly as that other Webster of dictionary fame, and yet the sum of loyalty not being increased. There is a naïve belief here that if a foreigner should learn to read the Constitution it would be his and our salvation.

We are incurable worshippers of the letter, especially of pretty phrases, and seemingly have forgotten that "It is the spirit that quickeneth." However, I have always urged the teaching of English to foreigners. In fact, my American critics have been rather hard on me when I have emphasized that point, and suggested that we have Grand Opera sung in English. We have always taught too little of it, and not too much; we have done it poorly rather than well, and my protest is not against its being taught, but against its being taught by compulsion of law, believing as I do that economic and social impulses which are operative will accomplish better results.

Teach One Foreigner to Speak English!

I am heartily in favor of making the movement national, the State creating the opportunity and providing the means. If there is to be any kind of legal coercion, I would compel every native American citizen, who is the kind of citizen he ought to be, to teach at least one foreigner to speak English. Even if he does not succeed in teaching him to

read and understand the Constitution of the United States, he will by projecting himself into the life of the alien, create contact, and a sense of neighborliness which, in the last analysis, is the essential thing for his Americanization. It would also serve to enlarge the vision of the American people, which they need, and compel them to be a good example.

*Good Work in Schools, Settlements,
Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A.*

The best work of Americanization has been done by the public schools. The underpaid, overworked American teachers have been the high priests or rather the high priestesses of the American spirit, and rather tardily we have awakened to that fact. Their work, of course, has been preponderantly with the children. The Settlements come next. They have made whole neighborhoods American; they radiate Americanism at its best and our great cities owe them a larger obligation than they realize. They are the "House of the Interpreter."

The Y. M. C. A. is facing the most difficult situation, for its deals with groups which are the center of economic disturbance and social unrest. Its work is excellent, even though circumscribed.

The International Institute, an organization under the auspices of the Y. W. C. A., is somewhat more fortunately situated and its plan appeals to me as more effective. In every community where the International Institute operates, the work is supervised by a fair-minded American woman, who has under her charge interpreters, who visit in the homes and Americanize the women, by not only teaching them English, but by performing services of friendship, which can be understood in all languages.

Attitude of the Churches

The churches which the immigrant imports yield themselves reluctantly to this task, and have frequently opposed Americanization. They are often nationalistic churches and until lately were supported by their respective governments. This menace has been removed by the war, and in many instances the immigrants themselves are opposing the resumption of such control.

A leader among the Hungarian people of New York confessed to me that his influence among his own people is gone, and that they demand American guidance and leadership. Contrary to the general belief, Roman Catholic priests are helping in the endeavor to

Americanize their people, and I know of many Y. M. C. A. secretaries who are conducting classes in parochial halls.

American Protestant churches have attempted the task of Americanization without satisfactory numerical results, because they are under suspicion of proselyting. They would be more successful if Christianizing and Americanizing were not used by them as interchangeable terms. The foreigner is usually not a heathen, and while his brand of Christianity may not be "our kind," it tends toward loyalty and respect for law and order.

Sane and Wise Educational Campaigns

The Bureau of Education under the Department of the Interior is doing good work in enlightening public opinion, and while it sometimes touches the alarmistic pedal, it is on the whole, sane. Secretary Lane and Commissioner of Education Claxton are both Americans of the best type—men of vision and of purpose.

The State of New York, under the guidance of the Department of Education, is "tackling the job" in a very fundamental way. It is training teachers to instruct foreigners in English. At the same time it attempts to give these teachers a knowledge of the background of the different groups which differ widely from one another and need different methods of approach.

It is an interesting fact that wherever the task has been attempted in a sane way, it has dispelled fear and has led to the realization that while English is necessary as a tool, it must not be used like a steam-roller.

It should be a key to open the doors of human hearts which are locked because of past experiences in an atmosphere of suspicion and fear. In more than one respect are we in danger of catching the disease of the Old World which we have tried to cure by our entrance into the war. It may be wise for us to remember that Germany assimilated millions of Slavs while she was still wise, and that she added nothing but doom to her domain when she began to be silly. The cracks in the structure of the empires which were wrecked by the war were caused by undue pressure from above. While the situation in the United States is not, perhaps, analogous, a word to the wise may not be out of place, spoken as it is by one who has faith to believe that the wise are still in the majority in this country, which is the hope of the human race.

WAITING IN LINE FOR BREAD AND COFFEE AT "THE STEPPING STONE" IN NEW YORK CITY

SOLVING THE PROBLEM OF THE UNEMPLOYED

BY GEORGE W. KIRCHWEY

(Director, U. S. Employment Service, for the State of New York)

THE incongruity of war with civilized life is most keenly realized when one turns from the cheering crowds that welcome our home-coming heroes to the industrial conditions which confront and daunt those heroes when the tumult and the shouting have died away. It is true that in America, as compared with Belgium, France, Great Britain, and the other countries whose fate it was to bear the brunt of the conflict, the war has only scratched the surface of the every-day life of the people. Here the war period took on the form of an era of unexampled prosperity. But even if the war brought no destruction to our doors, its unique modern character of a gigantic industrial conflict interwoven with the military struggle of a world in arms, resulted in a serious dislocation of industrial life. With nearly four millions of men under arms and at least twice that number of men and women engaged in the production of munitions and other war material—more than a third of the man power of the country uprooted from peace-time activities—no other result was possible.

If to this is added the transfer of an equivalent amount of capital and credit withdrawn from ordinary industry and tied up in the industries devoted to war production, it is easy to see that the transition back to a normal industrial basis could not be accomplished without painful delay and confusion. In short, there was bound to be a consider-

able condition of unemployment pending the time when the ordinary industries, which had been suspended or crippled by the war, should revive and get back to a normal basis. This process is now under way, but is proceeding slowly and irregularly. The confidence which is essential to a quick revival is still lacking and this condition of doubt and indecision in the business world is kept alive by the continued high cost of labor, machinery, and raw material, as well as by the embargo which continues to hamper foreign trade.

A Labor Surplus

Meanwhile the condition of unemployment which set in almost immediately upon the conclusion of the armistice has been steadily increasing. The rapid demobilization of the army and of the war workers has thrown men and women on the labor market at a rate far in excess of the capacity of our slowly reviving industry to absorb them. The actual amount of unemployment cannot be determined except by an exhaustive census, but the weekly reports of the labor market gathered by the United States Employment Service show an ascending curve from the first week in December to and including the second week in April, which is certainly disquieting. At present such reports are received regularly from about 7000 plants in 122 cities, with a combined payroll of nearly 3,500,000 employees. Though these reports

are still fragmentary, they furnish a reliable barometer of the tendency, still unchecked, toward an increasing labor surplus.

Labor's Restlessness

The seriousness of this condition of affairs is not to be measured by actual statistics of unemployment, even where these are available, but rather by such facts as the lengthening of the bread-lines in New York and other centers of population, by the rapid increase in the last few weeks of thefts, burglaries, and robberies in our larger cities, and by the reports of "acute unrest" which mark the rising tide of unemployment in many parts of the country. The term unrest may mean anything from conditions breeding a strike or lockout to processions of the unemployed or riotous demonstrations, such as occurred in the city of Buffalo a few weeks ago. Nowhere in the country have these demonstrations taken on a serious form, but they are the surface indications of a widespread condition of restlessness and resentment which have not to the same extent manifested themselves in previous periods of unemployment.

The dull resignation which is usually characteristic of the army of unemployed is conspicuously lacking in the returning soldiers and war workers who were drafted from permanent industry to serve their country in the emergency of war and who see in the attitude of the ordinary employer, as in that of the community at large, no substantial recognition of their services or needs. It is true that most employers who are able to do so are willing to take back their old employees who went into the military or naval service of the Government, but this leaves many still unaccounted for and the patriotic impulse is too feeble to extend to war workers other than soldiers or even to soldiers—and their name is legion—who desire something better than the old job.

This condition of affairs is aggravated by the disposition of many employers to take advantage of a congested labor market by reducing wages to a "normal" before-war basis—an attitude which is as bitterly resented by the highly paid war worker as by the soldier fresh from the hardships and heroisms of war service.

Back of all these obvious facts lie the deeper springs of the spirit of unrest which permeates the army of the unemployed—the reaction from the war-psychology and the contagion of European example. Which of

us, even in this isle of safety, have not felt something of the relaxation of civic discipline, a touch of the spirit of recklessness and some of the unrest which the war must have brought in fuller measure to the boys who committed themselves to the great adventure, or to the men who became knights-errant of industry during the last two years? And if we have not been shaken by the spectacle of a Europe dissolving into chaos, let us not forget that unemployment and destitution furnish a congenial soil for the growth of discontent such as has borne such evil fruit on the other side of the Atlantic.

No Bolshevism Here

Bolshevism, as that term is commonly understood, is as alien to American habits of thought as it is to our institutions. The governmental drives at this monster, whether emanating from Washington or from Albany, seem to most thinking men to be no more than panic-stricken attempts to deal with the symptoms rather than the causes of social unrest. Bolshevism is only another name for desperation, the desperation of hunger and the denial of the most elementary satisfactions of human life. Those who fear its appearance in free America would better concern themselves with devising means of employment for those who lack that anchor of stability and contentment.

But the fear is groundless. The figures are against us, but "the imponderables" are fighting for us. The curve of unemployment is still slowly rising, but the tide of public interest and coöperation is rising faster. Through numberless public and private agencies the problem is being solved.

Public and Private Agencies

The most effective of these agencies, the United States Employment Service, neglected by Congress and almost destroyed through that neglect, has by an uprising of public spirit not only been preserved to carry on its beneficent work, but has been reinforced by State and municipal aid and by the coöperation of Chambers of Commerce and of the numerous and devoted war-welfare agencies like the Red Cross, the Knights of Columbus, the Y. M. C. A., the War Camp Community Service, and many others. In addition to the regular employment offices of the Federal Service, nearly 500 in number, there are special offices of the service in the 78 demobilization camps and over 2000 soldiers' bureaus in active operation. At every Em-

barkation Camp on the other side and on every returning transport, the men are interviewed and listed and the cards of those needing the aid of the service transmitted to the employers of labor. There is no longer any doubt that the returning soldiers,

sailors and marines will be promptly put back into industrial life and that the labor surplus will soon be a thing of the past. And just beyond, a few months further on, there shines the promise of a new era of industrial prosperity, when there will be work for all.

THE "SOCIAL UNIT" IN CINCINNATI

BY CHARLES A. L. REED

(Former President American Medical Association)

A LABORATORY experiment in practical democracy is now in progress in the United States. It may be described in more explanatory terms as an effort to ascertain, by strictly scientific methods, some way by which the people may come to govern their own municipalities. It may also be spoken of as an effort to make democracy safe for itself and safe for the world. The experiment is staged and promoted by the National Social Unit Organization, of which Mr. Gifford Pinchot is president, and of which Mrs. Charles L. Tiffany, Mrs. J. Borden Harri-man, Mr. John Jay Edison, Mrs. Daniel Guggenheim, Mr. Wm. J. Loeb, Jr., Mr. Charles Edison, and many other equally well-known men and women of all shades of political opinion, scattered from Boston to San Diego, are active and deeply interested members and substantial supporters.

The Atmosphere

This organization, having adopted a definite plan, naturally sought a congenial atmosphere in which to try it out. Several cities were investigated with this object in view. It so happened, however, that the people of Cincinnati, many years ago, after having been supplied with water by a private company, revoked the franchise, built their own works, and laid their own mains. This was their first step in the public ownership of public utilities. Other similar steps have since been taken. They, the people of Cincinnati, have built and now own a railroad to the profit of their public exchequer and the enrichment of their commerce.

They have built and now own and operate a strictly municipal university with some four thousand students. They own and operate therewith a really phenomenal school of en-

gineering with the great manufacturing plants of the city as coöperative laboratories. They own a Class A medical school which they operate in connection with their own new four-million-dollar hospital. Schools, playgrounds, parks, milk service, nursing service, health service, and medical service are among their other coöperative municipal activities. Certain of the largest industries of the city, among the largest and best in the whole country, have been for years on the profit-sharing basis, and now one of the very largest has announced the policy of elective representation of the employees in its directorate. These facts, with the habit of Cincinnati to attend to its own business in its own very independent way, indicated precisely the "atmosphere" that was being sought by the National Social Unit Organization.

The Plan

The plan was submitted; a certain definite area was to be set aside—as it proved to be, thirty-one city blocks, with about 15,000 average American citizens of mixed national antecedents and diverse occupations. The people, about 500 in each block, were to meet *en bloc* and elect a "block worker" who lived in the block and knew the people. She—the block workers are all women—was to hunt up possible tuberculosis cases, find expectant mothers, new-born babies, sickness, dependencies, unsanitary conditions—in short, hunt around generally, find people who ought to be helped, conditions that ought to be better, and report them to headquarters.

There was to be a medical organization embracing all the physicians of the district, who were thereby to come into control of the hygienic, sanitary, and medical situation

among the people for whom they lived and labored and with whom they had their being. Adequate nursing service was to be installed quite on the district plan. Records of the most scientific kind were to be kept.

The block workers were to meet in a Citizens' Council—and elect an executive; the physicians in a Medical Council—and elect an executive; the nurses in a Nurses' Council—and elect an executive; and persons in the various occupations in the district were to elect representatives to the Occupational Council—which also was to elect an executive. These Councils were to meet, consider the welfare of the district, plan coöperation, but above all to effect a 100 per cent. contact of the movement with the people and of the people with themselves—a most important and much-needed thing in a democracy. Everything in the experiment was to be elective, of record, scientific, but above all to be frank and wide open for inspection and study.

The Experiment in Progress

Cincinnati, through its civic bodies, examined the plan, liked its scientific spirit, invited the organization to come, set aside the selected "laboratory" district, and turned over, as far as it could, its own activities in the area; for Cincinnati, through several hundred of its citizens acting for it, felt that, apparently, the whole project was based on the natural law that is inherent in society and that makes for broader life, larger liberty, and the readier pursuit of happiness. So the Social Unit was established in the district in January, 1917, but it was well on to midsummer before the working organization was perfected. Headquarters were established, offices and clinics were opened; each block was organized; the physicians responded with encouraging unanimity; nurses were installed; and representations from social centers, social workers, business men, public schools, trade unions, nurses, physicians, and ministers, all of the district, were elected to the Occupational Council. Each individual

and each group proceeded to functionate smoothly and effectively in their respective capacities.

Some of the Results

A year later, after several of the leaders in the movement had been criticized because of their supposed radical and "Bolshevist" tendencies, the group of 600 or 700 citizens who had been responsible for starting the work in Cincinnati proceeded to investigate. They found that the experiment had really been carried on in good faith and on the precise lines that had been submitted in print and agreed to before anything had been done. Much had been accomplished. Three hundred per cent. more of tuberculosis had been ferreted out than had been at first reported to the unit; the mortality from influenza had been many per cent. less in the district than in the immediately adjacent territory; infant mortality had been lessened; accidents of childbirth diminished, hygiene of habitations vastly improved, and the people themselves had been educated by example and practise to at least some better observance of the natural law which, in the last analysis, is the arbiter of their destinies.

But above all they found the people happy over the work of the Social Unit; all had heard of it; many had participated; some had been its beneficiaries—and none had forfeited his or her self-respect in giving or accepting help—help, not charity. A committee of the Academy of Medicine declared that much good had been done and advised that the experiment be continued.

On April 10 the question whether or not the experiment should be continued was submitted to a vote of the people of the district. Out of a total of 4154 votes there were only 120 against continuance. It was estimated that at least two-thirds of the total number of persons entitled to take part in the election actually voted, so that the declared result may be regarded as a clear indication of public sentiment in the district.



LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

APPRENTICE "EXECUTIVES" FOR THE LEAGUE

THE political career of the future will, more than ever before, assume an international aspect, since the League of Nations must have standing committees, secretaries, and other officers, of international representation and powers; and politics will be more a matter of economics and sociology than of law. It is interesting, in this connection, to learn that there are, ready to hand, international bodies already organized and functioning to secure joint international control of basic materials. Chandler P. Anderson, Esq., in a signed editorial published in the *American Journal of International Law*, discusses the work of these committees, and says:

These Executives, as they were called, were international joint committees organized by agreements between the United States and the principal Allied Governments, each committee being vested with certain well-defined executive powers relating to the procurement and distribution of some one or more of the materials mentioned (nitrate of soda, tin, hides and leather, miscellaneous raw materials, and some food supplies) to the best advantage of all the participating countries. . . .

The general plan upon which all of these Executives were formed was for the appropriate governmental agency in each country to enter into a special agreement with the others, establishing the particular Executive created thereby and stipulating that it should be composed of an agreed number of representatives of each participating country with authority to carry out the specified arrangements agreed upon, with the proviso that these arrangements must be modified and readjusted from time to time by such further agreements as might be necessary in order to serve the best interests of all concerned. These special agreements further provided for and defined, subject to the aforesaid reservation as to modifications and readjustments, the specific powers and duties of the Executives thereby established.

Perhaps the most difficult problem taken up by these Executives, or committees, was the control of production, purchase and distribution of nitrate of soda to the best ad-

vantage of all the Allied countries at the lowest possible price. Practically the entire world supply came from a single source—Chile, a neutral country. It was provided that all nitrate should be purchased when and as authorized by the Committee at the prices fixed by them, under a Director of Purchases appointed by the Executive. All purchases of this valuable commodity were thereupon to be pooled in price and quantity for the common interest; and imported to the several countries determined by the committee in accordance with the allocations specified in the agreement.

Where part of the output came from neutral countries and a fairly large percentage was produced in the United States or some one of the Allied countries, a different situation was presented; and here several directors of purchases, acting under the direction of the Executive, bought in conjunction with each other and to mutual advantage. In other cases markets were allotted exclusively to certain countries and in addition they received their proportionate share of the bulk common purchases of the group. The Executive then covered price differences by monthly readjustments, so that each country paid the same average price for its respective share. Each country, however, reserved the right to select its own purchasing agents.

Studies and reports of methods for the economical domestic distribution and use of the raw material after it passed from the hands of the Executive were an important phase of the work; and each country was required to give full information to the Executive of the supplies on hand, and of all purchases from all sources for its own use. Mr. Anderson says:

The underlying condition, which was essential to the success of these arrangements and which entered into all of them, was the governmental control exercised during the war in each of the participating countries over imports and exports,

because it was necessary to agree, with reference to the materials under the control of each Executive, that the respective governments would exercise such control over their respective nationals as would prevent them from buying these materials through any channels except those provided for under the direction of the respective Executives.

What will be the ultimate development of this coöperation among the governments

of the world is to be revealed only by events; but the importance of the results secured cannot be overestimated. It would be an ironical turn of the wheel of Fate should the Thirteenth Century Hanseatic League invented by the Germans be revived in the Twentieth Century in a League of Nations assuming practically worldwide economic control.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATIONS IN THE NEW ERA

THE proposed political League of Nations has been prefigured in non-political organizations whose name is legion. M. Paul Otlet, secretary-general of the Union of International Associations, tells us in the *Revue générale des sciences* (Paris) that the first international congress (non-political) met in 1840, and that about 2000 international gatherings, of one sort or another have been held since that time. There have been formed a great many permanent international associations and bureaus, devoted to the promotion of a wide range of scientific, technological, industrial, social and other objects. Some of these are strictly official, with members appointed by the various governments; others are entirely unofficial; and still others are of a mixed character.

In the year 1910 the need of coördinating the activities of these various bodies led to the convocation of a World Congress of International Associations, and this meeting gave birth to the permanent Union of International Associations. A second congress met in 1913, and the third, but for the war, would have held its sessions in the United States in the year 1915.

The situation following the war marks a new era in the history of international organizations, making it opportune for us to set down a few facts from M. Otlet's long retrospect and forecast on this subject. The League of Nations, if it is consummated, will undoubtedly give new vigor and coherence to international movements in general. M. Otlet cites a plan that has been proposed whereby the League would directly maintain a variety of international establishments, including academies, museums, laboratories, archives, etc., and provide funds for the various international associations.

Apart from the Union above mentioned, there is an International Association of Academies, under the auspices of which there have recently been held "inter-allied" conferences to consider the means of carrying forward collaboration in the different branches of science. For the time being, at least, the Teutonic countries find themselves excluded from the international scientific bodies now undergoing reorganization, but future policy on this subject cannot yet be determined. This is one of the questions to be discussed at a forthcoming Congress of International Associations, to be held in Brussels as soon as circumstances permit.

Some of the problems awaiting consideration by the various international bodies are summarized in M. Otlet's article. These include the question of appropriate standards and units of measurement for universal use; the subject of uniform scientific terminology and an international auxiliary language; the question of an improved and uniform calendar; and numerous other problems to which much attention has already been given. Under the head of "documentation" M. Otlet outlines a project that will arouse much interest in scientific and educational circles. This plan, which has been urged by the Congresses of International Associations, contemplates a system of publications whereby the latest advances in every branch of knowledge would be presented in convenient form. We should have an encyclopedia kept constantly up to date; abstracts and reprints of current literature; scientific directories; chronicles of scientific events; digests of data, etc.; a *complete* programme of digesting and cumulating knowledge, instead of the fragmentary efforts in this direction that have hitherto been put forth (chiefly, be it remarked, by the Germans).

Lastly, we are glad to be reminded by the article under consideration of the substantial work that had already been done at Brussels, before the year 1914, toward the creation of an intellectual center and clearing-house for the world at large. This appears to be intact and ready to resume operations. In a building provided by the Belgian Government many of the international associations

have their permanent headquarters; there is a collective library, formed from the libraries of sixty-eight associations; there is the vast International Institute of Bibliography, with a collection of eleven million cards arranged by author and subject; there is an international museum, occupying seventeen large halls—in short, an impressive focus of internationalism.

RATIONAL DESIRES OF WORKINGMEN

OUR text-books of political economy have encouraged the belief that among all who toil with the hands money is the only thing sought after. Artists and scientists, it may be conceded, find their reward in the joy of achievement—not so the workingman. A few brave souls venture to claim for him the same power (though often latent) of enjoying self-expression. He seldom claims this power for himself.

Even the proceedings of the learned societies are invaded, from time to time, by the humanist, the man who believes that however materialistic the age there is still possible for the individual a certain joy in living and creating. Thus, in the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (Philadelphia) for March, Prof. Irving Fisher, of Yale, offers some highly interesting suggestions on "Humanizing Industry."

Among the many rights which the workingman has heretofore only partially enjoyed Professor Fisher regards the right to healthful conditions as preëminent. Many, it is true, do not yet recognize the importance of this right. The labor leaders themselves do not seem to have attached the first importance to it, but, as Professor Fisher points out, health is the workingman's capital, his only important asset. When he loses it, he loses the power to earn his living.

Some people say that if his wages were raised, his health would be improved. This is doubtless true, but it is still truer that if his health were improved, his wages would be increased. To improve slightly an individual's health will not necessarily, it is true, nor always, increase that individual's wages; but if we increase, even slightly, the health, and thereby the working power of the nation as a whole, the general wage level will rise. In the last analysis wages depend on productive power, and the workingman's power to produce is dependent on his muscle and brain, i. e., his health.

The Rockefeller Hookworm Commission, by spending about 65 cents per capita, has made over thousands of Southern whites into able-bodied laborers. Great returns may be expected from investments in factory sanitation, lighting and ventilation, in better food, housing, clothing, sports and amusements for workingmen, and in various forms of health insurance, labor legislation, school hygiene, etc.

Professor Fisher proceeds to show that the workingman should have not only physical health, but also mental health, and mental health depends on the satisfaction of certain fundamental instincts. A human being whose instincts are thwarted becomes an enemy of society. This has been assigned as the real reason for the I. W. W. "They rebelled, like the small boys of a large city without playgrounds, who break windows for excitement." In other words, the I. W. W. workingman is the "naughty boy of industry." If the energy which makes him destructive had been enlisted for constructive work, he might have made a more useful workingman than his more docile and less energetic brother. Professor Fisher admits that it may be too late to reclaim him now, but he holds that we can at least prevent the making of more of his kind.

Professor Fisher proceeds to name seven major instincts which apparently must be satisfied to make a normal life:

First, there is the instinct of self-preservation. The securing of a living wage must always be the first concern of a workingman. This has always been recognized as basic, and I need not therefore dilate upon it. Furthermore, self-preservation demands the maintenance of healthy working conditions, the prevention of over-fatigue and the provision of safety devices. No man can do his work well if he feels that it is fitting him only for the scrap heap. Finally, every employee should be assured of a steady job so long as he does his part. If he has to be "laid off" without

any fault of his own, he should have due notice or a suitable dismissal wage. Fear of unemployment dissipates energy.

Secondly, there is the instinct of self-expression, or workmanship. Until modern industry contrives to satisfy this instinct in the ordinary workman, our labor problem will not be solved. I shall consider this below in greater detail.

Thirdly, there is the instinct of self-respect. Unless the workman is made to feel that "A man's a man, for a' that," he will be our enemy, will cherish a grievance, and will become anti-social.

The employer should, so far as possible, use praise for incentive rather than blame. If it is really necessary to call a man down, the rebuke need not be administered before his fellow-workers. The workman should be considered trustworthy until he has proven himself untrustworthy. Rivalry in production involves the satisfaction of the instinct of self-respect.

Fourthly, there is the instinct of loyalty. The universality of this instinct is strikingly illustrated in this war. Devotion to a cause, sacrifice for this cause, heroism if you like, have been shown by soldiers whose whole training has been one of monotonous industry. The instinct of loyalty should be satisfied in industry, as it is in the trenches. The employer often misses a great opportunity to be his workmen's hero or honored general instead of their task master.

If the men can organize, a team spirit will develop. Collective bargaining and other forms of control of the industry by the men will forestall useless "knocking" and discontent and will develop loyalty instead. Mass activities, group singing, marching in a parade, wearing a button or cheering a baseball team will develop and foster a united feeling.

Pride is an important constituent of loyalty. Workers have a right to expect that their plant is one worth being proud of. Fundamentally, loyalty is based on justice and mutual consideration. The employer who can best put himself in the place of his men best secures their loyalty. Extra work or overtime can, by loyal workman,

be "volunteered" with pleasure where "conscription" might arouse ill-feeling.

The great instinct of love, or of home-making, is a fifth instinct, and one vital for society. The homeless, migratory I. W. W. is an example of what occurs when life is deprived of its satisfaction. A man thinks of his own family as part of himself. His success means their happiness. Any action on the employer's part which affects family welfare immediately arouses resentment. The unrest caused by inability to enjoy family life or by bad instinctive life outside the plant is demoralizing. In a word, conditions of employment should, in every way, conduce to a happy family life.

The workingman's instinct of worship, if we may properly speak of such a faculty as a sixth instinct, hungers and thirsts for righteousness and often is not filled. If his daily work appeals to his whole nature and not merely to a portion of it, the task will be exalted to become really a part of his religion. No man should have to do work which is degrading or which will tend to crush idealism or warp the spirit of humanity and service.

Finally, the play impulse must be satisfied to produce mental health. The saying, "All work and no play makes Jack a dull boy," is true of the laboring man.

Some instincts are almost inevitably repressed, and, deprived of a wise outlet, are in danger of an unrestrained outburst. Play provides a safety valve. This play should not be frivolity, still less dissipation, but entertainment which will develop physical and mental health and a broadened outlook on life. A long workday makes proper play impossible, and is largely responsible for a man's resort to drink and other perversions of play.

Of the seven mentioned, only the instinct of self-preservation is even fairly well satisfied by the majority of workers. We thrum too continually on this one string. Human nature is a harp of many strings. We must use the rest of the octave.

THE EASTERN BARRIER

COMMENTING on the terms which Marshal Foch will present to the Germans, the London *Times* says that France has a right to extra military guarantees on her frontier towards Germany, and these guarantees may well have to take the form of special territorial readjustments.

But the chief weakness in the future [observes the *Times*] will be in Eastern Europe, and that is why a barrier of new states, to be erected between the Baltic and the Adriatic, will need strengthening by every means in our power. Although France has a particular interest in the west front, the defection of Bolshevik Russia makes it desirable that she should find some substitute on the East for her old Russian alliance, and it must be a great joy to her people that this substitute should take the form of a barrier line of free peoples.

Our own position has many points of resemblance to that of France. The main avenues of the League of Nations' communication with free peoples between the Baltic and Adriatic will be over the sea, and, therefore, we are anxious about free passage into the Baltic, and also that there should be at its eastern end friendly powers to provide the navies of the League, after they have entered the Baltic, with repairs and facilities of operation.

On the occasion of the presentation of colors to the Czech army in France on June 30, last year, President Poincaré, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs Pichon, and the British Minister of Foreign Affairs Balfour, each expressed to the Czechs wishes for their national independence and for the close union of Bohemia with Poland and Jugo-Slavia, and Minister Pichon declared in addition

that those three states are to constitute a defensive rampart restraining German invasions in the East.

The close of the war sees at length the recognition of the truth that the three states of true Slavonians, united closely, constitute the best assurance of universal peace. When this opinion was expressed two years ago, when the war was at its height, in the columns of a Paris periodical, it was the isolated utterance of the thought of only a single writer. A remarkable passage in one of a series of articles (that of August 5, 1916) on the Polish national policy from the pen of the eminent Polish philosopher, Prof. Vincent Lutoslawski, in the French section of the Paris *Polonia*, read as follows:

The true Slavonians constitute three groups: In the north, the Poles and Ruthenians, united for five hundred years. They conjointly produced the original constitution of the Polish Republic. In the center, the Czechs, Moravians, Lusatians, and Slovaks, who are beginning to form a homogeneous nation, the nearest geographically and psychologically to Poland. Finally, in the south, the Jugo-Slavs, formed through the union of the Slovenians, Croatsians, Dalmatians, and Bosniaks with the Serbians.

These three Slavonic nations, together with the Rumanians, who also have Slavonic elements in their blood and in their language, will form an impregnable rampart about the Germans. None of these nations could alone resist the German pressure. The Bohemians particularly, to be independent, absolutely need as a neighbor a great Poland, restored in its boundaries of 1772, with the addition of Silesia and East Prussia, which were lost by Poland prior to that date. The three Slavonic states, with Rumania, would have about a hundred million inhabitants and could furnish the Western alliance of Great Britain, France, and Italy with more than ten million soldiers for the defense of European liberty against all German aggression and against all oriental invasion.

When this opinion was expressed in 1916, it was a very bold assertion, remote from universal recognition. To-day the program of a Slavonic union is penetrating the convictions of the Western governments. For this there were required nearly four years of the war—so long did we have to wait for a clear enunciation of the governments as to the future of Poland. During the first three years of the war the Poles were entrusted to the care of the Czar, and only a year after his fall did France and England recognize that independent Poland, with Bohemia and Serbia, will constitute the most effective defense of Europe from German dominion in Asia.

The dispute between the Czechs and the

Poles about the district of Cieszyn in Austrian Silesia is on the eve of a satisfactory settlement by the Peace Conference, and friendship will be restored between the chief Slavonic nations. And among the Ukrainians (Ruthenians), when they shall be thoroughly rid of German influences, there may arise the desire for a close alliance with Poland. Thus, there is outlining as a reality the union of the true Slavonians, with the exclusion of the Muscovites and Bulgarians, on whom nobody any longer relies. This union, says Professor Lutoslawski in the Chicago *Dziennik Zwaizkowy*, is really a condition not only of the security of Europe and of the conversion to true Christianity of the renegade Germans, but also a necessary condition of the independence of those peoples who are neighbors of the Germans on the east. Only a very close alliance among these peoples can assure their independence and show the Germans that even little nations can defend themselves, when they are united.

The example of the ancient Union of Poland with Lithuania and Ruthenia [observes Professor Lutoslawski] is a model for the broader union joining Poland, restored in her former boundaries, with Bohemia and Jugo-Slavia. It is not a question here of the domination of some over others, but of an understanding and of a common defense of the liberty common to all of them. It is necessary at last to understand once for all that political liberty is such a treasure as can only be kept together with one's neighbors, helping them sincerely; whereas every nation that should want to secure its own liberty at the expense of its neighbors, would expose itself to slavery.

Free people should be fair in relations with their neighbors and not aim to abuse their freedom for the restriction of the liberty of their fellow-men. This lies at the very heart of the question—that he cannot be free who oppresses others, nor even he who passively acquiesces in others' injury, when he can prevent it. A free nation should have the willingness to perform the greatest sacrifices to save the liberty of every oppressed nation, as every act of oppression, if it do not meet with opposition, becomes a menace to those who themselves do not yet suffer oppression and look indifferently on the oppression suffered by others.

The world war has revealed on a gigantic scale the solidarity of the peoples prizing their freedom. It has been recognized in England that the independent existence of France is an indispensable condition of English freedom. It has been recognized even in America, Australia, and South Africa that if freedom should be stifled in Europe, it would not be able to hold out anywhere. But nowhere is this solidarity of the nations thirsting for liberty so necessary as among the Slavonic peoples, who separate the Muscovites and Germans. For these peoples there cannot be liberty without the closest solidarity.

PRICE-FIXING AS SEEN BY A PRICE-FIXER

PROF. F. W. TAUSSIG

(Chairman of the Tariff Commission)

IN the Price-Fixing Committee of the War Industries Board, created in March, 1918, Prof. Frank W. Taussig, of Harvard, Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, served as a member. This committee was one of the three governmental agencies that attempted to regulate prices during the war, the other two being the Fuel Administration and the Food Administration. Professor Taussig contributes to the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* (Harvard) an interesting account of the Government's experiments in price-fixing, as conducted by these three agencies.

It appears from his survey that Government price-fixing during the war was not uniform in its objects, and, instead of being guided by established policies, was in the main opportunist, "feeling its way from case to case." Of the three agencies, Professor Taussig finds that the Fuel Administration, dealing with a single commodity, was able to proceed with most system and method. The Price-Fixing Committee had a wide range of operations and was slowest in developing a general policy. In fact, the

Committee never did more than approach a principle of action gradually and tentatively, and it is pointed out that this self-restraint was on the whole most wise, since new situations and problems were sure to arise, for whose disposal no rule could be laid down in advance.

As it turned out, regulation came to an end almost immediately after the conclusion of the armistice. No new price agreements were made and those in effect were permitted to lapse as they expired. In almost all cases prices had been fixed for periods of three months, and as each period came to its close, no further action was taken, and thereafter the free play of market dealings again set in. Most of the agreements terminated late in December, 1918, or on January 1, 1919; a few held over for a month or two in 1919.

Since the experiment was not carried through to the end, or with system or consistency, Professor Taussig considers the lessons to be drawn from it far from conclusive, as regards fundamentals, and qualified even within the limited range to which they apply. He says in concluding his article:

So far as the experiment went, and so long as it lasted, the outcome seems to me to have been good. The rise of prices to be expected from inflation of the circulating medium was not prevented; but then no endeavor was made to achieve this sweeping object. There is nothing in all the price experiences to prove or disprove the contention that, irrespective of legislative or administrative fiat, general economic forces must work out their general effects. But that the impinging of the forces was in some degree affected and curbed seems undeniable. Food and fuel prices were prevented from fluctuating as widely and soaring as high as they would have done in the absence of regulation. A result of the same kind, and apparently not less in extent, was secured for other price-regulated articles.

The traditional statement of economic formulae gives them an appearance of greater rigidity and sharpness than is warranted by the premises on which they rest. Supply and demand, monetary principles and monetary laws, are customarily formulated in exact terms, with an appearance of mathematical sharpness. The qualifications which must attach to these "laws" in any concrete application or predication, familiar to the well-trained economist, leave abundant room for some exercise of restraining and deliberated action. No doubt there are limits to which such action must be confined; but they are not narrow limits, and within them much was done which proved of advantage to the country.

THE FUTURE OF TRIESTE AS A PORT

WHAT should be done for the port of Trieste, one of Italy's chief rewards for her participation in the great war, is fully and satisfactorily discussed by Signor Vittorio Segrè in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome).

The writer is firmly convinced that we must start with the supposition that the redemption of Trieste shall be conjoined with that of Fiume, "since the commercial and economic existence of Trieste is indissolubly connected with that of Fiume, with that patriotic city which is already ideally united with the Mother Country."

The possession of the one without that of the other would reduce the Italian triumph to a merely military exploit, a glorious one, indeed, but ineffective and unproductive. Neither geographical position, the efforts of rulers and people, nor the creation of industries and of steamship lines, would avail to save Trieste from the loss of its traffic to the other port, through which would pass the main tide of commerce from the Levant to the Occident, and which would become for the exports and imports of Central Europe, to and from the Mediterranean, the great port of exit and entry, drawing to itself the trade of the hinterland which has formerly gravitated, and still gravitates toward Trieste, and thus causing the complete decadence of this emporium.

An important question to be settled when the possession of both ports by Italy shall have been granted, concerns what special advantages are to be accorded to Trieste in regard to its coffee imports. For Austria, the concession of a preferential tariff on coffee was an easy matter, considering that the only means of introducing that staple was either by way of Trieste or Fiume. If Italy should decide to adopt the policy of monopolies, all discussion is idle, but if this policy is not carried out, the writer strongly questions whether Italy, which has so many ports, could concede the sole benefit to Trieste, and not make similar concessions to other ports.

It should, however, be remembered that if for Trieste, which already has an extensive commercial organization in every direction, this privilege would add the crowning benefit of maintaining the greatest element of its traffic, for the other ports such an innovation would only possess a very relative value. Moreover, the preferential tariff on coffee would not only enable the merchants of

Trieste to import it into Austria and Hungary by the help of the lower rates they would enjoy, but this benefit would act as a powerful expansive force for the trade with many different countries, especially on the Mediterranean.

Trieste, which has suffered so much from the disturbance of its marine traffic since the outbreak of the war, certainly deserves the accordance of this privilege, at least for a decade, either exclusively or shared with Genoa, which since the war has been a market for coffee. However, Signor Segrè fully recognizes that the problem is a difficult one, requiring for its just solution the greatest circumspection, combined with the greatest tact and sympathy.

The program for the definite assurance of Trieste's position is thus presented by Signor Segrè:

- (1) The maintenance of the two ports, Trieste and Fiume, in free zones, dedicating the one to the traffic of the main national lines, and to the exportation of the merchandise most rapidly exchanged, the other to the bulky raw materials, such as cotton and ores.

- (2) The concentration of the authority over all the administrations in a single hand, that is to say, under the control of the General Royal Warehouses, an institution which must be managed by the state, the latter having in its turn to preserve for the institution a complete monopoly as to unloading and loading, in perfect accord with the administration controlling the railways.

- (3) No combination of enterprises to be permitted, and no competitive privileges as against private undertakings, but the coöperative management connected with the state to be maintained, coördinated and developed.

- (4) The appointment, within a brief time, of two commissions of experts and practical men, one for the study of the Austrian laws and customs regulations in their relation to those of Italy, with the especial task of removing any obstacles which may be noted in the regulations of the Italian ports; the other commission for the study of the railway rules and rates, and also concerning the establishment of new railway connections, factors of prime importance for the economic future of the great port of Trieste.

- (5) On the basis of the "Commission of Traffic" already existing, there should be created a council of experts in finance, navigation, insurance and traffic, chosen from among the members of the Chamber of Commerce, and the great industrial and merchants, so that they may give to the ministry, in view of the future commercial treaties which will fill so large a place in the peace transactions, the information and advice necessary for the development of the entire traffic of Trieste in connection with that of the Mother Country.

THE PROBLEM OF DANZIG—POLISH? GERMAN? NEUTRAL?

STREET IN DANZIG

A TIMELY and interesting article on the much-discussed question of Danzig's future appears in the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Switzerland)—the writer signing himself "A Pole."

(1) The Poles (for whom it is the sole access to the sea) demand that the city should be reunited with Poland, to whom it belonged before the partition of the latter.

(2) The Germans demand that Danzig, being an almost wholly German city, should remain a German possession, invoking President Wilson's declaration that only populations incontestably Polish should form a part of reconstructed Poland.

(3) The third solution is a compromise: to neutralize the lower reaches of the Vistula and proclaim Danzig a free port.

Which of these solutions is the most just, and offers the best guarantees for the future?

Let us first establish the historic facts: *Is the city of Danzig German or Polish?*

Since the partition of Poland it has belonged to Prussia. If we consider the city alone, the majority of the population is German. But before the partition the city was Polish, not alone because it voluntarily formed an integral part of Poland, but be-

cause its inhabitants had always been Polish in sentiment—so ardently so that it was the last place in the dismembered country to take up arms in 1795 against Prussian annexation.

Having no German neighbors, the city of Danzig, from the 10th century on, was in conflict with the Swedes, Danes, etc. It was only in the 14th century that the Teutonic Knights became its neighbors, when, entering into negotiations with it, they invited its most noted men and hospitably strangled them all. But their sway was short-lived. After the battle of Grünwald, in 1410, where they were defeated by the Poles, West Prussia, including Danzig, declared itself independent of the Germans and voluntarily demanded to be united to Poland; the union took place in 1454, and the inhabitants, suffering no constraint from the Poles, became devoted adherents of the country.

After the partition of Poland, Danzig, incorporated with Prussia, became in greater part German. The Prussian methods being the opposite of those of Poland, one can not but wonder that the Polish element, after 123 years of Prussian rule, has not been exterminated. That régime is too well known to need exposition. Let us merely mention that the Polish language has been rigorously excluded; that Polish workmen were compelled to belong to German societies.

If we add that under Polish rule Danzig attained its highest degree of economic development, we may enter upon a discussion of the three suggested solutions.

Should the first solution be adopted—the city assigned to Poland—its future may be clearly outlined. Danzig would become what it was when a Polish city; reunited to its ancient and real home, it would again enjoy perfect freedom, national and religious, with opportunities for a truly marvelous economic development. Despite the rigor of Russian domination, Poland has greatly developed her industries, which sought outlets in Russia, and, through Russia, to the East. It is towards Danzig that Polish industry, regenerated and unhampered, will send its products; towards Danzig that the Polish streams will carry to the Vistula the produce of Polish soil; towards Danzig that all the canals to be constructed will run.

We shall not discuss the second solution—to assign Danzig to Germany: an absurd solution, because it would in advance destroy the prosperity of resuscitated Poland; an immoral solution, because it would sanction the crime of the partition of Poland by recognizing the rights acquired by that criminal proceeding.

As for the third solution—to neutralize the lower Vistula and proclaim Danzig a free city—it may be said that it would practically amount to an incorporation of Danzig with Germany. After being compelled to abandon the rosy dream of the Berlin to Bagdad railway, Danzig would form a new, important economic center, with the Orient as an objective. It is easy to foresee the

result of the competition between Poland and Germany. The Germans have totally destroyed Polish industry; a Polish marine is yet to be created; while Germany has all its economic resources in a highly perfected state.

Danzig a free city means German Danzig—a new, powerful station of the millennial German expansion towards the East.

There is—the writer concludes—but one equitable, satisfactory solution, offering every guarantee for the future: to restore Danzig to Poland, its country inherently and by adoption.

THE REFORESTING OF FRANCE

THE all-important question of an adequate supply of timber in France is fully discussed by Paul Descombes in a recent number of *La Revue de Paris*.

Speaking of forest regeneration, the writer says it would be all the more fatal to delay that indispensable work, since even in peace times the French forests yielded less than half of the timber used in the industries of the country. France ought, then, first of all, to double its wood production. It is thus confronted by two problems: to double permanently the national output of timber; to procure for the next five years an annual supplement of six million cubic meters.

After the war—M. Descombes continues—France will be obliged to import annually over ten million cubic meters of lumber, a quantity representing more than a billion francs (\$200,000,000). Since it can obtain the greater part of that quantity in its colonies, it is of prime importance that it should utilize their resources, instead of purchasing lumber in foreign lands, and enhance by that much the value of its colonies.

Although colonial lumber—traffic in which was in great part monopolized by the port of Hamburg—has hitherto been imported in but small quantities, and that generally confined to rare species, men with foresight have turned their attention to developing that industry, without exhausting its source. Even before the war the Minister for the Colonies organized several forestry missions, while the "Paris Society of Commercial Geography" published a study dealing with forest preservation in its bulletin of December, 1912; and the Government sent out, during the war, the Bertin mission to Africa, whose reports were summarized

at a Congress of Civil Engineers by M. Gilet and M. Rouget. The object of the mission was to substitute in great measure colonial lumber for the ordinary lumber purchased abroad. It is, doubtless, a great undertaking to organize a vast exploitation which shall, on the resumption of labor, furnish ample material; to familiarize the commercial world with these new products by circulating samples as rapidly as possible. And the mission has carefully studied all the details of the necessary steps, indicating the part to be taken by the government and by private initiative.

Certain portions of this organization should be realized at once. No time should be lost in installing in every colony a forestry service, lest the French overseas dominions be exposed to the danger of excessive exploitation, such as in the beginning of the war—before the establishment of the military forestry service—ruined so many French forests.

It is generally estimated that the French colonies possess over a billion cubic meters of timber, so that if an annual exploitation of ten million cubic meters is accompanied by the requisite reforestation they will be able to maintain that figure for centuries to come. The importation on a large scale of timber from the colonies, indispensable for France to tide over the present critical period, will run no risk whatever of interruption when the forests of the mother-country shall furnish their normal output, for industrial progress is always accompanied by an increase of timber consumption. In the United States it has doubled, *per capita*, in thirty years, in England in forty years, and a similar increase is taking place in France.

THE ALSATIAN PROTESTANTS

IN *La Revue* (Paris) of March 1-15 L. M. Dumas writes in simple, clear style, and with intimate psychological sympathy, of "Alsatian Protestantism and French Sentiment." The writer seems to be an officer of the Army of Occupation, whose unit has been shifted from one to another Alsatian city. One surmises that he is a very liberal-minded man theologically, bred in Roman Catholic environment, like the educated French generally.

On the first day of our entrance into Alsace, I heard an officer let fall, concerning the Alsatian Protestants, the sweeping declaration: "They're all Boches." Again, in a railway carriage a pair of native civilians sat among French officers. One of the two remarked: "'Tis the Jews here who know French best; in fact, they're generally right good Frenchmen." An officer retorted: "They're not like the Protestants, then." The civilian made the frank reply, such as he would never have ventured to a German in uniform, "I'm a Protestant myself, and I don't wish it said the other Protestants aren't French."

This reveals a widespread, mistaken, but excusable impression (especially prevalent among French military men) which the writer proceeds most tactfully to efface.

In the capital, Strasburg, the venerable M. Gerold is the senior and leading Protestant clergyman. For his pro-French utterances in war-time the German rulers silenced him, and also imposed a prison sentence—which they never dared execute. On November 24, 1918, when he entered his church again to preach his first French sermon, the whole congregation stood up, as solemn homage to him and to France. On December 9 the President and Prime Minister were formally welcomed, in the same edifice. One of a group of officers, visiting the church next day, complained to the author of its "icy coldness," the utter lack of special decorations; yet the pastor had personally welcomed the two great French statesmen to the city, as he was the accepted head of the entire Protestant clergy.

Many austere churchmen have scruples against any secular display in the House of God. But far more than that, mere joyous welcome is not the whole attitude of Alsace. There is worry, some fear, occasionally even terror.

A Catholic priest talked frankly of his own people. The peasants are deeply religious. France is accounted irreligious. She

promises freely now. At first changes will be in minor matters only. But the enforcement of her own standards will increase. "Eventually religion will be rendered anemic. The soul of Alsace will have vanished with its fervor and its faith." Yet the overwhelming majority of Catholics still believe that they are regaining both a political and a religious fatherland.

The Germans, while merely coquetting with Catholicism, have impressed on the Protestants that their fate was absolutely bound up with Protestant Germany and its Lutheran Kaiser. "If France revives religion at all"—said the German immigrants and propagandists—"she will remain Roman Catholic. She will persecute all dissent, as she did of old the Huguenots. Only with us are you safe!"

So, when France came, some Protestants imagined themselves isolated, a hopeless minority in a Catholic nation, even political suspects, as the followers of a German reformer. That is, not all the seeds of the propaganda had fallen on stony ground. One pastor said frankly: "But our preaching will be forbidden, our liturgy altogether suppressed."

Such a lie has some kernel of excuse or foundation, usually. And in 1914, when the French overran the valley of Münster, one village pastor, a German by birth, was forbidden to preach, but suffered to carry on the regular service otherwise. And after a very brief time, the commandant went in person to announce to him the lifting of the ban. Yet the incident was skilfully exaggerated to appear but part of a general and settled policy.

Alsace never was Germanized at all. Teuton officialdom, Teuton militarism, the cry of "Deutschland über Alles!" remained as hateful as the personal insolence of the German lieutenant. To the gruff "You are Germans!" the peasantry always replied: "No, we are Alsatians!" If the desire took shape, never again to be the football or the booty of contending nations, but to stand safely aloof and independent like Holland or Switzerland—that was but human.

In the study of one pastor, criticized for his "coldness" this last autumn, the writer read an ante-bellum sermon, written just after the murderous Zabern incident. "He had felt it as a whiplash on Alsace, and he,

too, reared and plunged." He had written, *e. g.*, "This junior lieutenant is part of an organism whose spirit is bad, whose attitude disturbs us,—and that spirit should vanish." The author sees no fault in pastors of such courage and sincerity. When all dreams of independence fade, when Alsace actually is French, their unquestioning loyalty will still be gladly shown to her. The rest is for time, tact, patience, and wise liberalism of legislative treatment, to bring about.

But (as readers of the famous story *La dernière école* will recall) the language has always been more German than French. The more stolid peasant temper does not react easily to Gallic gaiety and effervescence. German rule is a half-century old, and not a few born Alsations are frankly Germanic in their political, social and intellectual life.

A really pathetic confession by a young school-mistress is a fine human document, to be appreciated only if perused in full.

While the village Protestants generally are only wondering what measures will be enforced under French occupation, my heart is sad over Ger-

many's defeat. I love the German literature. I could not help it. I was so educated, and in our own schools. I feel that Alsace has found happiness on the German track ("in the German furrow"). I wish she could have followed it. I did not wish her to become French. It pains me. I do not conceal it, nor am I ashamed of it. But I cannot break with my own Alsace, and wish to follow her—in sadness but in loyalty.

To a reminder how difficult her task must thus become, she answered, after silence, with suppressed tears:

Yes, I realize. What will become of me later I do not know. I am conscious only of the moment's crisis. But could not trust be felt in my loyalty, in my feelings of honor and duty?

The French writer, deeply versed in psychology, believes such elements as he has pointed out to be among the most valuable for the creation of an ideal future Alsace, which he believes to be already indissolubly merged in France. One might go yet further, and propose to leave such an Alsace, in absolute freedom and peace, to see some day, perhaps, for herself the value of French citizenship, and to beg for it as a privilege.

THE PART PLAYED BY RAILROADS IN THE WAR

THE paper in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* (Paris) for March 15, by General de Lacroix, on "Railroads during the War" certainly opens in a way to arrest the attention of an American reader:

The application of railway service to war dates from the campaign of 1859 in Lombardy. In July, 1861, on the plateau of Manassas Junction, the Confederate General Johnston brought up 8000 men, by train, to reinforce General Beauregard. . . . This unexpected arrival, in the heat of the battle, just when the superior Federal forces thought the fight was won, turned the tide and assured victory for the Confederates. This was the first example of the actual use of railroads for rapid transit from a great distance to the field of battle itself.

The Germans, as usual, made prompt and efficient use of the means invented and first applied by others. When the "eight days' campaign" of '66 enabled Prussia to shoulder Austria out of the Diet, redraw the map of North Germany, and slip into the position of foremost military power in Western Europe, it is evident that masterful use of transportation, hardly less than the detested conscription laws of the previous years, had made all this seem so easy and inevitable.

General Lamarque's prophecy was fulfilled: "It may be that steam will one day work a revolution (in methods of warfare) as complete as did the invention of gunpowder."

In new factors, the old maxim was to be emphatically restated:

It is not enough to have an abundance of effectives; they must be brought to bear, betimes, at the desired point. The game is a continuous, played, in time and space, with reserves. It is a directive and regulative activity for the High Command, throughout the entire course of the battle or series of battles: it is maneuvering, under control of the commander's brain and hand.

Railroads make possible the instant mobilizing and concentration of the army. Then begins their service, planned in detail long beforehand, up to the very firing-line and through the whole region behind it. Provisioning, munitioning, removal of the invalided, wounded, and prisoners, transport of men on furlough or en route to outposts, the speedy conveyance of the daily couriers, etc., etc., must always depend on the railways. Always overburdened, they must be kept in continuous service and constant re-

pair, and flexibly extended at the shortest notice wherever and whenever the army moves.

On the stroke of midnight, August 2d, 1914, all the railroads of France passed from civil into military control. Henceforth every change of time-table, every movement of rolling stock, was dictated by the need of winning the war. So the connected sketch of railway activity in 1914-18 is virtually a rapid review of the war itself. This is almost wholly from the French point of view, because only on this side are statistics, and data generally, as yet accessible for the writer.

Only a rapid glance can be thrown at one or two picturesque incidents. Thus in 1915 a fleet of fifty-two steamers arrived at Marseilles from India. It brought what, until this war, might have been considered a great foreign army of invasion: 70,000 Gourkas and Sikhs, with their peculiar personal baggage, ammunition, artillery, etc. All these had to be promptly disembarked, entrained, and transported across France to the British trenches on the Flanders front. And this was a minor task.

There was perhaps no moment when the Council of Allies was nearer to panic than when they were threatened with a debacle in Northern Italy, on the heels of Russia's collapse and withdrawal from the struggle.

On October 23, 1917, the very day when the Germans penetrated to the South of Plezzo, the (Railway) Company was called upon by the military authorities to bring together, within twenty-four hours, the means of transportation, including, of course, the train crews, sufficient to take across the Alps, by express, 120,000 British or French troops, with their artillery and military stores of every description.

This miracle was successfully wrought. In less than the required time, 500 locomotives and 12,000 cars were speeding from all parts of the national system toward the zone of embarkation. Next day the trains stood, made up, in sufficient numbers to meet the actual demand as the troops appeared.

On the 28th, the twelve thousand cars were in motion, and in four days completed the run to the Trentino from the Southern French front. When on November 8 the Italians ended their retreating movement westward, they were able to halt in security on the Piave, assured of direct union of their forces with the Anglo-French troops.

And close on the heels of this first expedition there steamed over the Alps 200 more engines dragging 5000 carloads—an adequate supply of munitions and food for the time.

Upon this prompt and efficient action followed successively the end of the retreat, relief from imminent peril, permanent security, aggressive confidence, and decisive victory. Probably nothing less energetic and immediate could have stopped the successful rush of the Germans across Italy to assail the French from the south and east. And we were ourselves not seriously in the field at all. The whole war might have resulted wholly otherwise.

Most marvelous of all, however, is the sudden recovery that began in July, 1918. The enemy's advance in Belgium and French territory since March had wrought wide havoc in Northern France. Entire railway lines had been rendered useless, notably from Amiens to Arras, from Paris to Chalons *via* Château Thierry, etc.

Paris, however, is the heart of the whole network of French railways. Thanks to that condition, it was possible, under the shadow of a supreme crisis, for all the radiating systems to concentrate their material resources and unify all their personal efforts with reference to the final success of the military operations.

Many vitally important stations, magazines, workshops, had been destroyed or evacuated. Thus, even one at Epernay, which was not captured, was largely stripped and dismantled, as a military precaution. Thousands of carloads of tools and materials had been shipped far southward.

Before these difficulties had been at all overcome, there were issued orders from Headquarters for continuous transportation of troops, as an imperative military necessity. These two tasks the railroads were forced to carry on simultaneously. Meantime Foch's offensive, pushed without pause from July 18th onward, rapidly regained full freedom of action for the railway lines as for the armies, and the two moved onward together until the decisive triumph.

Thanks to the defensive forced upon the enemy, on the lines of the Aisne and the Vesle, they found themselves utterly unable to carry off in their retreat the great mass of stores at Soissons, Fère-en-Tardenois, etc. Wasting their energies on lines useful only in covering that retreat, they were maneuvered out of one section after another, to utter exhaustion, demoralization—and surrender. In all this marvelously rapid sweep forward the flexible organization and incessant energy of the railway system were indispensable at every step.

A MINE BARRIER FROM NORWAY TO SCOTLAND

THE lifting of the veil that enveloped so many remarkable events of the late war has revealed no more interesting episode than one described by Capt. Reginald Belknap, U. S. N., in a lecture published in the *National Geographic Magazine*, under the title "The North Sea Mine Barrage." Captain Belknap tells a graphic story of an exploit carried out under his command. It was stupendous in itself, and momentous in its consequences, for it opposed an almost insuperable obstacle to the operations of German submarines and thereby materially hastened the end of the war.

From the time our country entered the conflict, says Captain Belknap, the Navy advocated strong offensive measures to block the German bases, so that few submarines, if any, might get out, and those that did might be caught and destroyed in returning. Such undertakings could not, however, be carried out close to German shores.

The German forces were very strong for operations near their own coast, and although the British destroyers were constantly planting mines in the Heligoland Bight, they could not prevent the German minesweepers from keeping channels open through these mine fields.

The enemy even had special vessels called barrage-breakers, and they were also very much assisted by bad weather, fogs, and variable currents, which handicapped the Germans much less than the British, who had to operate from a starting point farther away.

There was also the Skagerrack passage between Denmark and Norway, where no barrier could be placed without violating neutral waters. Consequently, the enemy submarines could always use this channel going to and from their bases at Kiel and Wilhelmshaven.

Any barriers that the allied navies could place near the German coast and near the Skagerrack were so close to the German bases that the enemy could at any time break through at some point by suddenly attacking there with more force than the Allies could maintain over any one section of the

whole line, so far away from the bases in Great Britain.

There were mines in plenty near the German coast, forcing all enemy craft to be very careful and now and then doing them some damage; but the submarines could still go in or out. The barrier close to the German coast could not be made effective.

The solution of the problem thus presented was made possible by the ingenuity of an American electrician, Mr. Ralph C. Browne, of Salem, Mass., who laid before the Navy Department the plan of a submarine gun. Although this invention was pronounced impractical, it embodied an idea which led to the development of a new type of submarine mine, the most important feature of which was that, by a simple automatic device, it could be moored at any desired distance below the surface of the water. This mine offered so many advantages over

CHART OF THE NORTH SEA, SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE MINE BARRAGE LAID BY THE AMERICAN AND BRITISH MINING SQUADRONS

(When this mine barrage was found to be effective, Germany realized that her submarine warfare had failed and that the ultimate defeat of her land forces was inevitable)

previous types in economy and effectiveness, as well as the facility with which it could be planted, that the Navy was inspired with the audacious idea of closing the North Sea against submarines by laying a mine field all the way from Scotland to Norway; a distance of 230 miles, or as far as from Boston to New York. The undertaking would cost tens of millions, and might prove a failure; but it appeared to be the only hopeful solution of the submarine problem, and so, in October, 1917, it was formally approved by the Navy Department and the work went forward.

Coöperation in the fullest measure was necessary from the start. Over 500 contractors and sub-contractors were soon engaged in the manufacture of the many parts, small and large, that go into the make-up of a complete mine.

Besides being a rush order all through, the task was complicated by the necessity for keeping parts of the mine secret. Some pieces had to be made here and others there, and both kinds sent to a third place to be joined, and all of the parts were finally delivered at Norfolk, Va., for shipment to Scotland, where the complete mines were to be assembled and adjusted, ready to plant.

There was a great transportation problem involved, originally estimated to absorb the use of 60,000 tons of shipping for five months. Beginning their sailings in late February, a group of twenty-four steamers, managed by the Naval Overseas Transport Service, were constantly employed, with two or three departures every eight

days, carrying mine material and stores for the northern barrage.

It was through a submarine sinking one of these ships, the *Lake Moor*, with forty-one of her crew, that our operation suffered its greatest, almost the only, loss of life.

Meantime the British naval authorities were preparing depots for us in Scotland. The mine material was to be unloaded on the west side of Scotland; some cargoes at Fort William, at the western terminus of the Caledonian Canal, and some at Kyle, on Loch Alsh, opposite the Isle of Skye. Thence the cargoes would be forwarded by canal barge and by rail to Inverness, and to Invergordon, on Cromarty Firth, respectively. These harbors open on Moray Firth, about eight miles apart, on the northeast coast of Scotland.

Here American naval officers established two large bases, each manned by a thousand men and together capable of preparing a thousand mines a day. As it was expected that each mine-laying trip would occupy about five days, it was decided that the mine-laying squadron should have a capacity of upwards of five thousand mines. This squadron consisted of two old cruisers, the *San Francisco* and the *Baltimore*, and eight merchant ships. Each ship was equipped with from four to six elevators for raising the mines rapidly to the launching deck, thus greatly facilitating the process of planting. The squadron sailed for Scotland May 11, 1918, and on the evening of June 6 the first mine-laying cruise was begun.

Captain Belknap gives us a vivid narrative of the unlighted vessels creeping forth,



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FIG 3

FIG 4

FIG 5

FIG 6

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under an escort of British destroyers, cruisers and battleships; the nocturnal journey to the Norwegian coast; and the anxious moments that preceded the early morning signal to begin planting, when it was still uncertain whether the enterprise that had cost so many months of preparation would prove a success. Everything went smoothly, and the ships returned to port after establishing a new world-record in mine-laying.

There were in all thirteen excursions by our squadron and eleven by the British mine-laying squadron. Twice the two squadrons were joined to lay their mines in company. On the first occasion our Rear-Admiral Strauss went out in command of the joint force; the second time Rear-Admiral Clinton-Baker, R. N.

On one of these joint excursions ten American ships planted 5520 mines, the four British ships 1300, making a total of 6820 planted in four hours.

This is the record for number. A few weeks later our squadron alone planted a field seventy-three miles long, making a record for distance.

The whole barrier contained 70,117 mines, of which 56,571, or four-fifths, were ours. The average was three excursions a month, though the intervals between were irregular. We steamed altogether 8700 miles in 775 hours while on these excursions.

Quite early in the summer, after only the second excursion, our work began to bring results, and more and more reports came in of submarines damaged or lost in this vicinity, although the British policy of secrecy about submarine losses concealed the definite numbers.

The actual losses will probably never be fully known; but, according to report, the Germans admit the loss of twenty-three submarines there, and the British Admiralty staff have been quoted as holding that the surrender of the German fleet and the final armistice were caused largely by the failure of the submarine warfare, this failure being admitted as soon as the mine barrage was found to be effective.

FLYING OVER MOUNTAIN TOPS

THE forthcoming business of exploring by airplane will involve a number of problems, one of which is that of ascending to great altitudes in order to pass over mountain ranges, whether these are or are not the immediate objective of the explorer. In the *Geographical Review* (New York) Mr. Henry Woodhouse discusses "High-Altitude Flying in Relation to Exploration," and deals particularly with the fascinating subject of flying over the Himalaya. The writer reminds us that

The trail of the airplane has already been carried over several of the world's famous ranges—over the Alps and the Andes; and new roads of conquest have been made in an interesting series of flights across the classic and forbidden ground of the Atlas. Last year three French aviators under the direction of Commandant Cheutin, Director of the French Air Service in Morocco, using Voisin bombing biplanes flew from Meknes to Bou Denib, crossing both the Middle Atlas and the High Atlas. The following day three small Nieuport pursuit-type biplanes made the return flight from Bou Denib to Meknes. One of the aviators continued on to Rabat. It was a flight of about 260 miles each way at heights of about 15,000 feet, because parts of the High Atlas are from 12,000 to 14,000 feet high. It was made successfully in a little over three hours. Previously Lieutenant Vasseur had crossed the High Atlas from Agadir and Marrakech. The mountain flying that has already been accomplished encourages aviator and geographer to look towards the conquest of the loftiest and least attainable of the world's ranges—the Himalaya.

It is evident that mountain flying involves different requirements from those presented by the two prospective aeronautical feats upon which popular interest is just now centered, *viz.*, transatlantic flight and the airplane expeditions to the North Pole.

CREATORS OF A NEW WORLD'S ALTITUDE RECORD FOR AEROPLANES (30,500 FEET): CAPT. ANDREW LANG, R. A. F. (LEFT), AND LIEUTENANT BLOWES

In Arctic exploration and transatlantic flight we have three requirements to be met:

- (1) A sustained flight, twice as long as the longest yet made.
- (2) From ten to twenty-five hours' continuous service of the pilots on the airplane.
- (3) The use of instruments for determining the course when astronomical observations, "shooting" the horizon, and ascertaining the airplane's speed and drift are, to put it mildly, difficult.

In crossing the Himalaya the cardinal requirement is to attain a sufficiently great altitude. There are three aspects of such an undertaking to be considered:

- (1) Crossing the mountains by flying through the passes or gorges or by passage over the main range and avoidance of the high peaks.
- (2) Flying over the highest peaks, including Mt. Everest, which is 29,002 feet, and Mt. Kanchenjunga, which is almost as high.
- (3) Making a landing on the ranges.

According to Dr. Kellas¹ the main range could be crossed at an altitude of 23,000 to 25,000 feet by avoiding the peaks that are over 24,000 feet high, of which, so far as is known, there are about eighty. Further, by utilizing passes or gorges transit could be made at a still lower elevation—not over 19,000 feet. These altitudes can be reached by present-day airplanes. There are a great many airplanes used by the British and the other Allied nations that have a "ceiling" (maximum altitude attainable by the plane) of approximately 30,000 feet with the usual military load; and the flight across the Himalaya through the gorges and passes would not be considered more difficult than the flights made daily over the enemy's barrage fire, where in addition every cloud may hide a squadron of enemy fighting planes. It certainly would not be as difficult as was the flight of the squadron of Italian S. V. A. single-motored biplanes that, under the command of Major Gabriele d'Annunzio on August 10, 1918, flew from Venice to Vienna, a trip which involved more than two hours' flying over the Alps.

The mountaineering aviator will doubtless not be satisfied with anything short of a flight over Mt. Everest itself, and it is therefore of interest to compare the height of that mountain above sea-level (about 29,000 feet) with the greatest altitudes hitherto attained by airplanes. Last September Capt. Schroeder, U. S. A., established a record of 28,900 feet at Dayton, Ohio, and on January 2 of the present year Capt. Lang, of the British Army, with a companion, rose to a height of 30,500 feet above Ipswich, England; the altitude record to date.

To carry out the project of flying over Mt.

Everest and Mt. Kanchenjunga it will be necessary to build special airplanes. It is of little value from a military viewpoint to have a plane with a ceiling of 35,000 feet unless it can carry guns and munitions and the pilot can patrol for about two hours. In addition, the machine must have a maximum equipment of safety to enable the pilot to make vertical turns, to do the "roll," the "falling leaf," the "Immerman turn," the "nose dive," the "loop," and other similar maneuvers that may be necessary in the course of an aerial flight; the machine must also have a very high horse-power motor to insure maximum speed.

The explorer can dispense with machine guns and ammunition, although he should carry a gun for protection in case he lands away from his starting point. He can also dispense with one hour's fuel, and the construction of the machine can be lighter. But these two considerations should come last. The greatest saving in weight will be in having a smaller motor—and correspondingly less fuel and tankage.

The writer discusses the effects of the low temperatures that would be encountered over the Himalaya, and cites his reasons for believing that "the solution of the problem of flying in cold weather consists largely in providing suitable clothing for the aviator."

With regard to the physiological effects of great altitudes, concerning which so much conflicting information has been published, Mr. Woodhouse makes the important point that "the aviator has the advantage over the mountain climber that he can start out in perfect physical condition and can accomplish the entire journey in a few hours, whereas it would take the mountain climber days or weeks."

Finally comes the question of making landings on the mountains.

Landing airplanes on such surfaces as the Himalaya may be expected to present, and starting again, will be mainly a matter of skill and organization. A specially made airplane for flying at high altitudes may not have a speed of more than 75 or 80 miles an hour and would have a very low landing speed. It would also be a very light machine and, if possessing a margin of power, could rise from a flat clearance of from 400 to 500 feet. In preliminary flights the aviator could drop tents, bags of food and equipment, and spare parts on a selected spot near the place where he intended to land. Dropping these things from an airplane would not be difficult. It was done repeatedly by the British aviators at Kut. Italian aviators also dropped bread and provisions on the mountains for their forces which had been cut off from their lines of communication and had exhausted their supplies. The aviators carried sufficient food and provisions to last them many days.

Having carried and dropped all the equipment necessary, the aviator could then attempt the landing.

¹A. M. Kellas: *The Possibility of Aerial Reconnaissance in the Himalaya*, *Geographical Journal*, London, Vol. 51, 1918, pp. 374-389.

AN AERIAL PHOTOGRAPH—THE BEST MEANS OF SHOWING COMMUNICATION FACILITIES

USES OF AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY

BEFORE the signing of the armistice the photographic branch of our air service had reached a stage of development little known outside of military circles. Beginning in the fall of 1917, with a single school of aerial photography at Langley Field, we had within a year four schools which had graduated 2300 men, while 700 were still in training. There are, besides, 2000 airplane pilots and observers who have had complete instruction in aerial photography.

Writing in *Flying* for April, Captain M. A. Kinney, Jr., states that our camera men are able to make as many as 90 per cent. "good" pictures at altitudes of 6000 feet. These men have also learned how to make accurate "mosaics" by triangulation. With the K-1 camera they can in one continuous trip at an altitude of 10,000 feet take enough exposures to cover an area of about 200 square miles. This is photographic mapping by wholesale! The various photographs, gathered as the result of a mapping trip, can be pieced together in an accurate mosaic by an absolute method of triangulation. When the map is completed it may be turned over to trained draftsmen, who trace it, and by a system of interpretation, work in woodlands,

marshes, cultivated areas, houses, and roads. The labor of years in old-fashioned map-surveying is thus reduced to hours. Captain Kinney suggests several directions in which this aerial map-making may be turned to good advantage in our commercial and industrial life:

An interesting field for aerial photography that suggests itself for successful commercial development is the mapping of small areas for real-estate projects or proposed industrial sites. It is a well-known fact, that where new buildings are to cover large areas there never are good maps of plant and neighboring territory. Because of the lack of good maps, sometimes three or four months of valuable time must be lost before grading operations can be commenced. Say, the area for real estate or industrial development is forty square miles in size. By aerial photography a map just as accurate as that produced by the surveyor and far more comprehensive can be made available within forty-eight hours after the flight to take the exposures. This in itself is proof positive that aerial photography can be made a wonderful asset to the ordinary business man.

Aerial photography will be of especially great value in forestry work. Months and even years of time are now being spent by so-called timber cruisers who travel through forests with pedometer and pack mule to make rough surveys. Their reports naturally can't be very accurate. Think

on the other hand how very valuable a large photographic map accurately scaled on which practically every bush and tree is shown of a large tract of wood, would be to the owner.

A mosaic of such a forest would show at a glance all virgin tracts of young trees which could not be considered of commercial value, all bush-land, fire tracts, so-called "dead-lake" areas, etc. We have even specially trained men who by close study of foliage as shown on the photographs can tell what species of tree predominate in the area. Also by means of oblique photographs as adjuncts to those taken vertically one can determine the general height of the trees and their denseness. From this one can see that a concern with photographic data such as that obtained by aeroplane and contemplating the purchase of certain areas could estimate quite closely the number of feet of lumber that could be obtained from the tracts and know what obstacles would be met in cutting and transporting the timber.

Railroad valuation suggests another extensive use for aerial photography. It is a fact that all large railroads spend thousands of dollars yearly for the hire of crews of civil engineers who

spend all their time making valuation surveys. These jobs extend into years and by the time they have finished the valuation of a certain section a good part of their data is obsolete because of changes and improvements. I know, for example, of one road that for six years has been trying to get a complete valuation report by the survey method of 200 miles of its property and though six years have passed since the work was begun only 100 miles have been covered. A large number of changes can occur in six years, so one can see just how really inadequate a report of this kind is to a railroad company.

On the other hand, an aeroplane traveling above the right of way could quickly cover any section desired and map out not only the railroad property, but also all land for a half mile on each side of the tracks. All telephone poles, ties, waste material, signal apparatus, culverts, crossings, bridges, etc., would be shown and the copies of the linear maps would be of great convenience not alone as a valuation report easily visualized but of untold benefit to various departments in checking up material and equipment along the right of way. Such maps could easily be kept up-to-date by periodical re-mapping trips.

A MACHINE-GUN CAMERA

EXPLAINING the construction and use of the new gun camera in a recent number of the *New York Sun*, Capt. Harry J. Devine, who assisted in its development, tells us it was offered to the Government by one of

TARGET PRACTICE WITH MACHINE-GUN CAMERA

America's photographic manufacturing companies from a purely patriotic motive. "This gun camera, as brought to its present state, is absolutely American in theory, design and manufacture, and we are proud of it," he says. "It is only another of the unexpected developments of war work and its future use in peace times is unlimited."

The American type of gun camera, as finally perfected, weighs only thirteen pounds, with a lens barrel eight inches in length and two inches in diameter. It is attached directly to the gun, with its magazine of film in place of the cartridge magazine of the machine gun. It is so simple that in thirty seconds the film magazine can be substituted in the air for the cartridge magazine and the gun can be used in combat.

The camera takes 100 exposures of film on one loading, which is equivalent to 100

rounds of ammunition, and, using motion-picture film, its fire is made in "bursts," or continuous automatic shooting, as long as the trigger of the machine gun is pressed, thus simulating exactly the action of shooting in aerial combat. Each gun camera is provided with three magazines which are loaded in a dark room and which enable the training airman to "shoot" 300 times.

In order to obtain the automatic action of a machine gun, it was necessary to find a substitute for the exploding gases which operate the ejecting and cocking mechanism; and a hand-wound spring like a phonograph spring, attached to the five-inch film reel shaft through the shutter mechanism, was adopted. As in shooting in the air, it is necessary to aim the plane itself in order to bring the gun to bear on the enemy; skill in maneuvering, daring and nerve, and accuracy are essential to assure the destruction of the enemy and protection for the pilot, his observation records, and his plane. Shooting a machine gun in the air, therefore, is far different from similar target practice on the ground; and it was to test these necessary qualities in an aviator that the gun camera was used. Captain Devine says:

The recording of the shots is made through a glass plate called a graticule, placed in the barrel of the focal plane in contact with the film, which is marked with vertical and horizontal lines pass-

ing through the center and one small circle indicating the bull's eye of the target, while two larger circles indicate the outer field covered by the camera. These marks are impressed upon every film and consequently good and bad shots are recorded accurately in every phase of the aerial work.

The most recent development of the camera was the application of a timing attachment by which a watch face, attached outside the device, is photographed through reflection on the same sector of the film which records the shot. Thus, it records the image of the target, showing the exact location of the other aeroplane, and shows to the fraction of a second when the shot was made. By this means two, instead of one, aviators, may engage in practice combats, with a perfect record of their work and accurate register of the proficiency of each.

The tremendous speed at which machines are

flying and the position of the opposing machines at the instant of firing a bullet (making exposure), must be reckoned in the crediting of hits. The accompanying photograph shows a perfect bull's eye, for the plane photographed is flying directly into the field of the machine gun bullets, the margin of speed carrying it forward so as to be hit in a vital part.

This is only one of the many photographic marvels which Uncle Sam had up his sleeve for the Hun; and it is the lifting of the ban of censorship that enables us to learn of this remarkable invention. All the American Army and Navy flying fields were equipped with the gun camera, and 1400 were manufactured for the service up to the date of the Armistice.

AN ITALIAN DIPLOMAT'S MEMORIES OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT

SOME interesting reminiscences of Colonel Roosevelt are given in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome) by Signor Mayor des Planches, who was Italian Ambassador at Washington during the Roosevelt administration.

The former Ambassador recalls especially Mr. Roosevelt's fervent admiration of Julius Cæsar, whom he regarded as the greatest man the world had ever produced. When he requested Signor Mayor des Planches to transmit for him to the Italian historian, Guglielmo Ferrero, then on a visit to the United States, a personal invitation to be his guest at the White House, he indicated among the motives that made him wish to be better acquainted with the historian of Rome, the hope that he might induce Signor Ferrero to modify a little his judgment of Julius Cæsar, a judgment he considered to be unjust.

In conversation, Mr. Roosevelt was versatile, vivacious, ready, copious, and agreeable. Reminiscences, anecdotes, allusions, flowed from his lips uninterruptedly. After the diplomatic dinners at the White House, he would invite the Ambassador (not the ministers plenipotentiary, much less those of lower rank) into a small reception room to take coffee or to smoke. This room was soon called the "Café des Ambassadeurs," after the famous resort in Paris. On such occasions Roosevelt was not merely brilliant, he was scintillating. The different literatures, history, archæology, and art, furnished the

material for his talk, and he set in motion all his arts to please, to fascinate, and to inspire admiration.

On the other hand, the Italian writer does not find that he was a really great orator, although he was an abundant speaker. His enunciation was somewhat labored, even in ordinary conversation his utterance was occasionally such as to give the impression that as a child he might have stammered and had later overcome this defect. At least this might have been inferred from the fact that certain words seemed to cost him an effort, and led him to contract sharply his facial muscles, showing his teeth, which were large, with a peculiar expression that was quickly seized upon by the caricaturists. "A pair of glasses over a set of teeth," as was said in France.

Therefore in public speaking the writer does not credit him with that even flow of well-phrased ideas which constitutes eloquence, nor that art, perhaps a trifle theatrical, of moving the emotions, that is possessed by William J. Bryan, and which can make the hearers pass in a few moments from tears to laughter, or vice versa. But he was always strong, often subtle, and being convinced himself he convinced others.

He had read much and still continued to do so; even during his Presidential term he found time for this. The writer also tells of his habit of reading aloud to his family in the evenings, commenting on what he had just read and chatting about it.

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT

IN *Le Correspondant* (Paris) of March 10th, M. Max Turmann sets forth clearly and exhaustively "The Origin and Progress of International Labor Legislation, down to the Assembling of the Peace Conference." The especial timeliness and importance of this study is intimated in the last phrase of the title.

The writer, a devoted Catholic, emphasizes the former leadership of the Church as protector of the small and weak, and the full share taken by his coreligionists, under Leo XIII's leadership, side by side with the militant Socialists, in the entire International Labor reform agitation,—which is hardly more than a half century old. This alliance is important in removing the prejudice against the entire agitation as a political and class propaganda.

This is a field in which the great growth of international markets and commerce makes radical action by any single power perilous, almost suicidal. To prohibit the labor of women, or introduce a legally limited eight-hour day, in Belgium or Switzerland, for example, without action on the part of France, might well bring prompt industrial and financial ruin upon the lesser state.

It was an Alsatian sociologist, M. Daniel Legrand, a reformer far ahead of his day, who in 1858 called for an international law as "the only means for bestowing desirable benefits, moral and material, upon the laboring class, without harming the manufacturers, and without disturbing competition between industries." The government of Switzerland, far in advance of other countries, sent out over Europe, in 1880, invitations to a general official conference—which were all but unanimously declined. A second invitation, in 1889, was no less generally accepted; "but, greedy to monopolize the glory of the action, which would be notable in world-history, William the Second announced his intention to have the conference assemble in Berlin, and the Swiss Government effaced itself before the pride of the German Emperor."

This Berlin Conference, of 1890, with its too ambitious program, accomplished almost nothing in direct results, but "it did effectively," to use Count de Mun's words, "make the social question, and particularly, recognition of the rights of the laborers, the order

of the day for the governments of Europe."

The problems of protection for minors and women, Sunday rest, and maximum length of the working day, had at least been taken up, and discussed, by the assembled representatives of the European governments.

The so-called international workingmen's "Congress" which met at Zurich in August, 1897, had of course no political basis, but was merely a gathering of the (comparatively few) friends of the movement. It was curiously composed of 165 Socialist delegates, 98 Catholics, and no others. This reveals the singular and limited nature of the agitation thus far. This Congress created a permanent Executive Committee, and vainly urged the European states to establish an international bureau of publication and information as to labor laws and conditions.

The similar unofficial Congress of Brussels, 1897, and especially of Paris, 1900 (at the time of the Exposition) brought together economists, statesmen, captains of industry, heads of labor unions, and others. The movement was broadening and gaining in force. National, religious, social barriers vanished for the time. In the Permanent Committee of the International Society, as organized at Paris, not merely the national societies but the governments, including the Papacy, were represented. The time for united political action seemed close at hand.

The Conference of Berne, May, 1905, of official delegates of the European nations, actually agreed on the first chapter of a code, to which "the plenipotentiaries of a great majority of the European powers affixed their signatures." Again the Swiss had been the pioneers, with the mistakes of 1890 as a warning, and were the hosts. A brief and modest program had been wisely arranged, and was successfully carried through. The "chapter" mentioned merely prohibits all night work by women whenever ten or more hands are employed. There were indeed various exceptions, some temporary, some for industries only carried on at certain seasons, like canning, making of preserves, etc. But the principle became universal in its application.

This was, of course, real international legislation, economic, hygienic, and no less moral in purpose. It committed the powers to special care of the women, and in general

of the weak and helpless. Furthermore, it proved, that private individuals without political power, could force from an unwilling official class, attention, interest, and finally action, in a righteous and needful reform. The signatory powers were Germany, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Great Britain, Italy, Luxemburg, Holland, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland (alphabetically arranged in French).

With the constant pressure of the "Internationale" agitators, a third official Conference was brought about in 1913. It met at Berne in mid-September—less than a year before the unforeseen world-war befell.

Here again only two limited problems were seriously considered:

(1) Night work for juveniles. The rule there decreed is, up to 14 years, none; from 14 to 16, only in a special crisis not recurrent nor to be foreseen. The other exceptions are merely for the next few years, until certain industries can be adjusted to the new requirements. No labor harmful to health is included therein. (2) The maximum day for women, and for boys under 16. That is fixed at 10 hours—or $10\frac{1}{2}$ at most, in a total week of 60 hours. This was in various countries a radical reform. In Belgium, for instance, there had been no limit, except one of twelve hours daily for women under 21 and boys under 16.

All governments were urged, also, to ordain suitable breaks in any labor day exceeding six hours. Even the exceptional extra service, at urgent need, was limited to an annual total of 180 hours—this only in certain industries, and never in the case of workers under 16.

"Such is the second chapter of the international labor code, or rather, such it would be to-day, had not William II unchained war;" for the convention had not received official ratification by the home governments when the great storm broke.

That ratification may be part of the special recommendations of the Labor Commission, now sitting in Paris, to the Peace Conference itself. M. Turmann calls effective attention to the illuminating fact that this Commission is presided over by Mr. Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, although prior to the war the United States had held aloof from European efforts to internationalize labor legislation.

Every serious student of sociology, or of human progress generally, will find a careful study of this entire essay most profitable. Not less encouraging is the story as an example of the moderate success long ago attained in united action for the common good by practically all the states of Western and Central Europe. It is a happy foreshadowing of the larger future.

GOVERNMENT STATISTICS IN WAR-TIME, AND AFTER

THAT knowledge is power and ignorance is weakness was illustrated in more than one way by events of the late war. A conspicuous illustration is cited by Prof. Wesley C. Mitchell, president of the American Statistical Association, in an article published in the *Monthly Labor Review* (Washington). When the war began the Federal Government possessed twenty or more statistical agencies, the weaknesses and especially the lack of coördination of which had been keenly realized even in peace time. These agencies were quite inadequate to the task of supplying the data needed under war conditions concerning national resources of various kinds, and the business of putting the nation on a war footing was seriously delayed by the lack of this statistical knowledge. Hence, says Professor Mitchell:

The Council of National Defense, the Food Administration, the Fuel Administration, the Shipping Board, the War Trade Board, the Railway Administration, and the War Industries Board, sooner or later set up each a new and independent statistical agency to meet its especial needs. The War Department and the Navy Department followed suit. And these agencies, like the war boards which created them, had to be manned with people inexperienced in Government work and unfamiliar with Washington.

Yet the statistical work of the war boards as a whole showed precisely the same defect in organization as the work of the old statistical bureaus, and showed that fault in an aggravated degree. Each new agency worked by itself for a separate board. Hence there was much duplication of effort, and at the same time many important fields remained unworked; the results reached by different agencies could not be readily compared or combined; and the cost was needlessly great. Further, the energy of the new statistical agencies and the haste in which they worked magnified a minor fault of the old system

to large proportions. These new agencies wanted to get their fundamental data from the original sources; so they sent out questionnaires to business men in a veritable flood. Many manufacturing plants got elaborate papers which they were asked to fill out and return by the next mail in tens and in dozens. Frequently, different questionnaires covered nearly the same ground, and usually they required not a little investigation within the plant to collect the data asked for. Considerable expense was incurred and serious irritation was caused throughout the country by this obvious failure of organization in Washington.

This questionnaire evil brought back a flood of complaints, echoes of which reached the responsible heads of the war boards. The efficiency of economic mobilization seemed threatened; that was a more serious matter than the waste of public funds.

Accordingly, steps were taken to remedy an evil which, though accentuated by the war, had always existed in the Government's machinery for gathering statistics. First the statistical agencies connected with the Shipping Board, the War Trade Board and the War Industries Board were brought under a single head. Then the director of these organizations was made chairman of the statistical committee of the Department of Labor. Finally there was formed a Central Bureau of Planning and Statistics, with headquarters in the new building of the Interior Department.

The Central Bureau set up a clearing house of statistical activities, appointed contract men to keep in touch with the statistical work of all the war boards and certain of the old departments, and began to supervise the issuing of questionnaires. When the armistice was signed we were in a fair way to develop for the first time a systematic organization of Federal statistics.

For the first few weeks after the fighting stopped it seemed as if what had been gained in statistical organization might be lost almost at once. The rapid demobilization of the war boards threatened to sweep with it their statistical bureaus, or to scatter the new statistical bureaus among the old departments and leave us again in statistical confusion—making figures in abundance but having no general statistical plan. But at a critical moment President Wilson approved a plan by which the Central Bureau of Planning and Statistics was made the single statistical agency to serve the American conferees at the peace table. Thus, the Central Bureau was granted a reprieve of some months. It still remains to be seen whether this bureau or some successor serving the same centralizing functions will be made permanent.

Parenthetically, we may record here a fact not mentioned by Professor Mitchell; *viz*, that the new bureau has been issuing since last September a weekly bulletin known as

the *Weekly Statistical News*, which circulates among Government offices but not in the outside world, as the material it contains is of a more or less confidential nature. The objects of this bulletin are described as follows in a recent issue:

1. To prevent duplication in statistical work by giving to the statistical branches of each department early information concerning the plans of all other departments for gathering statistics.
2. To give all departments early information about work completed elsewhere.
3. To promote the use, as far as practicable, of uniform classifications and methods in the statistical work throughout the Government, so that results may, as far as possible, be comparable.

As stated above, the future of the Central Bureau of Planning and Statistics is still uncertain. Congressional action will be necessary to make it the permanent centralizing and coördinating agency which the statistical branches of the Government have always so badly needed.

Regardless of the fate of this particular organization, the war has undoubtedly brought permanent improvement to statistical methods and ideals at Washington. This is illustrated by the fact that

The Secretary of Commerce has asked the president of the American Economic Association and the president of the Statistical Association to appoint each a committee of three to advise with the Director of the Census on matters of statistical principle and on the selection of statistical experts. This arrangement, it is hoped, will be no formal affair, but a working plan by which the producers and the consumers of statistics can coöperate effectively to improve the products in which both parties are interested. To provide the two committees with working facilities, an office and a secretary have been furnished them by the Director of the Census.

The writer points out the desirability of continuing certain new statistical activities which the Government undertook in response to the demands of the war.

The war boards found it necessary to obtain monthly figures of stocks of certain commodities on hand and monthly figures of the production of other commodities. These figures were collected in a variety of ways, by the Census Office, by trade organizations like the Tanners' Council, or by sections of the war boards themselves. The results are of interest not only to the industries concerned, but also to the Government and to the general public. The permanent maintenance of this service, perhaps in a modified form, is a measure that promises to command increasing support from business men. If systematically extended this work might well develop into a continuing census of production, simple in form, inexpensive, but of great value in forecasting business conditions and directing public policy.

THE MUSIC OF THE CZECHOSLOVAKS

THERE is a saying, "Where there is a Czech—there you hear music." The first of the recorded musical relics of the Czechs is a song in honor of the Bohemian ruler, King Wenceslas, who was proclaimed a saint after his tragic death and became the symbol of patriotism and the protector of the Czech Catholic Church. It was in his reign that the first warfare occurred between the Czechs and the Germans (921-935 A.D.) which ended with the assassination of the Czech ruler. This song is a spiritual folk-song and is still sung in the churches of Bohemia. After John Huss was burned at the stake in the year 1415, the righteous indignation of his followers was voiced musically in the great battle hymn of the Czechs, beginning, "Ye Warriors Who for God Are Fighting." It is said that whenever this was sung terror and confusion were sown among the enemies of the Hussites. Another song that was a part of the service of the Bohemian Brethren is the beautiful evening hymn of the Moravians, "When Peaceful Night."

Although the government of Ferdinand II. tried to destroy all the musical art of Bohemia by burning the choral and hymn books, the Jesuits took over for church use many of the secular Czech folk-songs and the melodies were thus preserved.

Mr. Ladislav Urban, in "The Music of Bohemia," writes of Czech folk-music:

The Czech folk-songs are of a lively, rhythmic, dance-like character; often they are real dances. The Slovak folk-songs contrast with the Czech tunes by a more poetic form, a freer rhythm, and a tendency to introduce church modes. Singing is the chief passion of the Slovaks. Nothing will find its way so surely to the heart of the Slovak people as a well-sung song. An old peasant woman once complained to a friend of mine that her son was a useless, disappointing fellow. "What was the matter?" inquired my friend; "did he drink or would he not work?" "Oh, no," said the old woman, "but nothing will make him sing. It's a great misfortune."

The Polka was invented about the year 1830 by a country girl of Bohemia. . . . Besides the Polka, there is another Czech folk-dance with characteristic wild rhythm, "The Fjariant," which means a boasting farmer. Dvořák in his First Symphony introduces this dance.

Bedřich Smetana (1824-1884) laid the foundations of modern Czech musical culture.

In the last period of his creation Smetana expressed his love and admiration for his country and its history in a cycle called *My Country*, consisting of six charming symphonic poems. . . .

The image shows a musical score for a hymn. It consists of five systems of music, each with a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The lyrics are written below the vocal line. The music is in a key with one flat (B-flat) and has a 4/4 time signature. The tempo is marked 'P' for piano. The lyrics are: "Warriors who for God are fighting, and for His di- vine law. Pray that His help be vouchsafed you; With trust un- to Him draw; With Him you con-quer, in your foes in-spire awe; with Him you con-quer, in your foes in-spire awe." The score is written in a style typical of early 20th-century musical publications.

THE HUSSITE BATTLE HYMN OF THE CZECHS

With this work the composer reached his goal. No greater tribute to his success is needed than Liszt's exclamation upon hearing of Smetana's death—"He was a genius."

Anton Dvořák (1841-1904) the best known of the Czech composers in this country was the son of a village butcher. Zdenko Fibich (1850-1900) was the creator of modern melodramas—recitations with music. The greatest genius in modern Czech musical art is Vítězslav Novák.

A special analysis would be necessary to discover Novák's melodic and harmonic richness in chamber music, piano compositions, and especially in songs. His *Pan* op. 43, a poem in tones for piano solo, is one of the most marvelous works of modern piano literature.

Another Czech modernist is Joseph Suk (1874), the second violinist in the famous Bohemian String Quartet. He is a composer of absolute subjectivity with inclination to mysticism; a real poet in both the complicated symphonic forms and in short piano sketches.

Other Czech musicians favorably known in this country are Otakar Sevcík, familiar

to students of the violin and Jan Kubelik the celebrated violinist. Two world-famous singers, Emmy Destinn, the dramatic soprano and Karl Burian, the tenor, are Czechs. With this slight sketch of the musical life of the Czechoslovaks, it is helpful to understand the various terms now in use—"Bohemian, Czech, Slovak and Czechoslovak." They all mean the same nation, that of the most western branch of the Slavic race in Europe.

"Czech" is the Slav name of the Slav people and language in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. . . . Slovaks are that people who live in the

northwestern part of Hungary, called Slovakia, which with Bohemia forms the present republic and nation of the Czechoslovaks. . . . The Czechoslovak nation has received political recognition by the Allied nations and the United States, which has made their dream of political independence come true. The people of Czechoslovak origin in the United States being free and unrestricted under the Stars and Stripes, were able to assist their old country in fighting for freedom. Feeling that this help was possible only in a country like our great democratic nation, they gratefully try to reciprocate by bringing to the American people the best of Czechoslovak culture.¹

¹The Music of Bohemia. By Ladislav Urban. With catalogue of Czech music. Mailed on receipt of postage by The Czechoslovak Publicity Bureau, Mr. James Keating, Hotel Algonquin, New York.

MRS. AMELIA BARR, THE NOVELIST

WITH the death of Amelia Huddleston Barr, on March 10, only a few days before the completion of her eighty-eighth year, there passed from the world of the living a most remarkable woman, one whose indomitable spirit and brilliant career must remain an inspiration for years to come, to men and women who are striving against odds to lead brave and useful lives.

She was born on March 29, in the year 1831, at the town of Ulverston in Lancashire. In her autobiography, "All The Days of My Life" (Appletons), published in 1915, she wrote that "her soul came with her . . . an eager soul impatient for the loves and joys, the struggles and triumphs of the world." Her family, the Huddlestons, had always been ecclesiastical in their tendencies. Her father, William Henry Huddleston, was a Methodist parson. Mrs. Barr wrote of him, that he was a born evangelist who loved to go among shepherds and fishermen teaching the Gospel. At nineteen, after a happy girlhood spent at Shipley, Yorkshire, Riding, among the religious influences of her father's parsonage and in the wholesome atmosphere of girls' schools, she married Robert Barr, a young Glasgow business man.

A short time after her marriage, her husband's mercantile business failed and there began a long period of wandering and of physical and moral trials, which disciplined her spirit and prepared her for the work that lay beyond. The Barrs came to America and settled in Texas. Later they removed to Galveston, where in 1867 the yellow fever robbed her of her husband and the two

living sons. When in the following December her ninth child, a son, was born, he died in a few days from the effects of her own illness with the fever. She undertook to establish a boarding-house, but failed, and with her three daughters that remained to her out of a family of nine children, came on to New York in 1868, to take up a new and untried life. Infinitely saddened and with all small delights of life vanished, she builded her future from the treasures of moral and spiritual values. Beginning at the age of thirty-nine, a time in life when most women relax their energy, she achieved a notable financial, personal, and literary success.

In the years that followed she wrote over sixty successful novels, numerous essays and short stories, social and domestic papers—a vast collection of pot-boilers of which she in later life forgot even the names. She did not consider herself a poetess, but she wrote hundreds of poems. They were facile, tender and sympathetic. As she said, it was easy for her to "versify a good thought and tune it to the Common Chord—the C. Major of this life." Her work went around the world for this reason, and for fifteen years she made more than a thousand dollars a year from her poems alone. Because of her large output, she was forced to use two pen-names as well as her own. Some of her best work was done under the fictitious names and she received no credit for it.

She believed in religious thought and aspiration and so powerful were the spiritual forces that moved through her body that no amount of fatigue or illness could slacken her

furious energy. For years she sat at her desk eight hours a day. At eighty-two she wrote:

I have made my living for forty-two years in a stooping posture, but I am perfectly erect, and I ascend the stairs as rapidly as I ever did. . . . my life is still sweet and busy and my children talk of what I am going to do in the future as if I were immortal. . . . I have lived, I have loved, I have worked, and at eighty-two I only ask that the love and the work continue while I live.

Deeply religious in temperament, her faith lighted all the vicissitudes of her early days and shone as a serene star over the achievements of her later years. She believed that God still spoke directly to man. At eighty-two she solemnly declared that she had known the following truth all her life long:

Whoso has felt the Spirit of the Highest,
Cannot confound, nor doubt Him, nor deny;
Yea, with one voice, O World, though thou
deniest,
Stand thou on that side, for on this, am I

Among her best-known novels are "Jan Vedder's Wife," "The Bow of Orange Ribbon," "The Lion's Whelp," "Remember the Alamo," and "The Beads of Tasmer." Her style was simple and unaffected; she wrote for the hearts of men and women and succeeded in gaining their love and admiration the world over. Turning the pages of her books, one finds that perhaps in no other woman writer of her time has the instinct for pure narrative been strong.

MRS. BARR AT EIGHTEEN

Her range of acquaintanceship with life was immense and she gave with lavish hands whatsoever she thought her readers would appreciate. Of her writing, she wrote in old age:

MRS. AMELIA H. BARR, WHO BEGAN WRITING AT THIRTY-NINE AND PRODUCED MORE THAN SIXTY NOVELS

For the woman within, if she be of noble strain, is never content with what she has attained; she unceasingly presses forward in the lively hope of some better way, or some more tangible truth. . . . I write mainly for the kindly race of women. I am their sister and in no way exempt from their sorrowful lot. I have drunk the cup of their limitations to the dregs, and if my experiences can help any sad or doubtful woman to outleap her own shadow, and to stand bravely in the sunshine, to meet her destiny whatever it may be, I shall have done well.

The two closing stanzas of her poem "Help" synthesize the essence of her undaunted courage:

But, oh, thank God! There never has come
The hour that makes the bravest quail:
No matter how weary my feet and hands,
God never has suffered my heart to quail.

So the folded hands take up their work,
And the weary feet pursue their way;
And all is clear when the good heart cries,
"Be brave!—to-morrow's another day."



THE NEW BOOKS

RECONSTRUCTION AND WAR'S AFTERMATH

Labor and Reconstruction in Europe. By Elisha M. Friedman. E. P. Dutton and Company. 216 pp. \$2.50.

Mr. Friedman, who had already brought out a useful volume on "American Problems of Reconstruction," gives in this new book a body of important facts regarding the reconstruction commissions that have been formed in almost every European country, neutral as well as belligerent. He treats in detail the various aspects of the labor problem now confronting Great Britain and Germany. Mr. Friedman's work is the more valuable in that he has no panacea to offer, and is the advocate of no particular labor policy. He makes it his concern to present the facts of the situation, and to pass on to his readers the burden of formulating a definite scheme. An introduction is supplied by Secretary William B. Wilson of the Department of Labor.

Facts About France. By E. Saillens. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 306 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

A handbook of useful information, prepared by a French writer who served for nearly three years as interpreter to the British Expeditionary Force in France, and vouched for by Émile Hovelague, Inspector General of Public Instruction.

Alsace-Lorraine Since 1870. By Barry Cerf. The Macmillan Company. 190 pp. With map. \$1.50.

A straightforward statement of many facts that have been more or less obscure and inaccessible to American readers. Although Captain Cerf has made use of a great number of French books and articles, the most convincing part of his discussion is based on German sources. It is hardly necessary to say that Mr. Cerf's argument reaches the conclusion that Alsace-Lorraine should be restored to France by the Treaty of Peace. Captain Cerf is a member of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin, and his methods of dealing with historical materials are thoroughly scientific.

Pan-Prussianism. By Charles William Super. The Neale Publishing Company. 306 pp. \$1.25.

This relentless analysis of German "Kultur" was written during the heat of conflict, and its expressions are not in every instance remarkable for restraint. Nevertheless, it is the fruit of sincere conviction, and the author is certainly justified in his contention that a book "based upon records more fully attested than are nine-tenths of those that are used in writing history or biography cannot be called a hate book."

Prussian Political Philosophy. By Westel W. Willoughby. D. Appleton and Company. 202 pp. \$1.50.

A scientific analysis of the principles and implications of the Prussian system. Professor Willoughby has gone through the speeches and writings of Prussia's statesmen, publicists, preachers, poets, and university professors, and over against expressions of Prussian political theory, he gives a brief but well-considered description of American political ideals, so that the two opposing systems may be clearly discerned.

The German Myth. By Gustavus Myers. Boni and Liveright. 156 pp. \$1.

Almost the only German claim that is still widely accepted in this country is that of social progress. For many years before the war, other nations, well aware of bad social conditions existing within their own borders, were taught to look to Germany as a sort of social paradise where all faults in the social structure had been eliminated. This little book boldly challenges the Teutonic boast. From German official documents it shows that Germany, so far from doing away with bad conditions, has all along suffered severely from underpaid labor, the industrial enslavement of women and children, bad housing conditions, underfeeding, great infant mortality, and extensive pauperism.

The Resurrected Nations. By Isaac Don Levine. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 309 pp. Ill. \$1.60.

The day's news about the peoples made free by the Great War is still far in advance of the knowledge that most Americans have concerning these minor nationalities of Europe and Asia. A volume of this kind, giving brief histories of these various peoples with enough of their respective backgrounds to make clear their claims to nationality, is a real boon to the newspaper reader of to-day. It supplies him with a working knowledge that cannot easily be had in any other way. The book treats of nine European nationalities — Czechoslovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Albania, Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Lettonia, Esthonia, and Finland—and nine Asiatic-Arabia, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Kurdistan, Armenia, Georgia, and Azerbaijan.

The Playground of Satan. By Beatrice Baskerville. W. J. Watt and Co. 308 pp. \$1.50.

The story of Poland's part in the Great War, told in the form of a novel. Her tragic experiences, between two armies, are vividly described.

America, Save the Near East! By Abraham Mitrie Rihbany. Boston: The Beacon Press. 164 pp. \$1.

An appeal from an enlightened Syrian, the author of "A Far Journey" and other widely read works, for America's aid in the rebuilding of the Asiatic Turkish provinces and especially the author's native land.

Our Allies and Enemies in the Near East. By Jean Victor Bates. E. P. Dutton and Company. 226 pp. \$5.

The descriptions given in this book of Rumanian and Bulgarian regions are vivid and picturesque. Miss Bates has not ventured into the political or diplomatic aspects of the subjects, but has evolved her book entirely from personal knowledge, based on long continued intimacy with the peoples of whom she writes.

The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans. By R. W. Seton-Watson. E. P. Dutton and Company. 307 pp. Ill. \$5.

An account of the successive struggles of Balkan peoples for deliverance from Turkey and the establishment of the modern Balkan States. Dr. Seton-Watson is one of the leading British authorities in this field, the author of eight important books dealing with Balkan and Eastern European politics.

The Firebrand of Bolshevism. By Princess Catherine Radziwill. Boston: Small, Maynard and Company. 293 pp. Ill. \$2.

A connected account, from a Russian viewpoint, of the German spy plots that culminated in Russia's withdrawal from the war.

One Year at the Russian Court. By Renée Elton Maud. John Lane Company. 222 pp. Ill. \$3.

A young Englishwoman's observations of the Court of the Czar during the period of the Russo-Japanese war. Mrs. Maud had many Russian relatives in the government and full opportunities to study the imperial family and those who surrounded them.

Ivan Speaks. By Thomas Whittemore. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company. 47 pp. 75 cents.

A translation from the Russian of sayings overheard by a Russian nurse working among soldiers at the front during the first three years of the war. These utterances afford an unconscious revelation of the Russian mind.

The Diary of a German Soldier. By Feldwebel C ——. Alfred A. Knopf. 251 pp. \$1.50.

A volume of curious documentary interest, originally written in French by a German non-commissioned officer, and published at Paris last year. The writer seems to have been a man of unusual intelligence, and in everything but name to have enjoyed the prestige of a commissioned officer. His writings have no special literary

value, but are interesting as a frank and unpretentious narrative of events during the first two years of the war. His book is noteworthy as a confirmation of many of the charges of German brutality.

Fighting Germany's Spies. By French Strother. Doubleday, Page and Company. 275 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

A revelation of the propagandist campaign started in this country by Von Bernstorff and his aides. Mr. Strother relates the activities of several of the best known German spies at work in this country, and his facts and documents have been verified through the Department of Justice at Washington. Much of the material is now given for the first time in connected and related form.

The Eagle's Eye. By William J. Flynn and Courtney Riley Cooper. Prospect Press. 377 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

A story of the late Imperial German Government's spies and intrigues in America, as told by the retired Chief of the United States Secret Service, and "novelized" by Courtney R. Cooper.

Religion and the War. Edited by E. Hershey Sneath. Yale University Press. 178 pp. \$1.

A group of noteworthy essays by members of the faculty of the Yale School of Religion. These are some of the topics: "Moral and Spiritual Forces in the War," by Dean Charles R. Brown; "The Ministry and the War," by Henry Hallam Tweedy; "Foreign Missions and the War, Today and To-morrow," by Harlan P. Beach; "The War and Social Work," by William B. Bailey; "The War and Church Unity," by Williston Walker; and "The Religious Basis of World Reorganization," by E. Hershey Sneath.

Christian Internationalism. By William Pierson Merrill. The Macmillan Company. 193 pp. \$1.50.

Dr. Merrill, who is pastor of one of the leading Presbyterian churches in New York City, discusses in this volume some of the more vital religious problems suggested by and growing out of the war. Among his chapter headings are: "Constructive Proposals for an International Order," "Problems Confronting Internationalism," "Christian Principles Underlying Internationalism," "The War and Internationalism," and "The Church and Internationalism."

The Flaming Crucible. By André Friebourg. The Macmillan Company. 185 pp. \$1.50.

A remarkable record of "The Faith of the Fighting Men," written by a French schoolmaster who served his country valiantly in the shock of battle.

The Disabled Soldier. By Douglas C. McMurtrie. The Macmillan Company. 232 pp. Ill. \$2.

The wonderful provision made for rehabilitating the disabled soldiers, sailors and marines

of this war is here described in detail. ~~A~~ the past these wounded heroes in many cases have been condemned to lives of idleness and uselessness. Now they are equipped for self-support, and this book gives full particulars of the vocational training by which these men are fitted for occupations that they can follow profitably in spite of their handicaps. Mr. McMurtrie is Director of the Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, which was established in the spring of 1917 as the first specialized trade school in the United States for the disabled man. It is a real boon to the wounded veteran.

Old Glory and Verdun. By Elizabeth Frazer. Duffield and Company. 303 pp. \$1.50.

This volume contains an interesting account of Miss Frazer's work with the American Red Cross in the War Zone. Miss Frazer also relates her experience with the Americans and French at Château-Thierry.

The War-Workers. By E. M. Delafield. Alfred A. Knopf. 285 pp. \$1.50.

An amusing satire in novel form on a certain well-known type of woman war worker.

MEN AND MACHINES

Instincts in Industry. By Ordway Tead. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 222 pp. \$1.40.

An unusual psychological study of industrial activities. The author has simply tried to find out what the worker is thinking about and what his aspirations are. He believes that as we view human conduct in the light of an understanding of the instinctive mainsprings of action that conduct tends to become not only more intelligible, but more amenable to control. He therefore analyzes the ten basic instincts on which human life and conduct rest, showing they affect the worker's relation to his job, and how each must be studied and used in the task of working out sound relations between the employer and the employed. His whole book is in line with the suggestions made by Professor Irving Fisher, of Yale, which are summarized in our department of "Leading Articles of the Month." In fact, Mr. Tead's book was cited by Professor Fisher as confirming his own views.

Creative Impulse in Industry. By Helen Marot. E. P. Dutton & Company. 146 pp. \$1.50.

Another book in partial answer to the questions raised by Mr. Tead and Professor Fisher. The Bureau of Educational Experiments had Miss Marot make a survey of industrial education. This book is the result. It shows that among free workers productive force really depends on satisfaction of the creative impulse. By recognizing this impulse in the worker we may get industrial efficiency without Prussianization.

How to Choose the Right Vocation. By Holmes W. Merton. Funk & Wagnalls Company. 302 pp. \$1.50.

In the choice of a vocation for the individual there is undoubtedly a need of expert counsel. So far as such counsel can be had without personal guidance, it is given by this book, which first presents a practical analysis and description of man's vocational mental abilities and characteristics; second, suggests many interesting mental tests which enable the reader to self-chart his vocational aptitude, and finally cites the different mental abilities and characteristics which are specifically required in each of the 1400 distinctive vocations, including 263 professions, arts and sciences, 344 commercial enterprises and businesses, and 700 trades and skilled

vocations. This volume, in short, is a manual of vocational self-measurement.

The Real Business of Living. By James H. Tufts. Henry Holt & Company. 476 pp. \$1.50.

To conduct successfully the business of living, that is, to do one's work in the world, depends on a multitude of social, economic and political factors. In this volume Professor Tufts has attempted a comprehensive survey of these. He shows the origins of our institutions and standards, of our business and political ideals, and how these are expressed in law and government. He further points out the tasks and responsibilities, public spirit, fair dealing and development of cooperation which make up the average citizen's round of duty to his country and town.

The Ethics of Cooperation. By James H. Tufts. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 73 pp. \$1.

A series of lectures delivered by Professor Tufts at the University of California on the Weinstock Foundation.

Application of Efficiency Principles. By George H. Shepard. The Engineering Magazine Company. 368 pp. \$3.

In this volume the author takes Mr. Harrington Emerson's statement of the principles of efficiency and shows how each of these principles can be practically applied. Wherever possible, he takes from his own experience or the work of others practical illustrations of the working of each principle from any field that can furnish a definite example, demonstrating its application. He then analyzes these applications in such a way that the reader can see clearly their relation to the fundamental principles.

Personal Efficiency. By Robert Grimshaw. The Macmillan Company. 218 pp. \$1.50.

A series of lectures delivered by Mr. Grimshaw at the New York University and elsewhere.

Everyday Efficiency. By Forbes Lindsay. Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 300 pp. \$1.25.

A practical guide to efficient living, written for the ordinary man and woman, and dedicated to Harrington Emerson. The material in the volume has been extensively used as a correspondence course.

The Selection and Training of the Business Executive. By Enoch Burton Gowin. 225 pp. \$1.50.

This book deals with a subject of vital interest to all corporation officials, especially those more

directly responsible for the personnel. The author gives particular attention to the corporations known as industrials, but public-utility and railroad officials will undoubtedly find many helpful suggestions in the book.

FOREST AND GARDEN

oceans of it to spare. The grouping of celestial bodies which we see are as of a flock of birds upon the same branch."

The Message of the Trees. By Maud Cuney Hare. The Cornhill Company. 190 pp. \$2.50.

A beautifully bound anthology of the tributes of writers to trees, with a foreword by William Stanley Braithwaite. The tree-testaments, both in prose and poetry, have been selected with rare discrimination, and the list of authors contains many famous names. Among them are John Burroughs, Madison Cawein, Vachel Lindsey, Joyce Kilmer, Richard Watson Gilder, and farther back, certain Elizabethans and great Victorians who worshiped at the oldest shrine in the world—the shrine of a tree. Lovers of trees who are going to watch the forth-putting of the new leaves will find the finest things in literature about trees in this volume.

Trees, Stars, and Birds. By Edward Lincoln Mosely. Yonkers, N. Y.: World Book Co. 259 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

This volume is one of the attractive and useful text-books issued in the World Science Series. It is illustrated in colors from paintings by Louis Agassiz Fuertes, and has over three hundred reproductions in black and white from photographs and drawings. The bird plates in color will serve to identify all the common species. The language is about sixth or seventh-grade; the facts those any mature person will want to know. It could be used to advantage by summer schools for young people, Camp-fire Girls, Woodcraft League and like organizations.

The Book of the Home Garden. By Edith Loring Fullerton. D. Appleton & Co. 259 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

A competent guide to gardening written so simply that children can use it. The chapters originally appeared in the *Country Gentleman* under the title, "The Child's Garden." It covers the entire field of gardening and gives practical information on the care of flowers, annuals, summer bulbs and plants, fruits, and berries, also how to understand and prepare soils, how to choose seeds, garden tools, sprays, etc., and the best methods of exterminating pests, irrigating, planting, and cultivating. The author is one of the best known garden experts of America. The illustrations are from exceptionally fine photographs taken by H. B. Fullerton, Chief Grub Scout of the Boy Scouts of America.

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JOHN BURROUGHS—A RECENT PORTRAIT

Field and Study. By John Burroughs. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 336 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

One of Mr. Burroughs' conclusions is comforting to busy country-dwellers. He writes: "After long experience I am convinced that the best place to study nature is at one's own home,—on the farm, in the mountains, on the plains, by the sea,—no matter where that may be. . . . The seasons bring to the door the great revolving cycle of wild life floral and faunal." His own gleanings make a most companionable book, one that overflows with the poetry of wild life, with reminiscences of the spring procession of birds, of orchard-secrets, and the joys and aspirations of our old friend, the striped chipmunk. Mr. Burroughs feels that man's present attitude toward nature is "one of the most, if not the most remarkable change in his mental and spiritual story in modern times." Of his own attitude he writes: "I never tire of contemplating the earth as it swims through space. As I near the time when I know these contemplations must cease, it is more and more in my thoughts—its beauty, its wonder, its meaning, and the grandeur of the voyage we are making on its surface. . . . Ground-room is cheap in heaven; there are

The War Garden Victorious. By Charles Lathrop Pack. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 179 pp. Ill.

This book tells the story of the growth and development of the war garden idea in the United States and of the work undertaken by the willing volunteers of the National War Garden Commission in aiding and encouraging millions of people to create new gardens or enlarge old ones and supply the homes with garden food which would otherwise have been requisitioned from the supplies necessary to the feeding of the destitute in foreign countries and for the prosecution of the war. It is estimated that the value of the food produced in last year's war gardens was \$525,000,000. The number of jars of canned vegetables and fruit believed to have been put up is 1,450,000,000. The book is delightfully illustrated with cuts of war-garden achievement and contains in appendix the pamphlets issued by the Commission. The book is not for sale, but is published in a limited edition for presentation to people interested in war gardens, and to libraries where it will be available to the public.

Fisherman's Verse. By William Haynes and Joseph Leroy Harrison. Introduction by Henry Van Dyke. Duffield & Co. 306 pp. \$1.50.

A feller isn't thinkin' mean
Out fishin';
His thoughts are mostly good and clean,
Out fishin';
He doesn't knock his fellow men,
Or harbor any grudges then;
A feller's at his finest, when
Out fishin'.

The next best thing to actually being out fishing is to read this anthology of captivating verse of the sport of gentlemen that has always been most honored by literature. The angling poems have been kept to a very high standard. Enough of the older verse has been included to give a background of tradition, and those from modern poets, which are jingles or purely literary, have been excluded. The authors' ideal has been "a companionable little book of poems by fishermen that other fishermen will want to keep." They render thanks in the preface to the many brother anglers who have helped in the making of the anthology.

NEW ESSAYS AND BOOKS OF IMPRESSIONS

IN "Paris the Magic City by the Seine," Gertrude Hauck Vonne writes of the impressions received during three years spent in Paris. The greater part of her time was devoted to seeing the city in all its phases, the wonderful works of art, the churches, theaters, gardens, all the conglomerate beauty that makes Paris the most marvelous city in the world. These things were seen in times of peace, therefore it is a pre-war Paris that she brings to American readers. It has been her thought that those who knew Paris so well in the days before the conflict would like a book of impressions gathered in a period before the war-shock fell upon the city.

The title of Dr. Georges Duhamel's book, "Civilization," is to be taken ironically. It is not a novel, hardly a series of essays or sketches. It seems a book of testimony against modern civilization taken down in the court of the Conscience of Mankind. It is the story of the wounded and the suffering, the men who are crippled and made miserable by the war. Not that the men themselves are not hopeful; the crippled are seldom whippersnappers, but their condition questions and contradicts our modern civilization. What has lain in our hearts that this catastrophe of war could rend the world? Let us be frank, Duhamel cries; let us own that it is not what we have called—civilization. Antoine, one of the most distinguished critics of France, says of the book: "If there remains there, beyond the Rhine, a single German still capable of shedding the tears with which I stained my

copy of this book, nothing is lost, the world is saved. As for me . . . I have found again in this book a light that will let me die without despairing of all things." The Goncourt prize for 1918 was given to this work.

A reprint of "The Symbolist Movement in Literature," by Arthur Symons, has been enlarged and revised until the book has all the freshness of new material. Bibliography and notes have been added, also some exceedingly fine translations of poetry from French originals.

The peculiar force and power of the Brontë family grows with the years. The history of the family, their vicissitudes and adventures, their early deaths, and more than all else the piercing poignant quality of their genius, surround them with the unfading glamour of romance. The Brontës were of Celtic blood, and while, as Mrs. Humphry Ward writes, their claim is the "Romantic claim," that of George Sand and Victor Hugo, it is largely their interest in human reality, in spite of the meagerness of their experience, that holds and fascinates us. They lived in two worlds, but they subordinated the actual to the poetic, and it is Emily the rebel who penetrated farthest into this later world. It is not too great a departure from previous opinion to say, that Emily Brontë's poems and her one novel "Wuthering Heights" shine even above the genius of Charlotte, for Emily came closer to the eternal things from which man's unconquerable spirit draws its strength. In the centenary memorial prepared by the Brontë

*Paris. By Gertrude Hauck Vonne. The Neale Publishing Company. 354 pp. \$1.50.

Civilization. By Dr. Georges Duhamel. The Century Company. 288 pp. \$1.50.

*The Symbolist Movement in Literature. By Arthur Symons. E. P. Dutton & Company. 429 p. \$3.

Society, "Charlotte Brontë, 1816-1916,"¹ there are speeches, papers and illustrations made by the Society on the occasion of the Brontë Centenary. They contain the history of the family, and an account of the literary work of Charlotte, Anne, and Emily, hitherto undiscovered facts of their lives, and fresh criticism of their work. Gilbert Chesterton, Edmund Gosse, Professor C. E. Vaughn, and several other well-known literary authorities are represented in the symposium of articles. The volume was edited by Mr. Butler Wood, who has supplied the text with maps of the Brontë country, portraits of the sisters, and pictures of scenes in and about Haworth. For the literary student as well as the Brontë lover, it is easily the most attractive collection of essays in current book lists.

Mr. Compton Leith's prose has been compared to Walter Pater's. In "Domus Doloris,"² he writes of the great adventure of one who has reached the borderland between life and death and returned to find himself in the House of Pain nursed by those who gave their lives to hospital work in war days. And out of the mist of his experiences, told in musical prose that lures the ear with its rhythms, emerges his belief in the power for good of the discipline recently thrust upon the world and upon the individual. In the service of the hospital he sees the bravest hope for the future, for there he found the spirit of sacrifice that "builds up true selfhood."

CHARLOTTE BRONTË

In the readable form of a conversation between himself and a character of his creation, John Charteris, we have a most significant series of essays from James Branch Cabell.³ Successively they deal with the Demiurge, the Witchwoman, the Reactionary, the Mountebank (Dick Sheridan), the Arbiters—from Dickens to Harold Bell Wright, and "What Concerns the Contemporary." In a closing essay "Wherein We Await" he is concerned with the future. As a whole the book pleads for "romance," which Charteris says, is the "will that stirs in us to have the creatures of earth and the affairs of earth not as they are, but 'as they ought to be.'" And he adds, "when we note how visibly it sways all life we perceive that we are talking about God." Mr. Cabell's style has the unique distinction of profundity in combination with perfect clarity; he is at heart a symbolist leading through reality to that which is eternally beautiful, an artist whose instrument is immeasurably responsive to his ideas.

A great deal of labor has been expended in bringing together the material for a literary study, "The English Village," by Julia Patton.

This book discusses the treatment of the village in literature from 1750 to 1850—from Crabbe and Goldsmith to Maurice Hewlett. There is more in the field of the village in literature than appears at first notice. The beginnings of government lie there; the root of democracy, for the "town meeting" had its birth in rural settlements. The author writes that village literature connects itself on one side with the conventions of the pastoral and the Georgic with "eighteenth century sentimentalism and the romantic movements" on the other side with the growth of "a democratic spirit in an aristocratic age." The style is easy, vigorous and expressive.

John Singer Sargent wrote: "After all is said, Frank Duveneck is the greatest talent of the brush of this generation." In a biographical and critical essay on Duveneck and his work,⁴ Norbert Heerman shows why Sargent made this statement as early as the nineties, and upon what a solid foundation he placed his estimate of the American painter and etcher. After the death of his wife in Italy, Duveneck returned to Cincinnati, where he has now for many years divided his time between teaching painting and advising in art matters in connection with the Cincinnati Museum. All lovers of American art will welcome this essay that gives public an appreciative estimate of one of the greatest of American artists.

A study of the life and work of Selma Lagerlöf, with portraits, has been prepared for distribution by the Doubleday, Page Co. It is not for sale, but will be mailed on receipt of postage as long as the printed copies last. The sketch is principally drawn from Dr. Lagerlöf's own autobiographical writings, and is a charmingly simple statement of her life and work and the influences that brought her literary qualities into evidence. The author, Mr. Harry E. Maule, has written most sympathetically of the woman, her work, and her message. Liberal quotations from the Swedish novelist's writings are quoted together with the text.

"English Literature During the Last Half Century,"⁵ by Professor John Cunliffe, is a book of guidance for first-hand study of the writers of the last century. Following careful estimates of the notable figures of these years, from Meredith to Galsworthy and Arnold Bennett, are three exceptionally fine chapters: "The Irish Movement," "The New Poets," and "The New Novelists." The book is especially valuable to students of contemporary literature, inasmuch, as the author states, it begins where most of the histories of English literature leave off.

¹ Charlotte Brontë. Edited by Butler Wood. With a Foreword by Mrs. Humphry Ward. E. P. Dutton & Company. 330 pp. \$4.

² Domus Doloris. By W. Compton Leith. John Lane Company. 222 pp. \$1.50.

³ Beyond Life. By James Branch Cabell. Robert M. McBride & Company. 358 pp. \$1.50.

⁴ The English Village. By Julia Patton. The Macmillan Company. 236 pp. \$1.50.

⁵ Frank Duveneck. By Norbert Heermann. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 84 pp. Ill. \$2.

⁶ English Literature During the Last Half Century. By John W. Cunliffe. The Macmillan Company. 315 pp. \$2.

CRITICISMS OF MODERN POETRY: YEATS: LADY GREGORY: BOOKS OF AMERICAN VERSE

IT would be difficult to find a more comprehensive or illuminating work on modern poetry, or one more enjoyable to the general reader than "The New Era in American Poetry,"¹ by the well-known poet and critic, Louis Untermeyer. For the past few years critics as well as the public have had a tendency to view American poetry from the angle of one particular school. Mr. Untermeyer covers the field and embraces in his sweep of vision practically all modern American poets. Those whose work has assumed elements of novelty are treated with a catholicity and penetration uncommon in contemporary criticism. Among those that occupy the major portion of his chapters are Robert Frost, Edgar Lee Masters, Amy Lowell, Edwin Arlington Robinson, Carl Sandburg, James Oppenheim, Arturo Giovannitti, and Vachel Lindsay. Different poetic groups are discussed, also new verse forms, free verse, polyphonic prose, the revival of the chant, imagism, the poets of the magazine, *Others*, and a page or two is given to Witter Bynner's amazing hoax of the public and of the various literary groups and poetry societies with his invention of the "Spectrist School."

Minor flaws are easy to find in any work. They exist in this one. Poets will hardly agree with some of Mr. Untermeyer's conclusions on the later work of Masters, the narrative poetry of Neihardt, or understand his curious lack of sympathy with Ezra Pound's "Lustra." But in all criticism, one must remember the dictum of Saintsbury: "That is poetry to a man which produces on him such poetical effects as he is capable of receiving." The movement of American life as it is mirrored in poetry interests Mr. Untermeyer and strikes the soundest note of his critical faculties. He asks us to remember that Whitman wrote: "The Americans are going to be the most fluent and melodious-voiced people in the world, the most perfect users of words. . . . The new times, the new people, the new vista need a tongue according—yes, and what is more they will have a tongue."

There must be men who stand out from the mass now and again and remind us of facts we have forgotten; there must be a stirring of dry bones and the miracle of recreation. Professor John Livingston Lowes has reminded us in a critical study, "Convention and Revolt in Poetry,"² that poetry like all else is eternally in flux, swinging from the pole of conservatism to that of revolution from time to time in order that it may communicate to us the ideas and emotions of its creators. It is a volume of profound and searching criticism, yet one that continually fascinates by its mellowness, melodious phrasing and insight into fundamental truths. As excuse for dealing with poetry when the world was

at war, Professor Lowes writes: "Carlyle once said of Tennyson: 'Alfred is always carrying a bit of chaos around with him, and turning it into cosmos.' Well, that is poetry's job, and it is amazingly like the enterprise of life." The chapters which begin with the subject "The Roots of Convention" and run through the gamut of a lengthy discussion of poetry in all its phases, ending with a virile piece of writing, "The Anglo-Saxon Tradition," were delivered as lectures at the Lowell Institute in Boston, 1918. The author is Professor of English in Harvard University.

Forty poems by William Butler Yeats are collected under the title "The Wild Swans At Coole,"³ the title of the first poem of the book. Yeats remembers these swans, nine and fifty of them, rising to scatter in great broken rings, brilliant creatures that wander where they will, ageless, mysterious, beautiful. And this poem and practically all the others complain at the stupidity of the brevity of human life, at the fleetness of our youth, and take refuge in the images that rise from the Land of Youth, the dwelling place of the immortal *Síde* of Irish hero lore. Certain names used by Yeats several years ago in short stories occur in these poems—John Aherne and Michael Robartes. "They have once again" he writes, "become a part of the phantasmagoria through which I can alone express my convictions about the world. Many of these poems are of such subtle simplicity that they nearly conceal the voices that cry in them of mystery and magic. They are of the elusive brood which Paul Verlaine conjured forth *romances sans paroles*, songs almost without words, in which scarcely a sense of the interference of human speech remains." Several poems praise a woman whose loveliness lighted the years of the poet's youth. Of these "Memory" is particularly beautiful:

One had a lovely face,
And two or three had charm,
But charm and face were in vain
Because the mountain grass
Cannot but keep the form
Where the mountain hare has lain.

In the preface to "The Kiltartan Poetry Book,"⁴ Lady Gregory writes that with her knowledge of Gaelic she stepped into another world. After mastering the language, she sought and found beauty and emotion only among humble folk, farmers and potato diggers, old men in work-houses and beggars at the doors of Coole. It is in the language of these poor folk, that she has rendered the old legends and ancient heroic poems of Ireland, in the speech of "the thatched houses where I have heard and gathered them."

¹The New Era in American Poetry. By Louis Untermeyer. Holt. 364 pp. \$2.25.

²Convention and Revolt in Poetry. By John Livingston Lowes. Houghton, Mifflin. 346 pp. \$1.75.

³The Wild Swans At Coole. By W. B. Yeats. Macmillan. 114 pp. \$1.25.

⁴The Kiltartan Poetry Book. By Lady Gregory. Putnam. 112 pp. \$1.25.

The Gaelic construction, the Elizabethan phrases of the rhythmic Kiltartan give the poems a human quality; the old heroes are become people we know or used to know, dimmed a little by distance, haloed by memory.

It is good to find among the volumes of poetry books where the creative impulse was strong enough to take the longer flight of narrative poetry.



JOHN G. NEIHARDT

Whatever American poetry of this type lacks, there is little enough of it, and those who are courageous enough to enter the field should be encouraged. One asks more of poetry than the perfect lyric, more than entertainment for the moment; one asks continuity of illusion, the ability to live continuously old lives, and many of them, over again. And it is this one finds in John G. Neihardt's narrative poetry. "The Song

of Three Friends,"¹ his most recent volume in the third of a cycle of poems dealing with the fur-trade of the Trans-Missouri region in the early twenties. It is a tale of adventure and love founded on historical facts of the two expeditions of Ashley and Henry in the years 1822 and 1823. Three trappers and boatmen, their adventures, and love that turned their comradeship to strife and tragedy form the subject-matter of the tale. Mr. Neihardt succeeds admirably with his characterization of the men and in the recreating of atmosphere. No true American could read the first two sections, "Ashley's Hundred" and "The Up-Stream Men," without a thrill of patriotic devotion for the land of his birth.

Unique among the newer poets who draw their songs from the doings of everyday people is Roy Helton,² a southern mountaineer, who has come to Northern cities and seen our busy life with fresh vision. He makes verses out of almost anything, a little cash girl in a dry goods store, the cat ambulance, memories on city fire escapes, love, life, Spring, politicians, ghosts. Much of the book is careless, clever versification, odd subjects treated casually with here and there a sudden flashing of vision, an exquisite bit of poesy that shows what future lies ahead of this singer of highways and byways. The book entertains; there is not a dull poem from cover to cover.

SPANISH MUSIC: FOLK SONGS

WHEN one considers the Spanish music brought forward in New York in the season of 1915-16, one is surprised that Mr. Carl Van Vechten's book, "The Music of Spain,"³ is the only one that has been written that brings to general attention this delightful and little-known music. In that year, the picturesque opera *Goyescas*, by Enrique Granados, was given at the Metropolitan Opera House; Geraldine Farrar and Maria Gay achieved brilliant successes in Bizet's *Carmen*; Maria Barrienton, the Spanish singer made her debut here; later Pablo Casals, the Spanish cellist, pleased appreciative audiences, also Miguel Llobet, the guitar virtuoso. Later also by a few months, there followed Joaquin Valverde's colorful revue, "The Land of Joy," with its display of Spanish costumes, dazlingly brilliant unfamiliar Spanish dancing, and equally unfamiliar and beautiful Spanish music. Mr. Van Vechten writes of these events crisply and informationally. Three essays and notes on the text make up the volume. He says that very little of the best Spanish music is available here. Important scores are as yet unpublished and others are not listed in even the libraries. His pages on Spanish dancing are vivid. Almost one hears the tapping of slippers feet, the clink of

cascanets and sees the Goya costumes with their lace flounces, the mantillas, combs, and shawls that mean—Spain. Among the illustrations are portraits of noted Spanish dancers in costume, Mary Garden as Carmen, and an interesting portrait of the Spanish composer Tomás Bréton, head of the Royal Conservatory of Madrid. Mr. Van Vechten's previous critical works on music are: "Music and Bad Manners," "Interpreters and Interpretations," and "Music After the Great war." They are stimulating, unconventional criticisms of art and music.

A desirable volume, "My Favorite Folk Songs,"⁴ presents those songs that the famous coloratura singer, Marcella Sembrich, found gave most pleasure to her audiences during the last twelve or fifteen years. Others have been added to these selections in order to make the collection widely and comprehensively representative. Only those songs that conform to the scientific definition have been included, namely, songs actually created by the folk and not by individuals inspired by conscious art. They have rhythmic charm, melodic beauty and naive eloquence, and Madame Sembrich writes that "when they are sung they will find an echo in the hearts of music lovers all over the world." There are fifty-nine songs drawn from the folk-music of twenty-four different nationalities.

¹The Song of Three Friends. By John G. Neihardt. Macmillan. 126 pp. \$1.25.

²Outcasts in Beulah Land. By Roy Helton. Holt. 144 pp. \$1.30.

³The Music of Spain. By Carl Van Vechten. Knopf. 223 pp. \$1.50.

⁴My Favorite Folk Songs. Edited by Marcella Sembrich. Oliver Ditson Co. 138 pp. \$1.25.

FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—WHY RAILROAD SECURITIES ARE FALLING

THE present hope of the railroads of the United States is in an early session of Congress. When the last Congress adjourned without passing the appropriation bill, which would have provided \$750,000,000 for the "revolving fund," railroad finances became badly disorganized. They are still very much under a cloud. Temporary measures have been adopted to bridge the roads over intervals when interest and dividends fall due. The War Finance Corporation has rendered a bit of help in lending against the acceptances of the Railroad Administration. But there is no broad plan in sight to support and protect the roads during the reconstruction era, or after they are returned to the owners. It is expected that this return will be effected about January 1, 1920.

For nearly two months many classes of industrial securities have been advancing. The movement in them has been similar to that which anticipated the signing of the armistice in November. Railroad securities, however, have been sluggish. They average 10 points under the best figures of the war-end month.

Next to the Government financing as carried through in the present Victory Loan nothing is of more concern to the country than an equitable readjustment of railroad finances. The situation has been drifting along month by month, with the Government getting deeper in debt to the strong roads and the weak lines rapidly increasing their debit with the Government. A score of plans to recover the railway systems to their owners or to operate them on a basis that will insure profit as well as coöperation with lines within their geographical area, has been advanced but none has so far met with approval. In railroad and financial circles the debate has now boiled down to one school that believes the Government should guarantee the railroads a fixed return on their property investment, as the only means by which they can in the future borrow for expansion or improvements, and the other which is opposed to a guarantee because of

its commitment by the guarantor to a supervision that would lead to Government control.

In June, 1918, the new railroad wage scale effect was shown in a railway deficit of nearly \$59,000,000. The cost of operation during this month increased \$200,000,000, or from \$235,000,000 to \$435,000,000. The item of transportation cost, which includes wages and fuel, doubled. In July the first benefits of the rate increase on freight and passenger service were visible. These increases caused gross receipts to mount to \$468,379,804 as against \$348,394,394 in the same month of 1917. If the July ratio had been maintained throughout 1918, American railroads would have earned gross that year of a sum equal to nearly one-third their total capitalization and approximately 40 to 45 per cent. of the current market value of their securities. It was after the remarkable performance of July had been analyzed by the Railroad Administration that predictions were made of a possible equalization in the second half of 1918 of the loss from the three-year average sustained in the first six months of federal operation. July, however, was the high-water mark. From then on there was a steady decline. In the September quarter the Government earned a surplus of over \$100,000,000 in excess of the average rental paid by it to the roads for that period, but in the quarter following, the carriers fell short of earning this rental by over \$70,000,000. For the first three months of 1919 it appeared that the net operating income of the roads would be \$125,000,000 below the three-year average for that period. Estimates have been made that, for 1919, the deficit which the Government will have to cover will be from \$450,000,000 to \$500,000,000, compared with a deficit in 1918 of about \$200,000,000.

Conditions in the second half of this year, it is believed, will materially improve. The reasons given are that in the summer and autumn months there will be considerable industrial recovery followed by improvement in traffic as a bumper wheat crop begins to move. In March gross earnings were said to

be at least 20 per cent. below those of the previous year. Some part of this loss will have to be balanced by greater efficiency in operation, by lower costs of materials and supplies used in maintenance and by a higher level of rates on certain commodities. If there is to be a never-ending cycle of wage increases there must be a corresponding advance in rates to provide funds to meet these increases.

To show how the roads have fared under federal operation the following table is presented:

	Net Operating Income—1918	Net Operating Income—3-Yr. Average
1918		
January	\$3,288,205	\$55,000,000
February	12,242,637	47,000,000
March	63,174,866	68,000,000
April	71,397,983	67,000,000
May	73,526,125	77,000,000
June	58,969,663	83,000,000
July	137,845,425	76,000,000
August	128,123,081	88,000,000
September	99,038,750	92,000,000
October	87,106,126	95,000,000
November	57,123,335	84,000,000
December	25,000,000	73,000,000
1919		
January	\$18,783,702	\$55,000,000
February	10,015,883	47,000,000
• Deficit		

The financial aspect of the railroad situation in the United States is not very much different or any worse than that existing to-day in Great Britain, Canada, France, and Germany. There must be a wholesale overhauling of railroad accounts in the next few years and an effort made to come to such agreement with labor as will allow of a fair

return on the two or more score of billions of dollars' investment in the common carriers. All have been very hard worked during the war, so that the amount of repair work necessary will involve large expenditures and a great amount of labor for at least five years. Under the circumstances and taking into account the fact that governments will be dominating the market for funds in this period, it would seem as though some form of Government guarantee would be necessary, not only abroad but here, to permit the raising of new capital on a basis sufficient low to warrant expenditures.

In this country the effect of the abnormal traffic conditions of the war has been to bring into prominence those roads most naturally adapted to business with facilities adequate and of a quality to meet the pressure of war strain. Consequently, there is a somewhat new investment alignment in railroad securities. Shrewd investors have been making numerous changes from stocks that were regarded as standard for a generation into those that have only within ten years demonstrated their permanent values. As a whole, the better grade of stocks of railroad companies West of the Mississippi River has had preference in this new alignment to those of roads occupying the badly congested areas of the East. Fashions change in securities as in clothes. It is a very good time for the holder of railroad bonds and stocks to make an investigation of his holdings and to determine whether they have proved themselves in the war period or have been affected by conditions that may be permanent.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

NEW MOTOR COMPANIES

I am considering an investment of several thousand dollars in the motor industry and will appreciate any advice and information you are able to give me with reference to good companies now organizing to manufacture automobiles, trucks, and tractors.

This is something in connection with which we are frank to say we do not feel competent to advise. The matter of putting capital into newly organized industry of any kind seems to us to partake almost altogether of the nature of a business venture, and scarcely at all of the nature of investment, and it is only on investment matters that we are prepared to undertake to serve our correspondents. We would be glad, if you were interested, to give you the essential facts about any of the established companies in this field, and we think that, after all, they are the ones which might better have your consideration. There is a great deal of irresponsible promotion in the motor industry nowadays.

MARKETABLE SECURITIES TO YIELD SIX PER CENT.

I have a few thousand dollars invested in a note which comes due in a few months. I can buy local bonds, very safe, paying 6 per cent., running a fair period of time, but having only a limited market. But could I not buy long term bonds to yield approximately 6 per cent., that would give me a higher degree of convertibility? Give me a list of three or four such securities.

There are a number of safe, marketable securities now available to yield a full 6 per cent. Witness such issues as Anaconda Copper Mines secured 6 per cents, due in 1929; American Telephone & Telegraph 6 per cents, due in 1924; New York Telephone debenture 6 per cents, due in 1939; New York Central debenture 6 per cents, due in 1935, and Wilson & Company first-mortgage 6 per cents, due in 1941.

We venture the suggestion, also, that we think your attitude in seeking securities that can be depended upon to have a reasonable market at all

times, is an altogether proper one. At least, there are pretty definite limitations to the proportion of one's surplus funds that can properly be kept tied up in securities having narrow and unsatisfactory markets, no matter how safe they may be intrinsically.

SWIFT & CO. SHARES

Is it true, as I have been given to understand, that the stock of Swift & Company pays dividends at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum? Do you consider this stock a safe investment? How does its present price compare with normal?

You are correct in your understanding about the current rate of dividend on the stock of Swift & Company being 8 per cent. It has paid this rate regularly since 1915, previous to which time it had been on a 7 per cent. per annum basis. We find the stock quoted now at a price to yield about $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Since the beginning of the current year it appears to have sold as high as 146 or about on a $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. basis. Its low price for 1918 appears to have been 100 $\frac{1}{4}$, or about an 8 per cent. basis. In 1917 our records show that its range was between 165 $\frac{1}{4}$ and 115 $\frac{1}{2}$. As industrial securities of its type and class go, we think Swift & Company's stock can properly be considered a good investment.

INTERBOROUGH RAPID-TRANSIT BONDS

Interborough Rapid-Transit 5 per cent. bonds, due in 1966, have been suggested to me as an attractive purchase at their present relatively low quotation. What do you think of them?

In many respects they do look attractive. Representing as they do an investment in which the City of New York has a very large proprietary interest, it is difficult to believe that they are not likely to come through all right eventually. But the traction situation in Greater New York at the present time is so unsettled and is complicated by so many things (politics among others) that are incapable of clear analysis, that we do not believe the bonds ought to be purchased by anyone unprepared to see them through a fairly long period of trouble.

STOCKS OF PACKING COMPANIES

Please give me the present valuation and dividend rates on Armour & Company preferred, Wilson & Company preferred, and Swift & Company preferred. Have these companies been able to pay their dividends regularly year in and year out?

Armour & Company preferred and Wilson & Company preferred stocks pay dividends at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum. They are quoted now about 102 and 98 respectively. Swift & Company's dividend rate is now 8 per cent., and the market price of the stock is about 123.

Of these various issues, that of Swift & Company, which, by the way, is all of one class, is the oldest and has the longest dividend record, although it has been on an 8 per cent. per annum basis for only two or three years. Previous to that time it had paid 7 per cent per annum for a long series of years. Up to last year Armour & Company had only one class of stock and that all very closely held. The preferred issue was made in conjunction with an issue of convertible bonds, and is as yet rather unseasoned market-wise. We do not think there is any question as

to the ability of the company to maintain the dividend indefinitely. Wilson & Company is likewise a relatively new and unseasoned stock, but it has what seems to us to be some very strong underlying equities and a well assured dividend position.

COLLECTING DIVIDENDS

I bought some United States Steel preferred stock the latter part of February. When will I get a dividend and how do I go about getting it?

If the stock was registered in your name on the books of the corporation, as we presume it was, you will receive by check from the corporation the next quarterly installment of the dividend on or about May first, and subsequent installments will be sent to you regularly in this way as long as you continue as the registered owner of the stock.

RAILROAD STOCKS AND GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

In the face of possible Government ownership, how do you regard railroad stocks, especially issues like Chicago & Northwestern?

It is very difficult, if indeed not impossible, to tell in advance what might happen to railroad stocks, if we were to become definitely committed to Government ownership of the railroads. There are probably some of the roads whose stockholders would face very well, provided the properties were taken over by the Government on the basis of anything like a fair and equitable valuation. But it is a guess pure and simple as to whether such valuation could be made fair and equitable, attended as it undoubtedly would be by political influences of all sorts. However, we do not believe the trend of sentiment at the present time is toward Government ownership, and we are, therefore, more or less favorably inclined toward the better established dividend paying stocks, like the one you mention.

NO ADVICE ON MARGIN TRADING

I am considering buying stocks on margin, giving preference to issues that are listed on the New York Stock Exchange, and would thank you for any advice you can give in connection with such transactions.

We cannot undertake to give advice in respect to the purchase or sale of active listed stocks, or indeed any other kinds of securities, on margin. Transactions of this kind partake essentially of the nature of speculation rather than investment, and it is only on investment matters that we can undertake to render service to our readers.

THREE GOOD SHORT TERM INVESTMENTS

On the advice of a friend connected with a reliable banking concern, I recently invested in American Tobacco 7 per cents of 1922, Philadelphia Company 6 per cents of 1922 and Laclede Gas Light 7 per cents of 1929. What is your opinion of this investment?

We do not hesitate to say that we think you have been well advised. The securities you mention are in our opinion of high average quality, and we can see no reason why the combination should not prove an entirely satisfactory one.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

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HON. FREDERICK H. GILLETT, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

The new Speaker is a native and lifelong resident of Western Massachusetts. He has practised law at Springfield since his admission to the bar, in 1877. A graduate of Amherst College (class of 1874) and of Harvard Law School, Mr. Gillett has the traditional New England background. Since 1893 he has represented the Second Massachusetts District, serving on the Appropriations Committee, and as Republican floor leader of the House, of which he has long been one of the most popular and efficient members.

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*The
Treaty
Presented*

On the first day of May the German delegates to the Peace Conference, who had arrived at Versailles in successive groups on the last two or three days of April, were received by the representatives of the Allies for the purpose of exchanging credentials. Nearly a week later, on May 7, in the great hall of the Trianon Palace Hotel, there was staged one of the most impressive ceremonies in all the history of nations. About eighty delegates, representing the numerous Allied countries, had taken their places when President Wilson, accompanied by Premiers Clemenceau and Lloyd George, entered and took their seats. A French officer then ushered in Count Von Brockdorff-Rantzau, head of the German delegation, who was accompanied by the other German delegates. The Peace Treaty had been sufficiently completed to have been put into the form of a volume with parallel columns (or facing pages) in the English and French languages, but not in the German. Each Allied delegation received a copy at this time, and during the proceedings a copy was handed to the German delegates.

*Clemenceau
Forbids "Oral
Discussion"*

Premier Clemenceau presided, and made a brief explanatory speech in simple, stern phrases. He allowed the Germans two weeks in which to examine the various parts of the extensive document and to send in written criticisms or comments. No oral discussion was to take place. After the two weeks' period, which was to end on May 22, the Supreme Council of the Allies would make answer to the German comments and would then fix the time within which final action must be taken. M. Clemenceau added that if German questions were received from day to day, the Allies would not wait until the end of the fifteen-day period, but would answer the

questions as promptly as possible in order to expedite the proceedings. There was no prospect that any material changes would be acceptable to the Allies, who had acted in a spirit of justice, and had kept in mind the armistice agreement and the "fourteen points" of President Wilson.

*The German
Speech in
Reply*

It was evident that Count von Brockdorff-Rantzau was either suffering from illness or deeply affected; for he remained in his seat while making his reply, which was a prepared speech of some length. It was not, from the standpoint of the world's public opinion, a wise or discreet speech, but it may have been intended for political effect in Germany. It was argumentative as to the origin of the War; and while it seemed to admit the guilt of Germany, it tried to divert the issue by charging that Germany's opponents were also guilty of one thing or another. It scarcely lies in the mouth of a captured burglar or highwayman to bring counter-charges against his innocent victims for the means they employed in self-defense. It was unfortunate that the head of the German delegation should have thought it his function to read a lecture to the delegates of the Allies. Much that he said in his speech would have been acceptable if uttered in a different tone. He said that Germany was wholly committed to the reconstruction of Belgium and Northern France, but that the conquerors must help the German people to find out how to meet the financial obligations "without succumbing under their heavy burden." He went on to say: "A crash would deprive those who have a right to reparation of the advantages to which they have a claim, and would entail irretrievable disorder of the whole European economic system. The conquerors, as well as the vanquished peoples, must guard against this menacing danger with its in-

calculable consequences. There is only one means of banishing it—unlimited acknowledgment of the economic and social solidarity of all the peoples in a free and rising League of Nations." He then made a brief appeal for the admission of Germany to the League of Nations, and for reasonable peace terms in accord with President Wilson's principles that had been accepted at the time of the armistice.

Incidentally, the newspapers called attention to the fact that 177 days had passed since the armistice was signed; that the Allies had taken 109 days for their deliberations at Paris, in preparing the Peace Treaty; and that exactly four years to a day had elapsed since the sinking of the *Lusitania*. Considering the magnitude of the work that the Allied Conference had to perform—the great number of questions of vital concern that had to be dealt with—it must be admitted that the period of half a year since the signing of the armistice had been well occupied. The treaty is without parallel in history as an adjustment of varied human interests. It seems likely that economic questions could have been dealt with more expeditiously if the Allies had given authority to their economic advisers, and had constituted at the very beginning a great business congress on problems of reconstruction, finance, shipping, food, raw materials, and so on. Such a body of business experts might have helped to prevent much of the unrest due to the paralysis

of industry in Europe, and might have seen the work of restoring Belgium and France already well advanced. The Allied group of statesmen and diplomatists had to deal with political issues which required time for adjustment. They were better fitted for such problems than for the work of restoring European commerce and industry, and of providing methods by which Germany could meet the just economic demands of Belgium and France.

The Peace Treaty having been prepared, and agreed upon by the Allies in all its essentials so far as Germany was concerned, the overshadowing questions at once became: (1) Would the German delegates affix their signatures; and (2) Would the German Government and people ratify such acceptance? It was natural enough that there should have been a great storm of protest in Germany when the outline of the Treaty became known. The German delegation began promptly to send in notes discussing one point after another, just as Clemenceau had proposed. Their first suggestions had to do with the League of Nations, the status of the German prisoners, international labor policies, etc. For prisoners, the Germans asked prompt repatriation. The German delegates requested that these men should no longer be held as prisoners of war, but should be sent back to Germany as civilians and then permitted to return as free laborers, to aid in the restoration of Belgium and France, rather than to be held for such labor in their present condition. It was the prevailing impression in well-informed European circles that Germany would in due time sign the Treaty. There were many German leaders wildly denouncing the Treaty and demanding its rejection; but their counsels were those of anger and bitterness, and not of calm judgment or plain common sense.

Before discussing the question what the Treaty undertakes to do for the peace of Europe and the general welfare, and what it apportions of recompense to the various members of the Allied group, it may be well to consider briefly what it exacts from Germany and in what position it leaves that country. Such comment can, at this stage, be only preliminary, because it will be a long time before we can know conclusively just how so elabo-

rate an arrangement may bear upon the fortunes of Germany or of any other of the nations most deeply involved. There were loud outcries in Germany after the Treaty draft had been delivered, to the effect that Germany was to be coldly and deliberately annihilated by the terms of the document. This, of course, is not true. Important countries will survive, in a period that ordains "self-determination"; and Germany is very lucky in this settlement. France was not annihilated by the terms imposed in 1871 at Versailles and Frankfort. Germany then took away from France the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. These are now restored to France. The people of Alsace-Lorraine are satisfied, and there can be no question as to the rightfulness of this restoration. The private owners of mines and other property in Alsace-Lorraine will have their equities duly considered. Germany is not punished, nor really injured by this act of justice.

*Poland
as a
Neighbor*

Germany restores to Poland certain territories which in the former partitions of Poland had been appropriated by Prussia. Since it is the verdict of Europe that there shall be an independent Poland—a thoroughly righteous verdict—it is suitable that the territories which formerly belonged to Poland and are now inhabited almost entirely by Poles should be re-united and governed under the Polish flag. This is not to be regarded as involving any hardship or any penalty to Germany. It is a part of the normal and reasonable evolution of Europe under modern principles. If it had not come to pass just now as a result of the World War, it would have followed at some later time, perhaps as the result of an even more devastating conflict. Germany had been building up a military empire which could not live in the broad light of modern freedom that was dawning upon the world. Thus it becomes the part of intelligence for Germany to accept Poland as a neighbor, and to learn how to be just and honest in neighborhood relationships. The arrangements for international control of the port of Danzig follow along the same line of justice, and are not in the nature of a punishment. It is reasonable that Poland should have this access to the Baltic, and Germany will have unembarrassed access to what remains to her of East Prussia. The war was fought to end German militarism and to liberate peoples. It is no wrong to Germany to suppress bullying.

COUNT VON BROCKDORFF-RANTZAU (AT THE LEFT),
HEAD OF THE GERMAN PEACE DELEGATION, ON HIS
ARRIVAL IN PARIS

*Obvious
Justice to
Denmark*

The Danes have been very modest as regards Schleswig-Holstein. They have never wanted to regain Holstein, because that province is essentially German. Nor have they desired the southern part of Schleswig. Northern Schleswig is purely Danish. The Treaty provides that the inhabitants are to express their preferences successively in three narrow zones of North Schleswig in order to establish a true line. In view of the high-handed way in which Prussia seized these provinces in 1866, this form of restoration to Denmark is most considerate, and Germany ought to accept it with thanks. The recession will not injure or punish Germany in any respect.

*The Saar
Valley
Adjustment*

Those who know the extent to which Germany destroyed the coal mines in the North of France, cannot find it unreasonable that France should have the right to the coal in the Saar Valley which adjoins Lorraine. This district for a period of years will be under the control of the League of Nations, without prejudice to its future return to Germany if that should be the clear wish of the inhabitants. Again, let us say, it would be hard to imagine the Germans dealing with a like point in so considerate a fashion. Germany, of course, will be able to

buy all the coal she needs. General Foch, in his attitude toward Germany, has not, as many have thought, been a bitter and implacable man of the sword. He has been an apostle of permanent peace. It is not true that he has wished to put the heel of the conqueror on the neck of the vanquished. The safeguards for permanent peace that he has demanded on behalf of France will be of benefit also to Germany. The Conference would not accept Foch's view of the political future of the German districts west of the Rhine; but his views of what peace and security require, in the military sense, have been substantially accepted.

*Disarmament
a Boon to
Germany* The true welfare of the German people now requires the total abandonment of the theory that

their future prosperity is to be assured through military prowess. General disarmament is essential to Europe. But disarmament can only come about in one way, namely, by beginning with Germany. If, at the time of the first Hague Conference, the Germans had been as willing as the Americans, the British, the French, and even the Russians, to enter upon a scheme of gradual and proportionate disarmament, something might have been accomplished through such methods. But Germany was obdurate at the Hague, and nothing could be done. Now, after having failed in an attempt to crush and dominate the world through military force, Germany must learn that the subject of disarmament can no longer be discussed from the earlier standpoint. They must lay aside the absurd notion that the military policies of the Allies must be dictated by Germany, as a *quid pro quo*, if she on her part is to accept the dictation of the Allies. At one time disarmament could have been simultaneous. Germany's own conduct has now made that impossible. An orderly world, however, is not going to burden itself with military expenditures more heavily than it must, and in due time the Allies will cut their army bills as low as they can.

*No Fortresses
on
Frontiers*

The Treaty limits Germany to an army of 100,000 men for the maintenance of order. The purpose of this limitation must be accepted, and it is provided that there must be no evasion through short enlistments, or the rapid training of men who would pass into the status of reserves. The Treaty prescribes rules limiting war material, and it undertakes in

many ways to keep Germany from returning to a military basis. Having established the new boundaries for the German nation, and having undertaken to deprive Germany of the power to sustain a foreign war, it follows that the Allies are under obligation to see that Germany is secure in the rights that are left to her as a free and independent nation. It is provided that Germany must maintain no fortifications along the Rhine or within a frontier strip thirty or forty miles wide. This also is a just provision and in the end will be advantageous to Germany. It is obvious that in imposing such a rule, the Allies assume the protection of the German border as now established. With the progress of civilization, unfortified boundaries will become the rule and not the exception in Europe. Again, Germany is fortunately privileged to maintain a very small navy of half a dozen battleships, a like number of cruisers, and a few small craft with no submarines and a personnel of not more than 15,000 men. Fortifications and guns must be removed from the Island of Heligoland. The Kiel Canal is to be opened to the ships of all nations, which is entirely reasonable and neither humiliating nor punitive.

*No Lack
of Essential
Materials*

There are various other provisions, most of which are not detrimental to essential German interests. The great deposits of iron and coal in Europe remain where Nature has placed them. Some advantages naturally accrue to nations which have iron and coal within their own political jurisdictions; but such advantages are by no means conclusive. During the war, Germany for military purposes purchased enormous quantities of Swedish iron ore, and England in like manner imported Spanish ore. Germany will now be relieved—most fortunately for herself—of the incubus of gun-making and other forms of war industry, and will devote her technological and engineering capacities to the making of useful things that Russians and other peoples will buy in exchange for raw materials and foodstuffs. German manufacturers in the Rhine Valley and elsewhere will be able to buy iron ore from Lorraine just as they will be able to buy it from Spain, Sweden, and other mineralized districts—precisely, for example, as they will buy copper and cotton from America. It is a great mistake to suppose that European countries will refuse to trade with Germans. Europe carries no sentiment into business.



GERMAN LOSSES IN TERRITORY—SHOWN IN BLACK ON THE MAP

(Germany is required to cede Alsace-Lorraine to France, Eupen and Malmédy to Belgium, and parts of West Prussia, Posen, and Silesia to the new state of Poland. Besides, Germany may ultimately lose the territory marked with horizontal lines on this map. The people inhabiting the southern portion of West Prussia and East Prussia are to be permitted to decide whether they wish to remain part of Germany or become part of Poland; and the people of northern Schleswig will decide whether they wish to become once more a part of the Kingdom of Denmark.)

National Character at Stake

The thing most needed in Germany is a change in the national character, which of course requires honest newspapers and intelligent teachers in the universities and schools. Heretofore the schools and the press have been subservient to the governing interests; and the ruling class has maintained itself by the deliberate creation of illusions resulting in the most stupid arrogance that ever brought any nation to a downfall. It will take time to bring Germany to a clear perception of things as they are; but business men and labor leaders will be likely to grasp the situation, and before long there will begin to appear a newborn Germany. And this new Germany will discover that it has been set free by its chastening experience of defeat. There will arise in Germany, let us believe, a new set of leaders who will fight the national vices of materialism and greed, and seek to restore the earlier German virtues. All this process will require time, and will be attended by political confusion.

Certainly, Germany Can Pay Her Debts

It is obvious that in this first period of reaction and industrial paralysis it does not seem possible for Germany to pay what is demanded by way of repairing damages and losses. It will, indeed, be difficult for a time to meet such obligations. But if Germany is permitted and encouraged to resume full industrial activity, she will be able in the near future to pay large sums out of surplus earnings every year. To begin with, Germany must regard her own war expenditure as something lost, that lies in the past and is to be forgotten. The obligations of her domestic war debt can of course be equalized to some extent among her citizens who hold war bonds; but by one method or another this debt should be rapidly cancelled. If Germany had continued the war two years longer on such a scale of expenditure as she, Britain and America had reached, we may estimate that she would have been paying war costs at something like two billion dollars a month. Two years of such expendi-

tures would have amounted to an actual outlay of forty-eight billion dollars. Besides this expenditure, the sum total of national wealth would have been much diminished through deterioration of all kinds. Thus to have had her war expenditure stopped last November was a great economic benefit to Germany.

*Larger
Financial
Aspects*

England, France and America on the other hand, have been demobilizing much more slowly and have been maintaining their navy as well as their army costs. The two best strokes of business Germany has done in fifty years consisted in the surrender of her fleet and the rapid discharge of her armies after November 10th. The total round figure of payments Germany is to make is given at about thirty billion dollars, of which five billions is to be paid in 1921, the rest extending over a long term of years. The only sensible and just way to consider this sum is to view the alternatives and see the facts in their large aspects. If, as an alternative, the war had continued a year and a half longer, Germany would have squandered, in that eighteen months, material wealth equivalent in actual value to the total sum that she must pay through a long period of years. If the war had ended as a draw on the principle of "no annexations and no indemnities," as had been proposed, at one time, the nations would have continued on a basis of militarism, and Germany's army and navy expenses from year to year, even in peace time, would in the course of a generation have gone far toward equalling the amount of the payments exacted by the Treaty.

*Some
Sheer
Advantages*

All nations must as rapidly as possible reduce their military expenditures; but Germany is in the fortunate position of being permitted to disarm first of all. What she saves through disarmament will help her very materially to pay her debt to Belgium, France and other countries. In short, Germany will have to wipe out her domestic war debt as a bad loss and forget it. She must then show good will and good temper in accepting facts as she finds them. In a very real sense Germany's position is not one of hopeless disadvantage. She has a chance to accept new ideals, and to make a new career for which she has already a splendid foundation. In substituting her foreign obligations for her restic debt, she will not be much more

heavily burdened financially than are the other principal industrial countries. If she accepts cheerfully the conditions of the Peace Treaty and works diligently to meet them, she will in due time secure her place as a member of the League of Nations, and she will find herself trading advantageously with her European neighbors. Her cities and factories are not destroyed; her system of railroads and canals is well developed; her agricultural resources are also highly advanced; and her skill in many lines of manufacture and in all forms of commerce is universally acknowledged. Germany can afford to accept the apparent handicaps presented in the Treaty, and can rise from her defeat a far happier and better country, if she will but cultivate a proper spirit.

*The Press and
the Claims of
Nations*

It requires more experience than the average man or woman possesses to know how to discount the angry clamor and reckless exaggeration of the press under the pretext of patriotism. During May it was the German press, declaring that this eminently reasonable treaty was a work of unprecedented tyranny intended to leave Germany forever prostrate. Through March and April the French press had been almost equally bitter, declaring that the haughty and selfish Anglo-Saxons were leaving heroic France at the mercy of the barbaric Germans, who were already recuperating so fast that their rattling sabres must surely be heard again approaching Paris in the near future. Naturally France, like every other European country, wanted to get as much as possible before the opportunities were closed; and the French press was used to incite public opinion. France was obviously entitled to Alsace-Lorraine and certain other frontier rectifications, and to as much by way of economic reparation as could be obtained. Above all, France was entitled to ask for some scheme of mutual insurance that would protect the decisions of the Peace Conference and save the French people from a repetition of the experiences of 1870 and 1914; and France was insistent and logical.

*French
Demands*

It was proposed therefore by the French members of the Committee on the League of Nations, with the approval of all French statesmen, that the League be given direct control of an international army and navy. This was a sound proposal in logic, inasmuch as the League was to have large responsibilities and

its decisions might need to be backed up by a show of power. But the British were not ready to accept the scheme of an international navy, and America was not prepared to maintain soldiers in Europe as a part of an international army. Nevertheless it was plain that what had been achieved for justice and for world peace must not be abandoned to chance or to fate. What should be the practical working arrangement that would give vigor and authority to the new order of things?

*Necessary to
Support the
French*

It has been plain enough to practical men who look facts in the face that when the armies of the Allies—French, American, British, and Italian—fought together under a supreme command to win a victory for the general good, they were at the beginning rather than at the end of a period of Allied coöperation. It was not to be expected that they would maintain a great inter-Allied standing army under unified command for an indefinite period; but it was obvious that they must let the whole world know that the decisions arrived at in 1918 and 1919 would be upheld by the powers which had won the victory and had dictated the terms of peace. America has taken a large part in the making of the Peace

Treaty, and there could be no escape from the conclusion that we must be prepared to see that the provisions of the Treaty are not in the early future upset by violence. A vast number of questions will remain for adjustment, and through the League of Nations there will be provided every possible means for the rendering of justice without war. If it is thoroughly well known that several of the great powers propose to back the new system, there will be every likelihood that the system will be respected. It is true that unforeseen things may arise to precipitate war, but the Peace Treaty—with the League of Nations included—offers not only a chance, but a good prospect of peace for a long time to come.

*Guarantors
of
Peace*

There must, however, be a nucleus of guarantors, and this nucleus must be provided by the British Empire and the United States acting in coöperation with France, or preferably with France and Italy. The British, with their great navy, are reasonably safe from any sudden attack. The geographical position and the great resources of the United States also give comparative safety to this country. It is conceivable, however, that Germany at some time might obtain a certain kind of

THE FRENCH VIEW OF THE GERMAN PROGRAM

GERMANY: "Equality of rights," so says my faithful Erzberger."

FRANCE (in reply): "Equality of rights? . . . You ask that I should sack your factories, deport your women, and set fire to your homes?"

From *Le Rire* (Paris)

political and economic control over Russia, and might attack France. If it is known that the British and American navies would at once support France, with armies to follow (provided, of course, that France had pursued a blameless course), there is no likelihood that an attack would be made at any time in the appreciable future. Any such agreements would, of course, be for fixed periods or terminable upon notice. It was known last month that President Wilson, besides submitting the Peace Treaty (with its covenant of the League of Nations) to the Senate for ratification, would also submit a proposal to the effect that the United States would join Great Britain in helping France in case of a ruthless attack.

*America as
Umpire,
Not Meddler*

America has no desire to be involved in the internal affairs of Europe. The prominence of President Wilson and the American delegates at Paris has by no means been due to a disposition to meddle or intrude. It has been due to the very simple fact that no other power at the Peace Conference has been disinterested. If the French delegation had not been absorbed in trying to obtain security and reparation for France, the Ministry would have been upset, and the Clemenceau group would have been whisked out of the Peace Conference in a jiffy. The British delegation, while conducting itself with great

breadth and consideration, had, nevertheless, to consider a far larger number of special interests than those of any other power concerned in the affair excepting Germany alone. The United States had nothing whatever that it was seeking except the establishment of justice and the settlement of problems in such a way as to provide stable equilibrium for the future. For this reason the interposition of the American delegates was demanded in every direction, and America thus became umpire-in-chief. American citizens and newspapers that snarled at Wilson for meddling in affairs that were no concern of his were, of course, the victims either of ill-temper or of sheer ignorance. It was, as most people have been able to see, precisely because these affairs were not his that he was asked to help adjust them as between rival claimants. When one lays his case before a judge or arbitrator he is glad to believe that the tribunal is not affected by personal interest in the matters submitted for its decision. Credit will sometime be given to President Wilson and the American delegates for having had the courage to keep large and permanent ends in view.

*Belgium's
Claims and
Merits*

Our information last month was not complete enough to make clear the grounds upon which the Belgian press and Belgian patriotic committees were making so fierce an attack upon the terms of the Treaty as related to their country. It has been the opinion of the whole civilized world that Belgium and Serbia had the first claim upon all countries for restoration. Belgium might well have yielded after protest in 1914, but without resistance, to the vastly superior force of Germany. She fought and suffered for some time without the expected support of France and England. But for the obstruction she offered, it is wholly probable that the German armies would have taken Paris in the early weeks of the war. Many of the details of apportionment of funds are yet to be adjusted by finance commissions. Belgium makes some slight territorial gain, but her chief complaint has to do with finances. It is the overwhelming sentiment of the world that Belgium ought to be fully restored and compensated, even if the Allies should themselves pay part of the bill. Germany, however, must be compelled to compensate Belgium in the fullest measure. The Belgian protest, naturally, is exaggerated for the sake of securing prompt attention.

HE WAS BOUND TO GET IN WRONG

[The infants presented to the umpire are labeled to represent the various claims of English, French, Italian, Polish, Russian, and even the enemy]

(From the News (Detroit, Mich.)

**Italy's
Excitement** Late in April it was Italy's turn to raise a furious clamor, and America was solemnly informed that the Paris Conference could not even hold together long enough to present the Peace Treaty to Germany. Floods of vituperation poured through the Italian press and the nation rose in wild excitement. The world had supposed that the port of Fiume, on the eastern side of the Adriatic, would remain as heretofore an outlet for the Croats, Hungarians, and other peoples whose external commerce had long depended upon the railroads they had built to this natural harbor. The small city of Fiume contains some thousands of Italian residents and has a distinct Italian character and sentiment. The immediate suburbs are not Italian, and back of the port are millions of Slavic and other non-Italian peoples. Many readers in America were puzzled, and not a few who ought to have known better were misled and were scornful in their denunciation of President Wilson for having made public the views which were held by practically everyone in the Peace Conference regarding the proper disposition of Fiume as a seaport.

**Wilson's Move
to Save
Orlando** Since the collapse of the Hapsburg Empire, Italian nationalism has gone forward by leaps and bounds. If Premier Orlando, with Sonnino, General Diaz, and other Italians at Paris, had yielded gracefully to the otherwise universal opinion of the Conference regarding Fiume, their political enemies at home would have precipitated chaos. The Ministry would have fallen; there would have been a radical revolution in Italy; the Giolitti-Nitti faction, with well-known pro-German leanings, would probably have seized the reins of power. President Wilson's statement was just the thing needed to crystallize Italian opinion in support of Orlando. The Premier hastened from Paris to Rome, and the whole nation acclaimed his stand. The political situation was changed as by magic. In a

Photographs © Harris & Ewing, Washington

PREMIER ORLANDO

FOREIGN MINISTER SONNINO

ITALY'S OFFICIAL CHAMPIONS AT THE PEACE CONFERENCE

few days Orlando and Sonnino went quietly back and resumed their places in the Peace Conference. President Wilson had rendered a great service to Italy in securing the support for Orlando which would enable the present Italian delegates to complete their work. Again, American readers must remember that President Wilson is the only head of an important delegation who has had sufficient assurance of his own tenure of office to give his whole mind to the essential questions. But for the sympathy aroused by the attempt upon his life, Clemenceau, with his present Ministry, would probably have been put out of power by the French Chambers. Mr. Lloyd George has had to consider British politics at every stage of the proceedings. President Wilson, by contrast, has a fixed tenure until March 4, 1921.

**A Fair
Compromise
Will Be Found** The American delegates are as generous in their feeling toward Italy as toward other countries; but they are helping to find solutions that will be permanent, and they are aware of the needs of several countries for commercial access to the Adriatic, while equally aware that Italy has no commercial need whatsoever of the port of Fiume. With Orlando's return it was certain that a workable compromise would be adopted. Italy will control Avlona, at the entrance of the Adriatic,

on the Albanian coast. She will have island strongholds and strips of mainland on the Dalmatian shore. While it would be better to have the environs and the port of Fiume internationalized, it could readily be arranged to give the town itself to Italy and provide free and unrestricted port facilities for all nations. The issue is sentimental on Italy's part, and practical on the other side. Both sides can be satisfied by a workable compromise.

*Italy Will
Fare Very
Well*

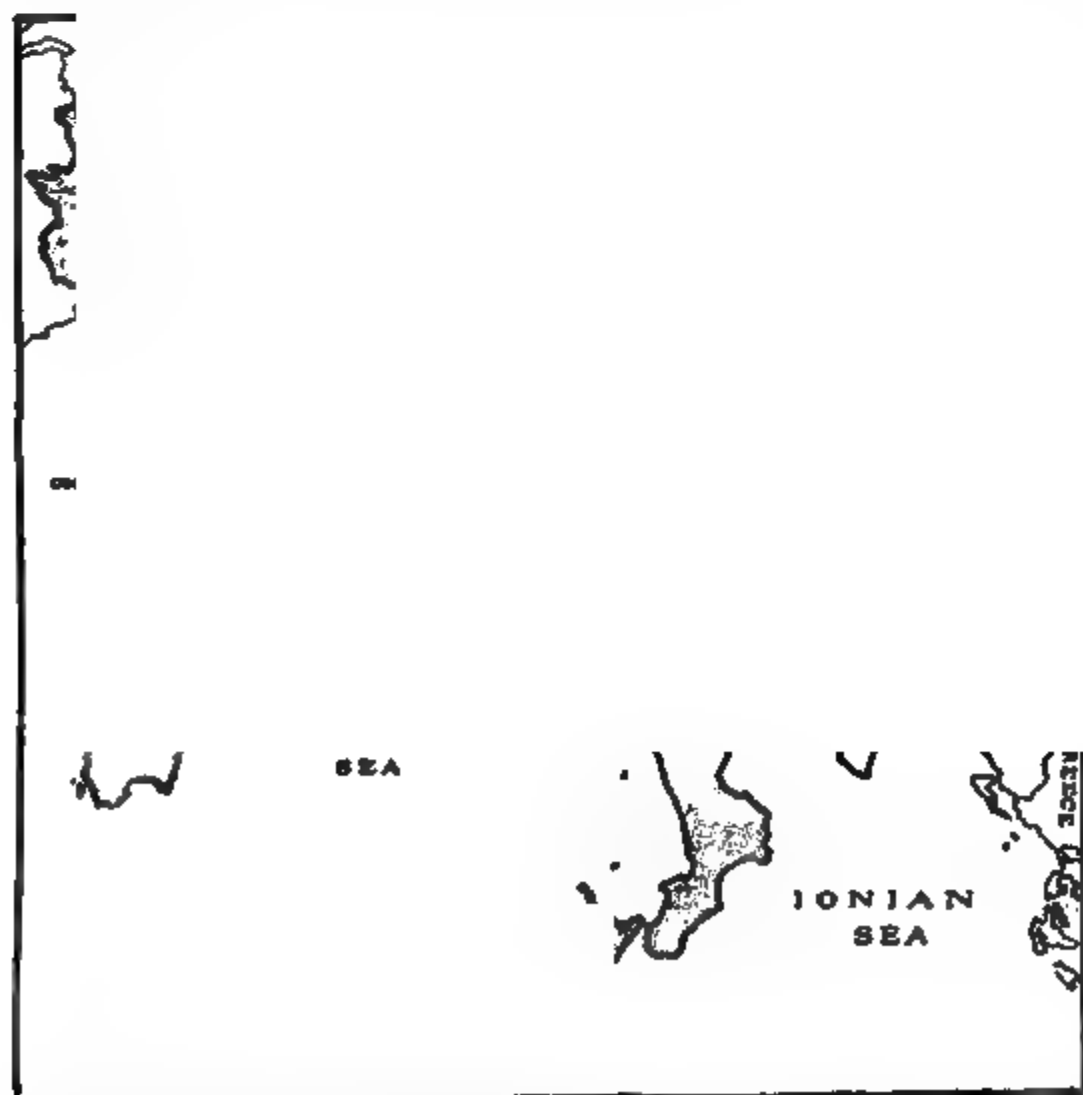
A very influential figure in the Peace Conference is Premier Venizelos of Greece. He is a European statesman of the highest order of ability. Italy had demanded a sphere of influence in Asia Minor, including the great port of Smyrna. This important town, however, has always been a Greek community, and with the defeat of the Turks Smyrna's Greek character at once becomes conspicuous. To have given Smyrna to Italy would have been to throw Greece and the whole Greek world into revolution, and Venizelos so declared at Paris. It was the failure to obtain Smyrna, as we have some reason to believe, that upon political grounds made it necessary that Orlando should emphasize the demand for Fiume. The war

was terribly expensive for Italy, but the Peace Treaty gives her secure frontiers to the Northward where she obtains more of the Tyrol than she had once expected, besides her acquisition of Trieste, and the Istrian territory at the head of the Adriatic. She will be in full naval control of the Adriatic, and will of course receive substantial monetary payments from Austria.

*Austrians Also
Called to
Paris*

The Austrian delegates arrived on May 14 at the ancient palace in the suburbs of Paris that had been fitted up for their use. Though at some future time Austria may join the German Empire, there is no immediate prospect of such a union and Austria is expected to sign a separate Treaty, which was virtually finished by the middle of May. It was stated that this would call for payments amounting to a billion dollars. Austria will strongly resent the cession to Italy of parts of the Tyrol that were never Italian and that now include a German-speaking population of about 300,000. This, however, is to give Italy Alpine defenses and a strategic advantage that Austria has held hitherto. The new frontier was agreed upon by France and England in 1915 as a part of the secret "Pact of London," and it was also included in the armistice terms that Italy presented to Austria in October.

It is, of course, unfortunate that populations and natural boundaries do not coincide. Austria's future seems to be that of one of the numerous powers of the third class, and her prosperity must depend largely upon a freedom of trade and intercourse that ought to be established, in so far as possible, throughout continental Europe. The Austrian delegation to Paris was headed by the Chancellor, Karl Renner, and was courteously received. There were few surprises in store for the Austrians, inasmuch as the general readjustment of the Hapsburg dominions had already gone into effect. Nearly one-fourth of the population of the present Austria resides in and about Vienna.



AREAS (IN BLACK) ACQUIRED BY ITALY AS A RESULT OF THE WAR
(The map shows also the relation of the port of Fiume to the new Italy and to the territory of the Yugoslavs)

*Hungary
Under
Communists*

Information about affairs in Hungary has not been complete or reliable. Early in May we were told that the Communist Government at Budapest, of which Bela Kun was the chief, was near its collapse, and that Bela and his group had sent a large sum of money to Vienna in preparation for their flight. A Rumanian army was advancing toward Budapest from one direction, and a Bohemian army from another. The Communist regime in Hungary had invited the support of Lenine's Red Army from Russia; and the Rumanian and Bohemian governments felt that their own security required the prevention of a junction between the revolutionists of Russia and Hungary. But after Bela Kun and his government had been invited by the Allies to send delegates to Paris, the Czecho-Rumanian advance ceased and the Communist rule at Budapest was accordingly strengthened. Conditions in Hungary in respect to food and work are probably better than in most parts of Europe.

*National
Political
Systems*

After another month we shall doubtless have a much clearer picture of conditions in Russia. In the meantime the independence of Finland has been fully recognized by Great Britain and the United States; a Finnish Minister has reached Washington; and this new nation is reported as in normal political condition. Of the six small countries on the Baltic and North Sea, Finland is the first to adopt a Republican Government, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium all being democratic monarchies. Of the larger countries opening upon those or adjacent waters, Poland, Germany, and France are Republics. That the Baltic Provinces will remain a part of Russia is likely, but not yet certain. It is probable that Russia will never go back to monarchical rule. With the disappearance of the Hohenzollerns, the Hapsburgs and the Romanoffs, the dynastic system of Europe is destroyed, never to emerge again. Royal families will cease to be a separate international caste, and monarchs become strictly national, with the

functions of ceremonial headship. Liberal constitutions will prevail, and revolutionary anarchy will yield to law and order.

*Russia's
Ferment*

As respects the interior conditions of Russia, reports have been so conflicting about many things that the more careful reader is disposed to hold a suspended judgment. The Lenine-Trotsky Bolshevist Government does not function in Siberia and North Russia, those vast regions being under the control of the "All-Russian" Government that centers at Omsk under the headship of Admiral Kolchak. In the Cossack country, Gen. Denekin commands a formidable army which the "Reds" of Lenine are evidently unable to conquer. The Omsk Government seems to have been receiving increasingly large contributions of military supplies from the Allies. Last month it was reported that a well-equipped military expedition against the "Reds," with British and French aid, was organizing at Helsingfors in Finland. If the present Soviet Government, with its fanaticism and tyranny, is not overthrown by military effort, it must in due time be transformed or superseded through the re-assertion of the oppressed elements of the Russian people. It is understood that the proposal of Dr. Friedjof-Nansen to supply the starving population of Russia with food—a plan in which

Mr. Hoover was coöperating—has failed to go into effect because it was dependent upon necessary agreements that Lenine and Trotsky would not make, regarding the cessation of hostilities.

*Germany's
Strang Man,
Noske*

For the present at least, the attempts of the Bolsheviks to seize control of Germany have been frustrated. The so-called Spartacides of Berlin and North Germany have been completely suppressed. Bavaria, for a little while, had detached herself and fallen under the sway at Munich of a fantastic group of extreme socialists and communists. This episode was of brief duration. Somewhere from the bosom of the German people a man named Noske has come forward, and he is Minister

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ADMIRAL KOLCHAK

(Formerly of the Russian navy, now executive head of the "All Russian" government at Omsk)

Government, but of private owners. Furthermore, the industries which have utilized these raw materials have also been private enterprises. In some lines the German textile industries have been the greatest in the world; yet these were dependent upon cotton and other fibres imported into Germany from the United States and elsewhere. The great electrical and other metal-using industries of Germany will have exactly the same opportunity to buy copper, zinc, iron, and steel as before. The Lorraine ore will be sold to those who have the money to buy it, as heretofore. For the old German game of political and military aggrandizement, it was indeed necessary that German jurisdiction should extend over as much of Europe's coal and mineral deposits as possible. But when the new industrial era is established under the moral guidance of the League of Nations, with unreasonable tariff barriers removed, Germany will have no more difficulty in buying needed supplies than will any other nation, Italy for example.

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HERR GUSTAVE NOSKE, MINISTER OF DEFENSE IN GERMANY

(Six months ago unknown, now the leading personality in Germany's effort to restore order)

of Defense in the present Government. What is left of army and navy is under Noske as civilian head. He has put down the anarchist mobs, restored Bavaria to the Empire, and established law and order. Whether Germany will hold together under the imposition of the burdens of the Peace Treaty remains to be seen. Our readers will be much interested in Mr. Simonds' article cabled from Paris in this number of the REVIEW (see page 595), in which he shows serious apprehension regarding Germany's acceptance of the economic terms. It is well to face the thing from all standpoints, and there is, of course, ground for Mr. Simonds' forebodings. It is to be remembered, however, that the course of history will go on, and that this Peace Treaty is not the end of things, but only the beginning.

Germany's
Economic
Outlook

Some of the difficulties that Mr. Simonds foresees are not really of an economic character, but chiefly political. Thus when it is stated that Germany is to be deprived of ore, coal, potash, and other supplies, it is easy to confound two distinct things. These materials have not been the property of the German

Ships
and
Markets

It is quite true that for a time Germany's foreign trade will be much handicapped through lack of ships and loss of markets. The British will be tempted to be over-greedy in trying to seize the world's shipping trade; but there is great restraining power in the British sense of fair play. The British had at one time intended to compel Germany to pay a great part of their war cost. This proposal—though openly encouraged by the present British Government in the December elections—has been virtually abandoned. Nobody can well say that the British are asking anything unreasonable when they require that the private owners of merchant ships unlawfully sunk by German submarines shall be reimbursed either in money or in actual tonnage. A considerable part of Germany's population in normal times depended upon the outlet of foreign trade. It will be best for England and for Europe as a whole to extend some commercial help to Germany in case there is honest acceptance by the Germans of the Peace conditions.

Colonies
and the
"Mandates"

This brings us to the problem of the colonies. Under the League of Nations plan, the German colonies are not to be apportioned to rival empires, but are to be administered for the good of the world by governments accepting what are termed "mandates." Thus Ger-

man Southwest Africa is not presented to the British Empire or to the South African Government of Generals Botha and Smuts, but is under control of the League of Nations; and the Union of South Africa will exercise authority there on behalf of the League. In due time, if Germany conducts herself with propriety, she will be admitted to the League. And meanwhile, peace being fully established, Germany will have the same commercial rights in Southwest Africa that the League will have established there for all other countries. All nations may as well recognize the fact that the day of colonial exploitation is approaching its end. If Germany can see things in the true light, she will discover that she is playing in downright good luck to be relieved of the burdens of a colonial empire that it was a deadly mistake ever to have assumed. The best thing that has happened to Spain in two generations was to have been separated from the lingering remnants of her once vast empire. Cuba, at this moment, is worth more to Spain than at any previous time in a hundred years. The United States assumed the attitude of a "mandatory" in looking after Spanish and other international interests in Cuba and the Philippines. Cuba is to-day an independent country, and the Philippines will have that position in the early future. When Germany shall have made some atonement for the crimes of the recent war,* she will stand much better with her neighbors and with the world at large for having no colonial empire.

*The Islands
and Africa*

It should, of course, be well understood that the mandatory system must not degenerate into imperialism. The immediate occasion of the Great War of 1914 was Austria's misconduct in announcing the imperial annexation of Bosnia—that district having been assigned to her by mandate of the Berlin Congress in 1878 for temporary administration. This was a trust, and Austria violated it. Bosnia now goes, where she naturally belongs, with the adjacent Serbian-speaking peoples. The former German islands in the Pacific south of the equator will be administered by Australia, and those north of the equator by Japan. It is obvious that the more extensive the British responsibilities become in Africa, the more necessary it becomes that Africa should not be exploited, and that all nations should have equal commercial opportunities. If the League of Nations is well

supported, and if it rises to the height of its possibilities, it will steadily gain in influence over the administration of backward regions.

*Japanese Ex-
citement Over
China*

In any case, having lost the war, Germany had naturally no hope of regaining the Chinese port of Kiau-chau and the domination of the Province of Shantung. Immediately following the intense flare-up of the Italians over the question of Fiume, there echoed throughout the world a surprisingly vigorous protest against Japan's claim to be Germany's legatee in China. It was hopeful and promising that China could speak out with so much unison of tone. All through the period of the war, China has been paralyzed by civil strife between her Northern and her Southern provinces. Until she can establish internal harmony, she will be at a serious disadvantage in outside affairs. A few years ago she was on the verge of dismemberment from without, and the attitude of the United States and Japan, more than aught else, saved her through critical periods from the imperial designs of Russia and Germany, and at times of certain other governments that are not now proud of the conspiracies they were then fomenting. All this major danger is at an end. China has only herself to fear. It has been provided at Paris that China shall resume political sovereignty, but that Japan shall acquire certain railroad and commercial concessions that had been previously awarded to the Germans.

*China
to be
Developed*

Meanwhile the United States, Great Britain, Japan, and other Allies will see that China is provided with a large fund for the development of her resources and her transportation system. With her industrious and skilful population, China may progress so greatly in the next half century that she will be far beyond the point of fearing external foes. It will be well for every nation to think carefully about China's future, and to lay the foundation for friendship in honorable conduct. China has need of Japan's help just now; but Japan has also even greater need of access to China's resources. The two countries should learn to coöperate with mutual good-will.

*Britain's Power
and
Prestige*

Great Britain apparently gains much by the Peace Treaty, but time alone can tell whether apparent gains are assets or liabilities. The question of freedom of the seas has been

carefully ignored in order not to disturb British feelings. The British navy, therefore, will be the chief police agency throughout all the world's great highways of trade and travel. But the rules for the government of the seas will be established by the League of Nations, as it performs the majestic task of perfecting and codifying international law. It will be a heavy expense for Great Britain to police the world for the world's own benefit; yet this is what the British state of mind now demands. No other nation except the United States can afford to maintain a large navy, and Japan will not be able to keep up the naval pace. We shall be compelled to build merchant ships and operate them under the American flag, because other ocean-carrying nations will no longer give our foreign trade the facilities that we require. Britain will be secure, and preëminent; but her prestige will be very expensive.

*English-Speaking
Commonwealths*

Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa emerge from the War as virtually independent countries, and will be directly represented in the League of Nations. Japan's principal object at Paris was to secure full recognition of other governments, on the principle of racial equality. This claim was so resolutely opposed by the Government of Australia that it met with defeat. The whole position of Australia at Paris was that of a country independent of Great Britain. A mark of the independence of the Federal Government of South Africa was the assignment to it rather than to Great Britain of the mandate to administer German Southwest Africa. In like manner the German Islands were assigned to New Zealand and Australia. The relationships of intimacy

and association between Great Britain and the rest of the English-speaking world, including the United States, bid fair to grow more intimate rather than less; but the bonds will be rather those of voluntary association for mutual security and the general good than relationships involving old-fashioned doctrines of authority. The tendency of an enlightened world is now to be towards the removing of obstructions to trade between countries, although revenue tariffs and temporary forms of protection may remain.

*American
Tariffs
and Industries*

For example, the United States will by general agreement permit the great chemical manufactures stimulated here by war conditions to become firmly established before opening the gates to a German flood of dye-stuffs, drugs and the like which would destroy the American industry at this stage of its development. This subject is presented with much knowledge of the facts in an article of unusual importance elsewhere in this number of the Review by Professor Baskerville. There are doubtless reasons of wise national policy in many countries for the imposition of protective tariffs, or for the payment of bounties upon merchant shipping, or upon some special product such as sugar. But wise statesmen and economists will look upon these special forms of protection as but preliminary steps toward a broad freedom of trade that should be the goal of those who wish to promote conditions that will make for permanent peace and goodwill.

*"The League
of Nations" in
the Treaty*

It was on the 28th of April that President Wilson appeared before a plenary session of the Peace Conference and presented the covenant of the League of Nations in its perfected form. The changes comprised many improvements in phraseology, and several important suggestions of American origin had been adopted. This constitution or "Covenant" of the League is made a part of the Treaty of Peace, of which it forms the first section. It is to be remembered that the Treaty with Germany as made public was only a summary, the great document not having been given to the press. We know enough, however, through the extended official summary, to see how important the League becomes in relation to the reconstruction of the world. An immense number of matters are yet to be worked out in detail or else require continuous supervision. Expert

committees of various kinds will at once be at work under the guidance of the executive committee of the League. This executive group will consist of one representative of each of the five principal Allies (France, Great Britain, Italy, United States and Japan), and four representatives of other countries, these four at the beginning being Spain, Belgium, Greece, and Brazil.

*A Hopeful
View of This
Beginning*

The great object of the League is to promote law and order in the world, and to diminish the appeal to arms. It will require the investigation of all disputes and it will provide means for judicial settlement. Back of the League must be the moral power of the world's opinion. Sustaining this moral power during the early future must be the armies and navies of the principal Allies. There are those who are optimistic enough to believe that the League can do so much for the welfare and the progress of peoples, especially those of Europe, through adjustment of differences and promotion of justice and freedom, that it will acquire great prestige and be accorded increasing authority, so that disarmament may proceed gradually and all nations gain relief from the financial burdens of militarism. There will be many difficulties to be encountered, but we believe that the League ought to be supported and that the United States will have to participate in its labors. Everything must depend upon the vitality the League gains from goodwill and good conduct.

*American
Opinion*

The Peace Treaty, including the League of Nations project with its amendments, has been well received in the United States; and there is little reason to think that if Germany should accept it the United States Senate would greatly delay ratification. Under our Constitution the state of war continues technically until the Treaty of Peace is ratified by a two-thirds vote of the Senate. It is exceedingly important that we should resume peace conditions in every sense of the term. Every facility should be given to the Senators for advance study of the Treaty, in order to save time and to limit the period of debate after the President submits the document. It is, of course, possible that some modifications may be made as a result of the many points raised by the Germans in their numerous memoranda last month; but it is not expected that there will be any vital

June—2

**ANXIOUS MOMENTS—WILL HE GIVE ME HIS BOOT
OR HIS BLESSING?**

From the Spokesman-Review (Spokane, Wash.)

changes that would have a bearing upon the action of the United States Senate. The Treaty will go first to the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which Senator Lodge of Massachusetts now becomes chairman.

*The Senate
and the
Treaty*

The President, by cable from Paris, had called the new Republican Congress into special session on May 19. At the close of the last session Republican Senators, under the lead of Mr. Lodge to the number of nearly forty, had signed a paper sharply protesting against certain features of the first draft of the League of Nations project. This number of Republican Senators would suffice to reject the Treaty; but it is not now believed that many Senators—if any—will vote against the terms of peace as perfected. It will be quite possible for the Senate to ratify the Treaty and at the same time to adopt a declaratory statement embodying its understanding regarding the policies of the United States. Many of the Senators are of opinion that the most vital of the objections raised three months ago by Republican Senators have been met in the final draft of the League covenant. While careful study and frank discussion are not only permissible but imperative, it is reasonable to hope that the Senate may see its way to an acceptance of the Treaty when presented without a long period of delay. Friends of the League must remember that the Treaty will also be ana-

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HON. ALBERT B. CUMMINS, OF IOWA
(Selected as President *pro tem* of the Senate)

lyzed and debated in the British Parliament and the French Chambers, and will be the subject of searching discussion in Italy and Japan, while the enemy countries will be torn with passionate controversy in the process of adjusting themselves to the situation, provided their delegates sign the Treaty.

Organizing
the
Senate

With the change from a Democratic to a Republican majority, the Senate has undergone the customary shift in the party complexion of committees. It was inevitable that there should be some sharp disputes between the old-time leaders of the conservative wing of the party and the Western Progressives. The principle of seniority recognition operated in favor of the old leaders like Lodge, Penrose, Gallinger and Warren. In the matter of filling the distinguished post of President *pro tem*—the officer who must under the Constitution preside over the body in the absence of the Vice President of the United States—the Progressives were permitted to name their choice. The honor was unanimously accorded to Senator Albert B. Cummins of Iowa, than whom no member of the Senate is better fitted by dignity, experience and ability to be the titular head of the upper

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HON. BOISE PEN
(A leader of the con

house. Senator man of the Interst and will thus hav devising of the ne the railroads will operation to priva

Progressives
Assert Their
Views

Senate vania, public Committee, was u. Progressives for th views did not pro vored in the preli was a period whe ters" dominated t way, and underto sive Republicans of the West who opposed the worst features of the Payne-Aldrich tariff. The old wing has now abandoned that reactionary pose, and has experienced a considerable change of heart. The Senate will not be dominated by a clique or a party faction, and every Senator will insist upon his own full rights regardless of Chairmanships and defiant of caucuses. The country as a whole is decidedly Progressive; and old leaders, to keep their places, must go forward with the times.

*Republican
Prospects*

Naturally the Republicans hope for victory in the Presidential election next year. They will not win, however, by fault-finding, by scolding, or by abusing President Wilson. If they are to carry the country, it must be not because the country condemns the Democrats but because the country believes the Republicans are, upon the whole, better fitted for the great problems of the reconstruction period. We need the highest order of financial ability (1) to cut down waste and extravagance in expenditure; (2) to reduce taxes; and (3) to handle the problems of our domestic debt and our financial relations with Europe. We shall also need the best talent in the country to deal with military and naval problems, and to get the maximum of defensive strength at a minimum of cost. We shall need extraordinary business ability to take up and carry on the policy of creating the necessary merchant marine. As for the railroad question, it is one of the most fundamental and critical problems this country has ever faced. We need able and brilliant

statesmanship to adopt and carry out a land improvement and settlement policy on a great scale. Questions of labor and immigration must be treated with breadth, sympathy and courage. What the country wants from the Republican party is constructive statesmanship. Those Republican leaders will be wise who have frankness enough to recognize the many valuable things that the Democrats have done, including their support of the series of war measures that emanated from the patriotism and the necessities of the whole country.

*Saloons
to Close
July 1*

The American people are approaching the date set for full prohibition of the liquor traffic under President Wilson's declaration of war policy. Unless this decision should be withdrawn before June 30th (which has been expected in no quarter), July 1 will find a "dry" nation. The President is authorized to maintain this status through the period of demobilization. In any case, prohibition under the new Eighteenth Amendment of the Constitution takes effect in January. The distilling and brewing interests have been, for the most part, busy in finding new spheres of effort. Realizing the approach of prohibition, most of them had long ago discounted the situation and fully written off the depreciation in advance. Through exceedingly high prices, also, they have recouped themselves in selling out their accumulated stocks of liquor. On account of the scarcity of building space, due to the suspension of construction of houses and stores during the war period, there will be a keen demand for the vacated saloon properties at high rentals for other business uses. So great is the demand for workers in many fields that men displaced by the shut-down of the liquor traffic can readily find better kinds of employment. Many people are afraid that the new era of nation-wide prohibition will be hard to maintain and will create incidental evils. On the other hand, it promises immense social benefits, and the country ought to accept it hopefully and make it a great success.

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HON. JAMES W. GOOD, OF IOWA

(Congressman Good as Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations will play a leading part in the special session. Seven of the annual appropriation bills failed of passage in the last House, besides the measure providing funds for the Railroad Administration. New legislation will have to be passed by both House and Senate.)

*Returning
the "Wire"
Services*

The Postmaster General has not had a happy experience with administering the wire services. The taking over of the ocean cables was a logical step in completion of the policy entered upon by the Administration when it took in hand the telephone and telegraph

lines of the country. The ocean cables, however, were not assumed until after the armistice; and it was charged that there could have been no war necessity to justify. The Administration was accused of seizing the cables in order to control the news from Paris, the President being then abroad; but this charge was not proved. Early last month the cables were returned to their owners, and it was announced that the telegraph and telephone lines would also be handed back in the near future, some legislation being deemed requisite by Mr. Burleson. Meanwhile, there had been turmoil, especially in the telephone service, because of demands for wage increase; and it had been found necessary to increase telegraph rates, which annoyed the public. Mr. Burleson was the victim of unmeasured criticism, much of which was not justified. He has long been an enthusiastic believer in the permanent operation of telegraph and telephone lines as a part of the postal service. He considers that the war conditions have not given public operation a fair chance to show what it can do. There is much to be said for his views in point of theory, but little reason to think that public ownership and operation would work well in practice under existing American conditions.

The Victory Loan "Goes Over"

In spite of many anticipatory doubts, the campaign to sell the \$4,500,000,000 Victory notes closed, on May 10, in a blaze of glory. It was estimated by the Treasury officials that more than fifteen million people were subscribers to this last of our World War bond issues. Practically every district in the country subscribed more than the quota assigned to it. As the total amount of the loan will be strictly limited to the \$4,500,000,000, while subscribers to sums of \$10,000 and less will receive all the notes they asked for, it is evident that larger subscribers will have their allotments cut down quite generally. It was thought that the total of subscriptions might reach six billion dollars or more. One of the very best features of this tremendous sale of securities was that, more than in any previous loan, the bonds were actually distributed to individuals, relieving the banks of the necessity of bolstering up the loan and leaving their resources freer for industrial requirements. The result brings great credit to Secretary of the Treasury Carter Glass for his wisdom in so fixing the terms of the issue that investors of small and moderate

means have been attracted to it in such vast numbers, in spite of the absence of the war stimulus, and in spite of a year of high taxes, high cost of living and the many financial and industrial derangements coming in the transition period between war activities and settled peace.

The Course of Prices

The most important and puzzling single economic question in this post-war transition period is whether the high prices of war-times are now to disappear quickly or whether America is in for a protracted period of high prices for everything that the individual or industrial organization has to buy, prices that look utterly abnormal beside those of the generation preceding the great war. It is not of so much importance that prices are high as that people should know whether the high level is going to persist. Tens of thousands of people would like to begin building houses, for instance, but do not dare to enter on such enterprises until they are reasonably certain that next year the newly erected structures will be worth something like what they will cost this year. This doubt and holding-off is most largely responsible for the stagnant condition of industry in America now—for mills running on half time, and copper mines afraid to produce metal that may not be salable at a profit.

Money Inflation

In the war period the money in circulation in the United States has increased from \$35.00 per capita to \$54.56. This extraordinary change in less than five years has come about largely because (1) the United States has received in this period a billion dollars gold from Europe; because (2) we have issued Federal Reserve notes against Liberty bonds to the amount of more than another billion dollars, and because (3) the bank deposits have been increased more than three billion dollars by loans against Liberty bonds. Few people expect any general reduction of wages in the near future, certainly not until the cost of living has subsided to such a point that reduced payments to labor will give the workman as much of the necessities and comforts of life as he is receiving now for a larger money wage. But the all-important thing for the individual and for the industrial organization is to form a reasonably correct judgment of the course of prices. No one has been more helpful in analyzing the causes of price changes and the probable future

course of the cost of living than Dr. Irving Fisher, of Yale, who undertakes in this issue of the REVIEW (see page 591) to answer the question whether we are facing a post-war period of fairly stable high prices.

*Europe's
Famine
Time*

These are the months, just before the new harvest, when Europe is feeling most keenly the pinch of hunger and when America is sending the greatest supplies of foodstuffs abroad. It is, in Mr. Hoover's words, "the worst phase of the European famine inevitable after the war. With 50,000,000 men in Europe out of production and turned to work of destruction there could be no other ending." A large and energetic organization is enabling the Economic Food Council to cope with the situation. America, it is estimated, will have sent 29,000,000 tons of food to Europe during the year ending with July, the total valued at about \$2,500,000,000. After the first of August, Europe's own harvests will probably feed her people for several months. The countries of our Allies in the war are being supplied through funds appropriated by Congress; enemy and neutral countries are paying cash for what they receive. Mr. Hoover believes that these great demands from abroad will not only prevent any lowering of food prices in the United States, but may cause a decided increase of price even from the present high levels, unless there is firm Government control of prices.

*The Acute
Railroad
Problem*

It appears probable that the new Congress called by the President to convene on May 19 will proceed rapidly, after the peace treaty is disposed of, to attack the railway problem, which is growing formidable with accelerated rapidity. Director-General Hines is expecting, later in the year, operating results not so bad as those now being published; but thus far each month is worse than the one preceding; and the unprejudiced observer can only look for the early disappearance of all net income whatsoever. Only five railroads out of the entire list earned enough in 1918 to save the Government a deficit after the standard return was paid. According to the Government reports there were recently 145,000 more employees on the Government-operated roads than there were in December, 1917, the last month of private operation, and this in spite of the fact that these roads were showing in the spring of 1919 from



NOTHING TO DO BUT WALK
From the *Evening Telegram* (New York)

4,000,000,000 to 9,000,000,000 less ton miles of freight traffic per month than they were doing a year before. Mr. Hines is an able and energetic manager and that he is a capable man makes the actual results look all the worse for Government ownership. Enthusiasm for a nationalized railroad system is at a low ebb.

*Hope for
a Railroad
Policy*

One of the depressing features of the problem of the railroads has been the diversity and conflict of opinion as to the way out of the present trouble. There have been almost as many conflicting programs as program-makers. Some focusing of conviction is now apparent. In addresses before the Economic Club of New York on May 9, Director-General Hines, President Howard Elliot, of the Northern Pacific, and Senator Albert B. Cummins advocated measures for relief of the situation that showed very little conflict of opinion. The importance of their agreement is heightened by the fact that Senator Cummins will be Chairman of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce. Their programs agreed in providing for the return of the railroads to private operation under radically new forms of regulation. All three recommended, too, that instead of several hundred individual railroad corporations there should be regional groupings of the roads into not more than fifteen or twenty large companies, each of the consolidations

to include the weak as well as the strong roads of its region. The only essential disagreement, in fact, was that Senator Cummins and Director-General Hines favored making this process of consolidation compulsory, on the ground that if it were discretionary it would never be fully accomplished, while Mr. Elliot felt that the merging should only be "urged" on the existing lines.

*The Value of
Regional
Grouping*

The importance of the regional consolidation of railroads into a few great companies lies in its bearing on rate-making. The bugbear of rate-fixing has always been the impossibility of making rates high enough for weak roads without getting them so high that the prosperous lines would make altogether too great a profit. The result has been schedules of rates that were utterly inadequate for tens of thousands of miles of weaker roads which have been starved into a condition where it was quite impossible to give the service the public ought to have. If all the railroads of New England, however, are consolidated into one company, including the strongest and weakest, the problem becomes comparatively easy. Mr. Hines suggested that the Government regulatory bodies should be represented on the boards of directors of the railroads to obtain better coöperation. He decried the public tendency to think of our American railroads as over-capitalized, terming this a "popular misconception," and one of the most serious obstacles to fair and effective regulation.

*Stand by
the Boy
Scouts!*

The Boy Scouts of America helped effectively to win the war. They are not under militaristic influences or ideals, but in a time when the nation needed every ounce of its manpower in service either in France or at home it was fortunate that its boypower was not lacking in organization or training for the tasks that fell to it. How well those tasks were done was told last month by President Wilson in a proclamation designating the period beginning on June 8 and ending on Flag Day, June 14, as "Boy Scout Week," to be observed throughout the country in a united effort to strengthen the work of the Boy Scouts. It is urged that this national effort be directed to three ends—(1) an increase in the membership (there are 10,000,000 boys of Scout age in America and only 375,000 Scouts); (2) enrollment of adult volunteers as leaders, associate members, and

advisers, and (3) contributions of money and equipment to enable this worthy organization to make the most of its big opportunity. Two articles on pages 623-629 show in outline how the Scouts are measuring up to their responsibilities and how they are fitting themselves for leadership in the days to come. They are brief statements, but to the thoughtful man and woman they are a revelation of the American boy-life of to-day. The war gave us all a new conception of the value of American manhood. Let us keep the standard high by doing what we can to keep American boyhood sound and alert and "prepared."

*Ocean
Flying*

Readers of the article in the May REVIEW on "Travel by Air Routes over Land and Sea" must have gained a realizing sense that the dream of transoceanic flight was fast approaching the stage of actuality. That article described the great "NC" seaplanes equipped and manned by the Navy Department, and outlined the plans that had been made for an ocean patrol of torpedo-boat destroyers from Newfoundland to the Azores, and other careful preparations for the safety of the hardy navigators of the air who had been chosen to make the trial voyage to Europe. Two of these giant flying boats, each with a wing spread of 125 feet, propelled by four Liberty motors, giving a total of 1600 horsepower, and carrying a crew of five men, left Rockaway Beach, near New York City, on the morning of May 8 and easily covered the distance of 540 miles to Halifax in nine hours. Two days later they arrived at Trepassy Bay, Newfoundland, completing the first "leg" of the journey from the United States to England. There they awaited favorable weather conditions before attempting the "hop" of 1200 miles to the Azores.

*The Azores
Reached*

Meanwhile, the NC-4, which had been compelled by engine trouble to land on the Massachusetts coast during the first flight of the seaplanes from Rockaway to Halifax, resumed her voyage on May 14 and made a record by sending a wireless message to the Navy Department at Washington and receiving a reply, all within three minutes! She rejoined her sister seaplanes at Trepassy Bay and at six o'clock p. m. (New York time) on May 16 all three started for the Azores. For the first half of the trip

Photographs by International Film Service

THE THREE SEAPLANES OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY LEAVING NEW YORK, AT THE START OF THEIR TRANSATLANTIC FLIGHT

(Seaplanes arise from and alight upon the water)

weather conditions were all that could be desired and good speed was maintained. With the morning came heavy fogs that made progress difficult, but the NC-4, directed by Lieut.-Commander A. G. Read, with a crew of five men, landed on the island of Fayal, of the Azores group, fifteen hours and eighteen minutes after her departure from Newfoundland. The NC-3 (Commander Towers) and the NC-1 (Lieut.-Commander Bellingier) were less fortunate, being compelled to come down in the open ocean. The great point is that mid-ocean has been spanned by American airmen in a type of ship devised and perfected by American brain, initiative, and energy. All credit is due to the Navy Department, which has been at work for two years in preparation for this outcome, as well as to the brave men who manned the aircraft. In striking contrast with the great, powerful machines that flew from Trepassey Bay is the tiny Sopwith plane in which the British fliers, Henry G. Hawker and Lieut.-Commander Mackenzie Grieve, took the air at St. John's, N. F., on May 18 for a flight to the Irish coast. For a time everyone hoped against hope that so bold a challenge of the elements might have its reward in a successful landing.

*The
"Blimp's"
Performance*

Not content with showing what could be done with seaplanes on the ocean, the Navy on May 14 started a dirigible ("C-5") from Montauk Point, L. I., for a non-stop flight to New-

foundland. The "Blimp" behaved admirably in the heavy weather that was encountered, and completed the trip of over 1200 miles to St. John's within twenty-six hours of continuous day-and-night flying. There seemed no reason to doubt that she could have gone on across the Atlantic. Her performance was calculated to inspire confidence in the dirigible as a transoceanic airship. The fact that the "C-5" was later torn from her moorings by the stiff winds of the Newfoundland coast and driven out to sea in no way detracts from the importance of her feat. A suitable hangar should have been provided.

THE NAVIGATOR AND HIS INSTRUMENTS

(Steering for and finding a small group of islands 1200 miles out at sea, while traveling night and day at the rate of a mile a minute, requires many delicate instruments—several being constructed for the occasion)

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From April 15 to May 15, 1919)

It is officially denied at Washington that the President has entered into any secret alliance with France.

April 25.—It is stated that the Polish question has been finally solved, granting to Poland a "corridor" across East Prussia to the Baltic Sea, with Danzig a free city under the League of Nations, and with East Prussia accorded right of way across the corridor.

April 25-26.—The three principal members of the Italian delegation—Premier Orlando, Foreign Minister Sonnino, and ex-Premier Salandra—abandon the sessions of the Conference and return to Rome as a protest against the public appeal of President Wilson.

April 26.—The Council of Three approves the reports of the Commission on Ports and Highways and the Commission on Finance.

April 27.—The report of the Commission on International Labor Legislation is made public; an International Labor Office is to be established at the seat of the League of Nations, to collect and distribute information, and an annual international conference is provided for, with each country sending two Government delegates and one each from employers and employees.

April 28.—The revised covenant of the League of Nations is presented to the plenary session of the Conference; President Wilson, as chairman of the commission, explains alterations that had been made—mostly as a result of constructive criticism in the United States.

April 30.—The Council of Three decides to transfer German concessions at Kiau-chau to Japan; under treaty agreements, which China seeks to repudiate, Japan has agreed ultimately to restore the territory to China.

May 1.—At Versailles, the German plenipotentiaries to the Peace Congress present their credentials.

May 5.—The organizing committee of the League of Nations holds its first meeting; Sir Eric Drummond, of Great Britain, takes office as secretary-general.

May 6.—The Council of Three agrees upon the disposition of former German colonies—Great Britain and her colonies and dominions becoming mandatories for German East Africa, German Southwest Africa, and the German islands in the South Pacific; Japan becomes mandatory for the islands north of the equator.

May 7.—At Versailles, a treaty of peace—framed by representatives of the twenty-seven Allied and associated powers in conference at Paris since January 18—is handed to the German plenipotentiaries (see page 636); fifteen days are allowed the Germans to submit observations in writing.

It is announced that President Wilson has pledged himself to propose to the Senate of the United States, and Premier Lloyd George has pledged himself to propose to the Parliament of

SIR JAMES ERIC DRUMMOND, SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

(The chief organizer and director of the League was formerly private secretary to the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—first under Sir Edward Grey and more recently under Mr. Balfour)

THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT PARIS

April 16.—The associated powers agree on sending food to Russia, on condition that the Bolsheviks cease hostilities; the work to be organized by a neutral commission under Dr. Nansen, the Norwegian explorer.

April 18.—It is reported in Paris that President Wilson has yielded to the French demand for guarantee of aid if France should be attacked again by Germany.

April 19.—It is reported that Great Britain and France have arranged a new alliance, more specific than the old "entente cordiale."

April 20.—After many days of consideration of counter-claims to the Adriatic coast, by Italians and Jugoslavs, President Wilson withdraws from further participation in the discussion.

April 23.—President Wilson issues a statement on the controversy over Fiume, explaining his reasons for insisting that the port should be assigned to the Jugoslavs, as their only outlet to the sea, rather than to the Italians.

April 24.—Premier Orlando of Italy issues a statement—in the nature of a reply to President Wilson—setting forth the Italian claim to Fiume.

Great Britain, an engagement—subject to the approval of the Council of the League of Nations—to come immediately to the assistance of France in case of unprovoked attack by Germany.

The Italian delegates return to Paris, upon invitation.

May 11.—The German President, Friedrich Ebert, denounces the peace treaty as a "monstrous document," without precedent in history for the treatment of a vanquished people.

May 12.—Philipp Scheidemann, German Chancellor, in a speech before the National Assembly, characterizes the peace treaty as a sentence of sixty million people to hard labor with their own land a prison camp.

A petition from the Korean people is received, asking for recognition as an independent state and nullification of the treaty of 1919 under which Japan virtually annexed Korea.

May 14.—The Austrian peace delegation, headed by Chancellor Karl Renner, arrives in Paris.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

April 17.—The Iowa House of Representatives adopts a resolution censuring Governor Harding for his action in a pardon case, rejecting a committee's impeachment recommendation.

April 18.—The New York legislature places a State tax of from 1 to 3 per cent. on incomes, and increases the corporation tax (from 3 per cent.) to 4½ per cent.

April 22.—The Pennsylvania House passes a

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HON. JOSEPH W. FORDNEY, OF MICHIGAN

(As Chairman of the Ways and Means Committee Mr. Fordney will occupy a post of vast importance and usefulness in the new House as organized by the Republican majority)

woman-suffrage amendment to the State constitution, a similar measure having been rejected two years earlier.

April 23.—The Rhode Island House (following similar action in the Senate) passes a bill declaring "non-intoxicating" all beverages containing 4 per cent. of alcohol or less.

April 26.—In the federal court at Chicago, the Postmaster-General is permanently enjoined from interfering with telegraph rates fixed by the State Public Utilities Commission.

April 28.—The Postmaster-General announces that he has recommended that the Government return cable lines to their owners, and that he will recommend restoration of telegraph and telephone lines as soon as legislation can be secured from Congress safeguarding interests of owners.

May 2.—The child-labor section of the War Revenue bill, levying a tax of 10 per cent. on products of child labor, is declared unconstitutional by a federal judge in North Carolina, as invading the State's regulatory authority.

May 3.—The United States Government purchases from the Alien Property Custodian the great German-owned piers at Hoboken, in the port of New York.

May 6.—The War Department announces that 287,595 American soldiers overseas embarked for home during April.

The voters of Baltimore elect a Republican as Mayor for the first time in twenty years—William F. Broening defeating George W. Williams (Dem.).

May 7.—The President, by cable from Paris,

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HON. LEWIS NIXON, NEW YORK CITY'S NEW PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSIONER

(A commission of five members has been abolished, and Mr. Nixon becomes sole watchdog for the people of the metropolis in all matters pertaining to transportation, lighting, and other services rendered by public utilities. Mr. Nixon became known to the country a quarter of a century ago as designer and constructor of warships and merchant vessels. He has had wide experience as an executive in large manufacturing enterprises)

THE BEAUTIFUL CITY OF GENEVA—HOME OF THE LEAGUE OF

(In the left half of the picture can be seen the snow-capped ridges of the Western Alps, with the famous Mont its watches, jewelry, and scientific instruments. The city is rich in historical

summons Congress to meet in special session on May 19.

May 10.—The campaign for the Victory Loan, fifth and last of the Government's popular war-finance issues, is closed with a heavy over-subscription of the offering of \$4,500,000,000.

The Attorney-General holds that the Industrial Board, created by the Secretary of Commerce with a view to determining proper prices for basic manufacturing materials, is unauthorized by law; and the board is disbanded.

May 14.—At a caucus of Republican members of the Senate, Mr. Cummins of Iowa is named president pro tempore.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

April 16.—Premier Lloyd George returns from the Peace Conference and answers criticisms in the British Parliament; he emphasizes the gigantic task of the conferees at Paris, the problems affecting every country in Europe and every continent, and he asks for calm deliberation.

In the French Chamber, Foreign Minister Pichon declines to outline in advance the peace agreement; the Chamber expresses its confidence in the Government by vote of 344 to 166.

April 17.—Gen. Aurelio Blanquet, leader of a new revolt in Mexico (War Minister in former President Huerta's cabinet), is reported killed in an engagement with Government forces near Vera Cruz.

The French Chamber of Deputies passes a bill establishing an eight-hour day for workmen.

A mob of unemployed in Vienna stones and attempts to burn the Parliament buildings.

April 18.—Vienna Communists launch an unsuccessful attempt to seize control of the Government; the movement is of Bolshevik tendency, instigated by a similar element in power in Hungary.

April 20.—The Russian Bolshevik "First Army," operating on the Pripiet River northeast of Kiev, is reported to have surrendered to Ukrainians.

April 21.—The Russian faction maintaining a

government at Omsk, led by Admiral Kolchak, reports a severe defeat of Bolshevik forces.

April 22.—Final count of votes in the New Zealand plebiscite on the question of prohibition (held on April 11) results in a majority of 1800 against prohibition.

April 23.—The French Senate passes the eight-hour labor bill, which thereby becomes a law.

April 24.—Anti-Japanese disturbances in Korea are declared by the Japanese to have been exaggerated, the casualties totaling 331 killed and 735 wounded.

April 29.—The Italian Chamber of Deputies sustains Premier Orlando's position at the Peace Conference (the Fiume question) by vote of 382 to 40.

May 1.—The Mexican Congress convenes in special session, to deal particularly with legislation regulating natural resources, urged by President Carranza.

May 4.—The Communist government in Munich, Bavaria, is overthrown by the government of Premier Hoffmann with the help of troops from Berlin.

May 8.—The unrecognized government of President Tinoco, in Costa Rica, is threatened by a revolutionary uprising along the Nicaraguan frontier.

May 9.—The budget committee of the French Chamber endorses a bill authorizing the Government to borrow three billion francs (\$600,000,000).

May 13.—Admiral Kolchak, head of the "All Russian" government at Omsk (favored by the Allies), declares that he will endeavor to establish communication with Archangel in the north and with the forces of General Denekin in the south.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

April 15.—Hugh Gibson is selected as first American Minister to Poland.

April 20.—An American missionary in Korea is sentenced to six months' imprisonment at hard labor for permitting use of his premises for disseminating propaganda for Korean independence from Japan.

NATIONS — ON LAKE GENEVA AT THE OUTLET OF THE RIVER RHONE

Blanc plainly visible forty miles away, in France. Geneva is essentially a manufacturing community, famous for associations but lives in the present, for the population has trebled in thirty years)

The national assembly of Montenegro votes to unite with the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (Yugoslavia).

April 23.—The Mexican Department of Foreign Relations announces that the Mexican Government "has not recognized and will not recognize the Monroe Doctrine or any other doctrine that attacks the sovereignty and independence of Mexico."

April 25.—A Rumanian official statement declares that Rumanian armies continue to advance in Hungary, dispersing a Communist army.

May 3.—It is understood that the Czech, Serbian, and Rumanian troops encircling Budapest have decided not to occupy the Hungarian capital; the Soviet government declares that it is making an honest effort for good government.

May 13.—The Russian Bolshevik government refuses to cease hostilities in return for Allied food.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

April 15.—A strike of girl operators ties up telephone service throughout New England; the operators refuse to submit wage demands except to one with full power from the companies and the Government.

April 17.—It is announced at Washington that 46,846 enlisted men and 2164 officers, in the United States Army, were killed in battle or died of wounds during the war.

A United States Army aviator, Major Macauley, arrives at Jacksonville, Fla., completing a flight from San Diego, Cal., in nineteen hours' flying time, at an average speed of 137 miles an hour, with four stops.

April 19.—The first airplane flight between Chicago and New York, without stop, is made by Capt. E. F. White, in an Army plane; he lands in New York City 6 hours and 50 minutes after leaving Chicago, flying 727 miles.

April 20.—The strike of telephone operators in New England is ended by a compromise wage increase.

April 26.—A United States naval seaplane (of the F-5 type) at Hampton Roads remains in the

air for more than 20 hours, at a speed of 60 miles an hour, breaking all records for endurance flight.

April 27.—Acting concurrently with the Allied governments, the War Trade Board at Washington removes prohibition against trading with enemy-controlled business interests throughout the world, with the exception of those in Germany and Austria.

April 28.—Fire destroys 2000 buildings in Yokohama, including part of the business section.

April 30.—Thirty-six bombs are discovered in the mails, deposited in New York City and addressed to men throughout the country known to have aroused the enmity of anarchistic elements.

It is officially stated that more than half of French youths between twenty and thirty were killed in the war.

May 1.—May Day demonstrations by radical labor elements pass off with comparative quiet throughout the United States; in Paris hundreds of persons are injured, and the city goes without newspapers, transportation, and all services rendered by shops; in Germany there is complete suspension of work without disturbances.

May 8.—Three United States Navy seaplanes start from New York on the first "leg" of a flight to Europe; two of them reach Halifax, Nova Scotia, as planned (flying 540 nautical miles in 9 hours), the third plane stopping for repairs at Chatham, Mass.

May 10.—Two of the American seaplanes fly from Halifax to Trepassy Bay, Newfoundland—460 nautical miles in less than 7 hours.

May 14-15.—The United States dirigible airship C-5 flies from Montauk Point, N. Y., to St. John's, Newfoundland, without stop—a distance of more than 1000 miles, in 25 hours and 40 minutes.

May 15.—The third American seaplane joins the first two in Newfoundland, flying from Halifax.

The body of Edith Cavell, the English nurse executed by the Germans in Belgium in 1915, is buried with honors at Norwich, England.

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A MODERN GERMAN SUBMARINE, MANNED BY AMERICAN SAILORS

(The *U-97*, and several of her sister ships, visited American ports last month as a "Victory Loan" argument. The photograph was taken on May 7, the *Lusitania* anniversary, while the U-boat was carrying a wreath out to sea in commemoration of the sinking of the famous liner by a German submarine)

OBITUARY

April 15.—Jane A. Delano, former superintendent of the Army Nurse Corps and ex-president of the American Nurses' Association, 57.

April 16.—Robert S. McCormick, who had been American Ambassador to Austria, Russia, and France, 69. . . . Charles A. Sulzer, Delegate from Alaska to the House of Representatives, 40. . . . Henry Morse Stephens, head of the department of history in the University of California, 61.

April 17.—J. Cleveland Cady, a prominent New York architect, 82.

April 18.—Harlow Niles Higinbotham, retired Chicago merchant, president of the World's Columbian Exposition, and noted philanthropist, 81.

April 19.—Arthur D. Chandler, for many years prominent in the publishing business in New York, later devoting his life to educational and industrial work among delinquent boys, 65.

April 20.—Richard Wilson Austin, for eight years Representative in Congress from Tennessee, 61. . . . Charles Brinkerhoff Richards, emeritus professor of mechanical engineering at Yale, 85. . . . Dr. George Ferdinand Becker, chief of the division of chemical and physical research in the United States Geological Survey, 72. . . . Verner Zevola Reed, Colorado capitalist prominent in federal mediation of labor controversies, 65.

April 21.—Jules Vedrine, the noted French aviator.

April 23.—Elijah Embree Hoss, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, 70. . . . Darius Cobb, painter of portraits and scriptural scenes, 84.

April 24.—Camille Erlanger, the French composer of operas, 56.

April 25.—Augustus D. Juilliard, the New York merchant and capitalist, 70.

April 27.—Imre Kiralfy, the British creator of pageants and spectacular productions, 74.

April 28.—Albert Estopinal, Representative in Congress from Louisiana, 74. . . . James Kennedy Lynch, of California, Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank for the Twelfth District, 62.

April 30.—Herbert P. Bissell, Justice of the Supreme Court of New York, 62. . . . Sir John P. Mahaffy, provost of Trinity College, Dublin, 80.

May 1.—Asher C. Hinds, for many years parliamentary authority in the House of Representatives and later Representative from Maine, 56.

May 4.—Rev. Walter J. Shanley, of Connecticut, a widely known Catholic educational leader and temperance advocate, 64. . . . Joseph Burrell, professor of geology at Yale University, 49.

May 6.—Very Rev. John J. Hughes, Superior General of the Paulist Community.

May 7.—Alexis Anastay Julien, for many years an authority on geology at Columbia University, 79. . . . George Pomeroy Goodale, for half a century dramatic editor of the *Detroit Free Press*, 75. . . . Lyman Frank Baum, author of fairy tales, 63.

May 10.—George Heber Jones, D.D., for more than twenty years a Methodist Episcopal missionary in Korea, 52.

May 11.—Clifford B. McCoy, president of the Ohio Manufacturers' Association, 52.

May 12.—Crawford Howell Toy, emeritus professor of Hebrew at Harvard University, 83.

May 13.—John L. Burnett, Representative in Congress from Alabama, and chairman of the House Committee on Immigration, 65.

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THE LATE ASHER C. HINDS

(After many years of conspicuous service as parliamentary expert at the Speaker's table in the House, Mr. Hinds was himself elected a member, from Maine, for three terms—1911-1917).

THE CARTOONISTS' STORY OF THE MONTH

CAPITOL HILL MAY 19TH
From the Herald (New York)

**WHILE THE RINGMASTERS DECIDE WHERE TO PUT
THE OTHER THREE FEET**
From the Ledger (Tacoma, Wash.)

COMING INTO SMOOTH WATERS
From the News (Dayton, Ohio)

LIVE WIRE ENTANGLEMENTS
From the Chronicle (San Francisco)

LOOK OUT, BELOW!

From the *Citizen* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)

American cartoons are still largely given over to international affairs, but with the meeting of Congress all eyes turn toward Washington again, and even in the absence of the President there is abundant material for sly thrusts at the Administration, as well as the Republican opposition. Getting back to the factory and the farm and caring for the big crops are matters that

count to-day with men who a year ago were giving their whole thought to the winning of the war. In England they do not find it so easy to make the change from a war to a peace basis. They have grown very weary of war-time restraints and are trying to shake them off. The famous "Dora"—"Defense of the Realm Act"—is getting to be a mighty unpopular old lady, as *Punch* testifies.

FEELING HIS OATS

From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco)

CRAMPING HIS STYLE

BARRISTER LION: "I'm getting a bit tired of this lady. After all, I am a lion, and not an ass."

From *Punch* (London)

GERMANIA'S THREAT

"If you don't make haste, I will cast the brand into my own house!"
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam, Holland)

The Dutch cartoonist represents the Allied fire-engine crew watching the spread of the Bolshevist flames, while Germany threatens to add arson to her other crimes.

PLAYING POSSUM

(Germany's statement to her creditors)
From the *Passing Show* (London)

WITH FUSS AND FIUME

From the *Times* (Los Angeles, Cal.)

JOHN, FRANCOIS, SAM AND COMPANY,
 UNDERWRITERS OF WORLD PEACE
 From the *Evening Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

The group of cartoons on this page expresses the vaguely defined views of many

OF THE LEAGUE.
 A VOICE FROM THE CROWD: "Yes, if that is not camouflage."

From *Le Rire* (Paris)

CHINA: LORD HELP THEIR ENEMIES!
 From the *Post-Dispatch* (St. Louis)

THE MASTERPIECE. WILL IT BE ACCEPTED?
 From the *Daily Express* (London)

HE WOULD TURN THE CLOCK BACK A THOUSAND
YEARS

From the *Telegram* (Portland, Ore.)

The Bolshevists and their friends in this country insist that America does not understand them. The retort is that the Bolshevists do not understand America if they think their ideas can make headway here.

From the *Passing Show*

SLEEPERS AWAKE!

From the *Passing Show* (London)

The cartoonists of the *Dayton News* and the *Portland Oregonian* think they know how Bolshevism and anarchism should be dealt with. The *Passing Show*, of London, England, is also awake to the menace.

SWAT THE POISON CARRIER NOW!
From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)

June—3

NOT IF YOUR UNCLE SAM HAS HIS WAY
From the *Oregonian* (Portland, Ore.)

TRIED AND SENTENCED

From the *News* (Dayton, Ohio)

(One of the cartoons representing the judgment pronounced on William Hohenzollern in the court of Public Opinion)

Current cartoon comments on the fate of the former Kaiser are severe enough, but not more caustic than the remarkable Austrian cartoon published in 1912 and reproduced above. The prediction has been more than verified long before 1932.

1912.

"Majestät, the President of the Reichstag is without and begs to pay his respects."
"Certainly not!"

1932.

"Mr. President, my name is William Hohenzollern, agent. May I pay my respects?"
"Certainly not!"

THE HOHENZOLLERN HOROSCOPE

(The above cartoon appeared in the Austrian paper *Glücklicher* [Vienna] in 1912)

Did the Austrian artist suspect that his own country would be involved in William Hohenzollern's downfall?

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THE FIDDLER PRESENTS HIS BILL AND IT "STAGGERS
HUMANITY"

From the *Evening World* (New York)

NEXT!

From the *Evening Telegram* (New York)

ARE PRICES COMING DOWN?

BY IRVING FISHER

(Professor of Political Economy, Yale University)

AT the present time there is a halt in production. Industry is slowed down. Some industrial concerns are failing to earn profits, and others are suffering the dissipation of their accrued profits, because, even by shutting their plans down, they cannot save certain of their expenses or any of their fixed charges. We are threatened with business depression and from peculiar causes, for the unsound conditions usually preceding a business depression are absent.

The main reason why business is not going ahead better is that most people have been, and are still, expecting prices to drop. The merchant is selling, but not buying. The manufacturer holds up the purchase of his raw materials. People quote the disparity between present prices and those prevailing "before the war," and decide they will not buy much until present prices get down to "normal." This general conviction that prices are sure to drop is putting a brake upon the entire machinery of production and distribution. Readjustment waits because we keep on waiting for it. We have now waited in vain for over six months.

A New Level Reached—and Held

Dun's index number, which was 121 in August, 1914, before the war, averaged 229 in 1918, and 223 so far in 1919, increasing slightly in April.

Gibson's index number, which was 58.1 in 1913 and 122.8 in 1918, averaged for the first four months of 1919, 122.3. In November, 1918, the figure was 118.8. It has since risen to 131.1 for the first week of May.

In many cases, high prices are blamed on high wages. The recent rent increase, for instance, is excused by the fact that the landlords have to pay so much more for the labor involved in the upkeep of their property.

Gradually business is beginning to recognize the stubborn fact of a new price level. The Government started out jauntily to lower prices by price-fixing, but has given it up as a bad job and the price-fixing commis-

sion has resigned. Yet business men are sorely puzzled to know why prices don't drop of their own weight and can't even be pulled down by force. One of the leading business men of St. Louis recently said that prices stayed up without "the slightest reason under the sun."

Actual Wage Decrease During Ten Years

It is interesting to observe that many manufacturers, although they think that prices, including the price of labor, *must* come down, are nevertheless ready to demonstrate to you that their own prices cannot come down, nor can they pay lower wages. Almost everything they buy somehow costs twice as much as before the war, and their labor is twice as dear. They cannot pay their labor less if labor is to meet the increased cost of living. And yet, since the twentieth century began, wages reckoned in commodities, not money, have been actually decreasing while profits have been increasing. The purchasing power of wages over food in 1917 was only a little over two-thirds of what it was ten years before. There were indeed individual workmen who earned extraordinarily high wages in 1918 for certain forms of skilled labor, but such cases are not representative.

The body of workmen are asking for higher wages to keep up with the rising cost of living. In Lawrence, Mass., 47 per cent. of the adult male workers were earning less than \$1000, whereas \$1500 is the amount specified by the National War Labor Board as necessary for the maintenance of a family on a decent standard of living.

Individual and General Changes

As a matter of fact, when we investigate almost any individual one of the so-called high prices for industrial products, we are likely to find that *individually* it is not high; that is, it is not high relatively to the rest. Our quarrel is with the *general* level of prices.

Variations in the general price level may be compared to the tides of the sea, while individual prices may be compared to waves. Individual prices may vary from this general level of prices for specific reasons peculiar to individual industries, just as the height and depth of waves vary from the general level established by the tide. The causes controlling the general price level are as distinct from those controlling individual prices as the causes controlling the tides are distinct from those controlling individual waves.

All prices have risen, but some have risen more, some less, than the average for particular reasons affecting each industry. The war brought about an abnormal demand for certain products like copper and steel, and they advanced faster than the average. The abnormal demand having disappeared, these prices are being adjusted downward. Wheat is a case where demand increased and at the same time certain of the usual sources of supply—Russia, Australia, and Argentina—disappeared, with a resultant abnormal price increase. The closed sources of supply have opened again, and wheat prices in the world market have dropped. In some cases, as in many of the industries making building materials, the war meant a great slackening in demand, an enforced curtailment in use by Government order. In such instances we are likely to see an upward swing in prices as the suppressed demand again makes itself felt. To-day we are witnessing throughout the country such price readjustments, up and down, but the general price level has shown little sign of falling, as is evidenced by price index numbers. It is apparent to every thoughtful observer that some great force has affected all prices, creating a new standard to which they are all conforming.

The Higher Level Permanent

We are on a *permanently* higher price level, and the sooner the business men of the country take this view and adjust themselves to it the sooner will they save themselves and the nation from the misfortune which will come if we persist in our false hope.

The general level of prices is dependent upon the volume and rapidity of turnover of the circulating medium in relation to the business to be transacted thereby. If the number of dollars circulated by cash and by check doubles while the number of goods and services exchanged thereby remains constant, prices will about double.

The great price changes in history have

come about in just this manner. The "price revolution" of the sixteenth century came upon Europe as a result of the great influx of gold and silver from the mines of the New World. Europe was flooded with new money. More counters were used than before in effecting exchanges and prices became "high." People talked then of *temporary* "inflation," just as they talk of it now. But it was not temporary; it was a new price level.

A similar increase in prices all over the world occurred between 1896 and 1914, following the discovery of the rich gold fields of South Africa, Cripple Creek, and Alaska, the invention of the cyanide process in mining, and the vast extension of the use of bank credit.

Circulating credit—that is, bank deposits subject to check and bank notes—is a multiple of the banking reserve behind these deposits and notes; and the essence of this reserve is gold. Our present monetary system is an inverted pyramid, gold being the small base and bank notes and deposits being the large superstructure. The superstructure usually grows faster than the base. The deposits are the important elements. They are transferred by check from one individual to another; that is, the circulation of checks is really the circulation of deposits.

Effect of Increase in Gold Supply

Thus any increase in the country's gold supply has a multiplied effect. The possible extent of that effect is dependent upon (1) the amount of gold available, and (2) the gold reserve requirements, determining the volume of credit that can be put into circulation based upon the gold. Over a billion dollars in gold has come into this country from abroad since 1914, and a large amount has disappeared from domestic circulation. The gold from both these sources has found its way into the United States Treasury and into bank reserves. On June 30, 1918, the portion of the *gold* reserve of the Federal Reserve banking system which supported national bank deposits and Federal Reserve notes was more than three times as large as the gold reserves under the old national banking system on June 30, 1914—\$1,786,000,000 compared to \$592,000,000.

During the same period credit instruments (demand deposits and notes) increased about twofold—from \$6,100,000,000 to \$11,700,000,000. This increase of credit instruments is typical of the banking situation for the country as a whole and largely explains

the present high level of prices. The increase of gold has been so great, however, that the base has grown faster than the superstructure—which is contrary to the normal tendency. The ratio of gold to credit has risen, from 9.6 per cent to 15.3 per cent. The legal reserve requirements of the present system are such that for 1918 there is an excess of gold above these requirements of more than \$700,000,000. The reserve required by law to support the \$11,700,000,000 of credit instruments of 1918 is \$1,070,000,000. The \$700,000,000 of free gold could support an additional superstructure 70 per cent. as large as the existing one, which indicates that for the banking of the country as a whole a potential future expansion of 50 per cent. is a conservative estimate.

Many people, referring to this inflation in the circulating medium, and assuming that it is temporary, are waiting for this inflation to subside. When we speak of *inflation* we mean more circulating medium than is needed to transact the business of the country on a given price level. But what price level? Some people mean the price level of 1913-14. Our currency is certainly inflated in terms of the prices of that period, just as the currency in 1914 was inflated with respect to the prices of 1896, but our currency is not inflated at the present time relative to the new level of prices in the world which the war has brought. The country's volume of money will have to be judged in terms of this new price level, not in terms of a price level that is past. To speak of the present "inflation" as temporary is to assume the very thing about which we are contending—to assume that the normal prices are those of 1914.

Let us examine the factors upon which any future price movements must depend:

(1) *Gold will not return to circulation.*—No great effect in the direction of falling prices can be expected from any return of gold and other lawful money into daily circulation. Such a reversion would be contrary to monetary experience everywhere. When people have learned to leave their gold and silver in the banks and use paper money and checks instead they find the additional convenience so great that they will never fully return to the old practice.

(2) *No great outflow of gold through international trade.*—It should be noted that many of the former reasons for a flow of gold from America abroad have disappeared. We used to owe Europe a huge balance of

interest payments upon American securities she held. The situation is reversed to-day. Moreover, Europe must pay us money for the materials we will send her for reconstruction, or at least pay us interest on credit we will extend her. Thus our exports will probably exceed our imports during the reconstruction period. We used to pay ocean freight money to foreign carriers; to-day the American merchant marine will keep in American hands tens of millions of dollars of ocean freight money. The huge volume of American tourist travel abroad, for whose expense we had to settle, has stopped and cannot resume for a year at least. For all these reasons the lines are laid for a movement of gold from Europe here rather than a movement from America to Europe.

"Yes, but," people say, "wait until trade is resumed between the United States and Europe, then surely, 'low-priced European goods' will flow over here in such enormous volume that they will liquidate all annual obligations to us in goods." Ultimately Europe must pay her obligations to us in goods, but it will take many years. Meanwhile, she needs our tools, machinery, and raw materials for immediate reconstruction.

At the present time European goods are not "low-priced" (however little the money wages of European labor will buy). Prices in Europe since the war began have risen more than they have in the United States. The price rise has been less the farther from the seat of hostilities. It was least in Australia and New Zealand. It was next least in the United States, Canada, and Japan. Then came neutral Europe; then our present allies; and finally Germany and Russia. Gold tends usually to flow from high-priced countries to low-priced countries, so that until "inflated" European prices fall gold is not likely to flow thither. Prices are no more likely to fall there than here, and for the same reasons, which will be explained.

(3) *Reduction of outstanding credit.*—The chief dependence of those who predict lower prices is on a reduction of the superstructure of credit resting upon our gold rather than on any reduction in the volume of this gold itself. They look for a contraction of bank credit, a reduction in the volume of deposits subject to check, which circulate throughout the country.

But the main cause for the present extension of bank credit is the method of financing the war by loans. Over 16½ billion dollars' worth of Liberty Bonds were floated,

including this last Victory Loan of $4\frac{1}{2}$ billions. Subscribers for the Victory loan did not pay for their bonds in full any more than they did in the previous cases, but rather less. Many of them deposited the bonds with the banks as security for loans to be repaid later. The effect on our circulating medium will be the same as if the Government had imposed a levy of \$4,500,000,000 of credits upon the Federal Reserve banks, and then ordered them to apportion these credits out among the banks of the country. This process has naturally led to an expansion of credits. The former issues of Liberty bonds are still carried by the banks to a considerable extent. As soon as the Government needs additional money, it will issue new Treasury certificates, resulting in new extension of bank credit. Moreover, there is little doubt that there will be at least one more Government bond issue during the reconstruction period, and this will tend to further increase our credit structure.

The banks must lend credit and create deposits to meet the expenditures not only of our own Government, but of foreign governments as well. The same thing results even if these governments are served directly by private investors here instead of via the United States Treasury. These investors pay for foreign government bonds as they do for our Liberty bonds—on the instalment plan—paying a small part down and borrowing the rest from the bank. This increased purchasing power will be mostly spent in this country for supplies to be sent abroad for rehabilitation. This continuance of vast loan issues, connected with war and reconstruction throughout the world is a factor which will maintain the high price level temporarily, which means many months.

It is also worth keeping in mind that Liberty bonds and other Government securities held here do not wholly cease being a source of credit expansion when the individual subscribers have completed their payments on the bonds and really own them.

The availability of the vast issues of war bonds as bases for future credit expansion, coupled with the fact that our banking system has still many unused reefs, sure to be taken out later, when business wishes to spread more sail, is the chief reason why prices will keep up permanently; that is, for many years.

Between the period of temporary and the period of permanent effects there may be a slight dip in the price level, say a year from

now. If so, it is the more incumbent upon business to proceed now; for it cannot wait.

Reduction in Bank Credits Not Wanted

During the war the flotation of stocks and bonds of commercial concerns has been very greatly diminished. During the period upon which we are now entering, the issue of such securities will increase greatly.

Against any considerable reduction in bank credit and hence in the general level of prices, we shall find the whole business community in arms. Falling prices mean hard times for the individual and for the nation and everyone resists the tendency. At the end of the Civil War the Treasury started to reduce the quantity of greenbacks. A start had hardly been made, however, before the business depression of 1866 and 1867 caused Congress to forbid any further reduction.

Looking into the still more remote future, there will be in Europe, particularly on the Continent, a vast increase in deposit-banking. The need of the governments there for funds during wartimes hastened the introduction of deposit-banking. Money went out of circulation into bank vaults, and there became the basis for circulating credits. This means a new habit which will lead to a great currency expansion. Far-away countries, like India and China, are also learning to use deposit-banking. It is as if a new source of gold supply had been discovered. What has been discovered is a new way of using the gold supply. The world, during the course of the war, has thus started, or has hastened, an equivalent of the price revolution of the sixteenth century.

Business men should face the facts. To talk reverently of 1913-14 prices is to speak a dead language to-day. Price recessions have been insignificant. The reason is that we are on a new high-price level, which will be found a stubborn reality. Business men are going to find out that the clever man is not the man who waits, but the one who finds out the new price facts and acts accordingly.

But the new price level will not be steady or constant. We shall continue to have, about this new average, fluctuations of various degrees of severity. We shall never be able to predict, with any surety, the course of prices. The only final solution of the prices problem is one which will do away with the injustices and economic crises due to price fluctuation by stabilizing the monetary unit.

ISSUES OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

(*By Cable from Paris, May 13*)

THE month which has passed since my last cable has seen the presentation to Germany of peace terms fixed by the Paris Conference, and presented by a united Conference despite the temporary Italian withdrawal which has left pending the question of Fiume and surviving possibility of later dissension. Looking first to the terms which we have served upon Germany, it is essential to recognize that while the territorial changes follow lines generally expected, and frequently indicated by me in this magazine, these territorial changes are relatively insignificant as contrasted with economic penalties.

I. TERMS IMPOSED ON GERMANY

By the terms of the treaty with which the German delegates are now wrestling, Germany will restore to France, to Denmark, to Poland, and to Belgium those territories which represent various successes of Prussian armies in wars of aggression extending from the time of Frederick the Great to the hour of William II. By these changes Germany will lose upwards of 30,000 square miles, with seven millions of people. She will become in area smaller than Spain; and in addition East Prussia will be divided from the bulk of German territory by the famous Polish "corridor."

In addition to territories directly returned to the nations from which they were stolen, France will receive a fifteen-year mandate for the Saar coal region—which may become her permanent possession if the inhabitants of the district so elect fifteen years hence—and Danzig becomes a free city within the Polish customs area. A plebiscite will also determine the ultimate disposition of portions of East and West Prussia, and the transfer of Schleswig to Denmark will be conditional upon a similar vote.

In sum, on the territorial side, Germany loses an area five or six times as large as France lost in 1870, with a population approximating that of Belgium when war broke out. But this territory was held against the will of inhabitants, and represented booty of other wars of plunder. If the Conference of Paris has sinned in any direction, it has been in that of moderation so far as territorial considerations are involved.

Military and Political Aspects

On the military side, Germany is required to reduce her armies to 100,000 with 4000 officers; to abolish the General Staff and conscription; to surrender all but a ridiculously insignificant portion of her fleet. A sentence of death is thus passed upon Prussian militarism, limited only by the capacity and willingness of the Allies to enforce these decisions. For fifteen years Allied armies will occupy portions of German territory between the Rhine and the French and Belgian borders, all evacuation to be conditioned on performance by Germany of the terms of the treaty. This is again a logical and rational step, modelled exactly upon the course pursued against France by the victorious Allies of 1815 and by Germany after the Franco-Prussian war. In addition, German military establishments, fortifications, and bases of invasion on either side of the Rhine, from which she has launched her invasions to the westward, are to be levelled.

On the political side, the terms of peace compel Germany to make restitution of territories taken by force but of right belonging to other nations, to disarm, and to destroy fortifications in the Rhine valley. It is worth recalling, as to disarmament, that Napoleon at the height of his power failed to enforce a similar decision. But, short of permanent occupation of Germany, no more effective

method of disarmament can be conceived of. We have taken booty from the robber and weapons from the assassin.

The Economic Side

But it is the economic aspect of these terms of peace which is almost staggering. Actually we take from Germany her whole mercantile fleet, and compel her to build ships for an indefinite period of time to transfer to her conquerors. We take from her all of her iron, much of her coal, and a considerable percentage of her phosphates, in restoring lost provinces to Poland and to France. We take from her many hundred thousand head of cattle, together with some of her richest agricultural districts. We provide that she shall in principle pay for all destruction she has done to property and lives of civilians in the war, and we fix twenty-five billions of dollars in three instalments as the first payment on account, with responsibility to pay more in future.

There are many other details, intricate but all converging upon the same point. Actually for fifteen years at least Germany will work for the nations she attacked, while their armies will occupy the portion from which she drew materials which gave her great economic development in the last half-century. She will surrender the mercantile marine which she built up to carry her manufactures over the world. She will retain a population of sixty millions of people, but she will be deprived of a large portion of raw materials necessary to the industry of these people.

"A Sentence of Industrial Death"

I do not see how anyone can regard these economic phases of terms of peace as less than a sentence of industrial death; and this I think is the sober judgment of Paris, which—however much it had known in detail concerning this part of the settlement—saw with unmistakable surprise what the details meant in the aggregate.

Germany has lost her markets, her mercantile marine, her raw materials. She is compelled to pay an indemnity which can only be paid in instalments over many years. During that period her territory will in part be occupied. All her payments foreseen and hoped for cannot make good the destruction which she has wrought on land and on sea, wanton destruction deliberately designed to bring economic ruin to her enemies. The re-

sult of the war has merely shifted to her shoulders the burden of her destruction; but yet it is necessary to see how staggering is that burden.

And on the economic side there is to be added the loss of German colonies, a million square miles of territory—certain portions of it rich in possibilities, some of it of little value—from which she might hope in future to have drawn an appreciable amount of raw material. Not a single colony, not a single place in the sun outside of Europe, is left to her; and this completes the destruction of that edifice erected in the forty-eight years that separate the treaty of Frankfort from the session at Versailles.

II. A PROPOSED NEW TRIPLE ALLIANCE

It remains to discuss the relation of the League of Nations to this proposed treaty of peace with Germany. The Covenant of the League of Nations, as amended and incorporated in the treaty, is designed to provide the framework for an international association, under recognized principles of international law, to the end that wars may be avoided in future. But inextricably joined with these provisions is the treaty with Germany, which carries with it—justly but unmistakably—a sentence of economic death to the German Empire.

This was long ago foreseen in Europe. It was long ago recognized that the very minimum of terms which could be served upon Germany would carry with them such a burden as to arouse in Germany opposition and enduring resentment comparable with that of France following the loss of Alsace-Lorraine. It was realized that peace could only be preserved on the basis proposed by giving to the League of Nations an additional force, by securing from at least the Great Powers an underwriting of the treaty of peace and a guarantee to maintain it by force of arms if necessary.

As a logical consequence, we have had the announcement made, at the moment the terms of peace were published, that the President of the United States and the British Prime Minister had agreed with the President of the French Council to lay before Parliament and Congress a proposal that each should pledge its respective nation to come to the support of France immediately if France should be attacked by Germany. We

have thus created a Triple Alliance to maintain peace, to defend the League of Nations, and to uphold the terms of the treaty of peace joined with the covenant of the League of Nations; and only by doing this have we been able to preserve the League of Nations against the future.

It must be clear to everyone that, whether Germany signs the treaty of peace proposed or not, the terms are so heavy that she will observe them only so far as she is compelled to. It must be recognized that this treaty of peace on the economic side is no settlement, but a basis of settlement. It foresees a period of fifteen years during which Germany will have to pay vast sums of money, and it recognizes that this payment can only be assured by a permanent preservation of the instrumentality of force.

Guarantee of the League of Nations

I have said, and I repeat, that except for the guarantee of the United States and Great Britain, who were jointly its authors, the covenant of the League of Nations has only limited value. The French have abandoned their just claims to a military frontier on the Rhine only in return for the promise of Anglo-American aid at a frontier fixed in accordance with Anglo-American principles expressed in the League of Nations. The Italians have shown their utter lack of regard for the idea of a League of Nations as the basis of permanent peace, by insistence upon the forcible annexation of hundreds of thousands of Slavs, with the certainty of creating a new "Irredenta." And Great Britain and France, despite their desires, have found themselves compelled to recognize the validity of old secret treaties, which did essential violence to the League of Nations principles but were the price of Italian enlistment. Finally, Japan—invoking a similar secret treaty—has laid hands upon China in a fashion which must excite grave apprehension in the Western Hemisphere.

The Italian matter remains unsettled, and no solution is now possible which will not preserve the rivalry and animosity of Slavs and Italians. The problem of Poland in the East, that of Hungary in the center, and the stupendous question of Russia beyond these, remain to be discussed and dealt with. So far as a European settlement is concerned, the Conference of Paris has only begun its task.

The failure of the Congress of Berlin to

solve the Balkan problem and the folly of the Congress of Vienna in dealing with the Italian question, supplied the occasion for most of the wars down to and including the World War. The single hope of settlement now, as one can see it in Paris, the sole chance of preserving the League of Nations as a real and enduring mechanism, must be found in the association of Great Britain, the United States, and France on the basis of the principles of the League of Nations and on the agreement to defend those principles until such time as they are universally accepted.

Nothing seems clearer in Paris to-day than that whether Germany signs or refuses to sign the treaty, more than sixty millions of people will remain sullen, hostile, and resentful over a period of from fifteen to thirty years by external pressure—literally compelled to work for nations they have wronged, and actually deprived of a large fraction of those resources on which modern Germany was built.

That these millions of people will accept it in the future, except as their incapacity for resistance makes resistance impossible, cannot be believed. If the United States and Great Britain withdraw their guarantee to France, nothing seems more certain than that Germany will seek to escape the burden of costs of this war by a new attack. Austria deprived of her Czech provinces and become an insignificant state, Hungary reduced to the condition of Portugal, Bulgaria shorn of all her hopes, will remain ready allies of the Germans for a long period of time, while the certain survival of Italian-Jugoslav hostility will provide further material.

In other words, while we have passed a just sentence upon the Germans, moderate in its territorial demands, inferior to our deserts in the economic field, we have no less imposed a sentence from the consequences of which the German will seek—directly possibly, indirectly certainly—to escape. For him to join the League of Nations now would be to accept a period of economic servitude extending for fifteen years at the minimum, and involving transfer of the larger part of his earnings to nations he has wronged. The time may come, after Germany has discharged her obligations, when German entry into the League of Nations loyally and unreservedly may be possible; but until that time comes the League of Nations means exactly as much as the United States,

Great Britain, and France—the three great liberal powers of the world—choose to make it mean.

And in a very real sense this League of Nations, which Europe has accepted (so far as it is accepted at all) under our leadership, will remain what we choose to make it. President Wilson has seen this clearly, and has made his pledge to France accordingly. If we withdraw our material as well as our moral support, I do not think there is anybody in Paris who believes that the League of Nations will endure. On the other hand, if we, intimately associated with the English, stand surely pledged to support France against new German aggression, that aggression will in all human possibility be avoided.

The thing that I am trying to say to my readers is that, so far, we have only laid down bases for settlement alike with Germany and for the future of world peace in the League of Nations. The terms which we have imposed upon Germany are so drastic that they will be accepted only because Germany is powerless to resist, to be fulfilled only if she remains incapable of resistance. The League of Nations will only be the thing everybody has hoped it would become if it has behind it the force of the United States acting in concert with Great Britain and guaranteeing the safety and existence of France. Unquestionably the other nations allied against Germany, and the neutrals, will enter it; but until Germany and Russia also join it will remain an experiment, the success of which must depend in large measure upon the degree to which we are willing to contribute materially to the maintenance of ideals for which we are morally responsible.

To think of the peace terms as settling the war, and the League of Nations as making war for the future impossible, without recognizing the responsibilities and problems involved, is to miss the underlying fact of the European situation to-day.

III. THE HISTORIC BACKGROUND

And now I should like to ask my readers for a moment to lay aside the contemporary view of the work of the Paris Conference and review it briefly from the standpoint of history. For something like five centuries Europe has been wrestling with questions and with evils out of which have grown and out of which developed this

last and most terrible war of all. Since the Turk broke into Europe and destroyed the life of the smaller peoples of the Balkans we have had an Eastern Question growing as Turkish power declined and the ambitions and the appetites of the great powers clashed in the estates of the Osmanli. At the Paris Conference we have sought once more to solve the Eastern Question, to abolish the wrongs and iniquities growing out of the destruction of Eastern nations in the 14th century.

Reverting to a still more distant period is the problem of Italy. The decline and fall of the Roman Empire, which brought the barbarians to the Peninsula, created that condition of division amongst the Italians which successive wars from Napoleon to the present hour have only partially remedied. As we are seeking to give liberty and unity to the Balkan peoples we are in Paris striving to give Italy her natural frontiers alike and place in her hands permanently the barrier of the Alps from the Ventimille to Fiume.

The third problem which has for long generations troubled the peace of Europe dates from the 18th century, when Frederick the Great achieved the first partition of Poland. Subsequent partitions were followed by the ultimate extinction of Polish existence at the Congress of Vienna and for more than a century Poland has been sore at the injustice against our so-called civilization.

Less ancient is the grievance of Bohemia and the Czechs. One must go back to the period of the opening days of the Thirty Years' War in the famous Defenestration of Prague to find a Bohemian kingdom extinguished in that struggle subjected to Austrian tyranny through all the centuries that followed but preserving, like Poland, the memory of ancient independence and enduring national aspirations.

And finally we have by restoring Alsace-Lorraine to France abolished the consequence of the war of 1870-71 and the iniquitous provisions of the Treaty of Frankfort. In Italia Irredenta and French aspirations for the recovery of the lost provinces we have two of the most potent emotions in Europe in the last half-century, two of the great historical wrongs against free peoples of the West are thus righted.

The new Europe which we have created is based thus on the abolition of ancient wrongs. We have done away with the crime

of 1871, we have restored to France her ancient frontiers within which she can be at once safe militarily and prosperous economically, and we have placed against future German attack that barrier of the Rhine which in Roman times was recognized as the frontier of Latin civilization. We have, in fact, gone back to the Roman era to erect once more barriers at the Rhine and the Alps against the invasion of Gaul and of Italy.

A Reversion to Roman Policy

We have recognized the right of the German tribes settled on this side of the Rhine to a political existence of their own while we have reaffirmed the doctrine, reasserted the sound policy that the Rhine and the Alps are the true military frontiers of civilization against Germanic barbarism which at successive moments throughout all history has threatened to engulf the Western world. It is of more than passing interest, then, that our Western settlement in the Conference of Peace at Paris in reality is a restatement of the truth as old as the days when the Roman Empire was constituted. After 1900 years Europe in a new settlement reverts to the principles of Augustus in defining the military boundaries of Western Europe.

And this Roman policy finds itself expressed so far as Italy is concerned not alone with the Italian frontiers from the summit of the Brenner pass and to the crests of the Julian Alps, including the Trentino and Trieste, which for half a century constituted Italia Irredenta, but it is also expressed in the Italian demand repulsed by President Wilson that Italy should be permitted to dominate both shores of the Adriatic and re-occupy the cities and the islands on the Eastern coast of that sea where still survive some of the finest monuments of Imperial Rome. Here the old and the new meet in sharp conflict, and here one begins to touch upon dangers for the future.

Restoration of Poland and Bohemia

In resuscitating Poland the Western nations have gone back a century and a half and sought to undo one of the great crimes of all history. Frederick the Great coming to the throne of Prussia and having successfully stolen Silesia from Austria, sought to complete the unity of the Prussian kingdom by seizing that corridor connecting Poland with the Baltic, which separated East Prussia from Brandenburg in Pomerania. To persuade Russia and Austria to consent to his

plan he assigned to them far larger areas of Polish territory, and Polish incoherence supplied ever-increasing opportunities for Russia, Austria and Prussia to partition and abolish Poland.

The consequences of the destruction of Poland were found in the rivalries between Germany and Russia, which have gained ground with every decade from the Congress of Vienna to the outbreak of the world war. Through all these years Poland has existed in the hearts of the Polish people, but for the Poles liberty has seemed an impossible aspiration so long as three great powers, Germany, Russia and Austria, were united in a common policy based on a common hostility to Polish renaissance.

To-day Austria has ceased to exist, Russia has fallen into chaos, the outcome of which no man can imagine, and Germany has been defeated and lies at the mercy of the Western nations who are seeking by restoring Poland to re-create in the East a nation which shall be for them a precious ally in the future and at the same moment to remove one of the cancers from the European system.

For Bohemia, for the Czechs and the Slovaks inhabiting the highlands in the very heart of Central Europe the same policy is being followed. We are undoing a wrong nearly three centuries old in the case of Bohemia, as we are atoning for a crime a century and a half old in the case of Poland. In the highlands of Central Europe we are erecting a Slav state which also must be an ally of the West, providing only the West shall recognize its responsibilities.

A New Rumania

Southward in the Balkans we are at last rescuing two great peoples, the Rumanians and the Jugo-Slavs, from that chaos and that servitude resulting from Turkish intervention in Europe. But once more, as in the case of France and Italy, our policy in the Balkans goes back to Roman times, and in fact in re-creating a real Rumania we are imitating the policy of Trajan, who for a bulwark to civilization placed colonies of soldiers in the lower valley of the Danube and in the highlands which guard the Moldavian and Wallachian plains. There is perhaps nothing in this whole peace that we are making more interesting than the fact that those nations which were the Roman Empire, Italy, France and Britain, are instinctively if unconsciously taking notice of those same geographic and political necessities which domi-

nated Roman policy and along the Rhine, the Alps and the Danube seeking those securities against new Germanic attacks which Rome sought in her greater days.

Jugo-Slavia's Natural Frontiers

In creating Jugo-Slavia the Western nations are again recognizing the claims of a gallant race. In the 14th century Serbia was an empire with laws and civilization at least comparable to those of England and France. Under the great Dushan she ruled much of the territory between the Ægean, the Danube, the Black Sea and the Adriatic. Against the Turkish flood she maintained for long generations a gallant but despairing fight. It was the Serbs who were the first to emerge when the Turkish tide ebbed; it was the Serbs who from that moment to this have most gallantly and consistently struggled for their liberties against the Austrian tyrant as well as the Turkish oppressor. To-day we are giving Jugo-Slavia her natural frontiers to the northward as far as the Drave, thus making her a guardian of the common frontier of Western civilization which stretches by the Rhine, the Alps and the Drave to the Rumanian fortress which holds the frontiers of the Theiss, the Southern Carpathians and the Dniester River, and we are, by granting Greece her just rights, making of the Hellenic race an ally and an aid.

IV. WHAT THE SETTLEMENT MEANS

We have thus in a very large sense restored the barriers of Rumania against the menace of the North and center of Europe. We have, in fact, in the case of Belgium, France, Italy, Jugo-Slavia, Rumania and Greece restored in a fashion at least striking the conditions of 2000 years ago. We have consciously or unconsciously sought to replace the unity of Rome by an alliance of Western Powers to erect a common defensive association from the British Isles to the Black Sea with the purpose of restraining that pressure coming out of Central Europe which now, as in remoter ages, has its center in Germany. We have passed the Roman achievement by erecting on the flank of this German world two states, Poland and Bohemia, which are by the very necessities of their position bound to the West, dependent upon the West for protection, and certain, if a policy pursues a rational course, to use their strength in any later struggle

which the German world may precipitate.

But in erecting this new barrier we have so far failed in many details and our failures may have fatal consequences. The quarrel between the Italians and the Jugo-Slavs over the eastern shore of the Adriatic has for the future a very obvious danger, that our barrier may be broken and that the Southern Slavs or the Italians may seek alliance with Germany and thus isolate the Allies of the East from those of the West. In permitting rivalries to develop between the Southern Slavs and the Rumanians in the Banat we have imperilled that bulwark which alone can prevent a new German drive southward along the pathways of victory of the recent war to Constantinople and the Black Sea and thence to Asia Minor, to Egypt and to India. If the defensive frontier of Great Britain is henceforth at the Rhine, which everyone must recognize, the frontier of the British Empire, that is, of India and Egypt, is henceforth the frontiers of Jugo-Slavia and Rumania. If Allied policy in the future fails to reconcile conflicting claims of Italy, Jugo-Slavia and Rumania and out of present discord to create a firm and enduring alliance the greatest part of that security purchased by this war will have been lost.

And in the same way in permitting rivalries to grow up between Bohemia and Poland we in the West have allowed one of the greatest guarantees we can have in the future, two strong Slav allies, to be weakened. We have opened the way for a new German onset against Poland following the footsteps of Frederick the Great and a new destruction of Bohemia imitating the example of the Thirty Years' War.

As I see it, the permanence of that settlement which we are now to make, so far as Europe is concerned, depends on two totally different sets of circumstances. We have created a League of Nations which opens the way for a new era if all mankind, if all nations are now and henceforth to be directed by a common spirit of pacifism and a mutual recognition of the rights of all men. President Wilson's League of Nations offers to the world a voluntary pathway to permanent peace, but it can only succeed as all nations accept in the same spirit the principles it lays down.

In the second place, we have by redressing ancient wrongs given liberty to many millions of human beings and eliminated many of the causes of European chaos and rivalry such as Alsace-Lorraine, Italia Irredenta,

Schleswig and the Slav and Rumanian wrongs of the East and the Balkans. At least four new nations, Poland, Bohemia, Greater Rumania and Jugo-Slavia, have been created out of the fragments of peoples hitherto at most only partially liberated, from the slavery of monarchical régimes which have passed. Each of these four nations has in itself all the requirements for national life, each of them represents the final realization of the noble aspirations and the gallant efforts of millions of men and women in the long past. If we have at one time reconciled differences among these four new states themselves and between one of them and Italy, and shall preserve an association between these states and the great powers of the West until the former shall have time to work out their own domestic problems and achieve that state of unity and strength which will enable them to defy attack, we shall have restored the balance of power in Europe which will be a guarantee that the principles of the League of Nations will prevail because all these nations, big and little, will be associated in a defense of those principles.

If there shall be a strong Poland, a strong Bohemia, a strong Rumania, a strong Jugo-Slavia, the pathway of German imperialism in the future either into Russia or into the Balkans will be blocked. Germany will find herself halted in the East by precisely as permanent and indestructible barriers as blocked her march of conquest towards Paris and the Channel in the recent war, and confronting impassable obstacles to vain and wicked ambition she may in her own time and way come to accept the ideas and the ideals of the West expressed in the League of Nations. If that time comes, then a real settlement in Europe and the world will have been achieved.

But the great danger, the enduring danger, is that the Western Powers shall abandon the four new states in the East as the great powers abandoned the small Balkan

states which they called to existence in the last century, that they may sacrifice the just rights of these new states to their own selfish interests as the small Balkan states were sacrificed, that they may permit these small states to become rivals, enemies, tools of larger rival states, and thus repeat the whole sad history of the Balkans which led Europe straight to the world catastrophe of four years ago.

After all the real achievement of the Peace Conference, so far as it has yet achieved anything, is giving liberty and political existence to sixty-odd millions of people in Poland, Bohemia, Rumania and Jugo-Slavia, three-quarters of whom were five years ago creatures of a tyranny which they abhorred. To preserve the liberties of these sixty-five millions of people, to ensure that they shall achieve national life in the future, is the single fashion in which the nations who have won the war can preserve their victory. At the bottom of all European wars from the Napoleonic era on has lain the will of various races to be free, or the determination of nations to regain a fragment of their own peoples torn from them by violence. Whatever else may be said for the peace being made in Paris it has in the main sought to recognize this fundamental fact. It has sought to avoid the errors of all its great predecessors of all the councils of the world by recognizing everywhere the legitimate demands of peoples small and large for self-determination. It has made mistakes, but it has not deliberately sinned against the light, and it is no little thing in human history for all the future that more than seventy millions of human beings have achieved independence as a result of the decisions here taken. Probably no international gathering in history has so honestly redressed ancient evils as the Paris Conference of Peace. But this is not enough. Its work can only endure if the nations which have made the great sacrifice to achieve a noble result are prepared to guarantee their work.



MENTAL ENGINEERING AFTER THE WAR

BY RAYMOND DODGE

[Last month Professor Dodge, who holds the chair of psychology at Wesleyan University, described the remarkable work carried on by psychologists for the Army in the war period. In this present article he indicates industrial and social possibilities of "mental engineering," even more important for the welfare of the nation than had been the application of that science to military needs—THE EDITOR]

WHEN our boys come back home from the training camp or the Western Front we are interested to know what they did in the national crisis and what part they played in the events that led to victory. But we are even more interested to know how those experiences have influenced their development and what they portend for the future. In a similar way every organic reaction, including the war-time service of scientists, may be separated into factors which have a mere historical interest and factors which are permanent and prophetic.

Earnest desire and reasonable expectation to the contrary notwithstanding, no one has the right to assume just yet that the last war is the final one. But as long as war still threatens, we must heed the military lessons that have been learned at such cost. Among those military lessons the importance of the mental factors in modern warfare stand out with conspicuous insistence.

A Military Program of Mental Engineering

The discovery, graduation, tabulation and placement of the technical skill that is needed by our armed forces will never again offer such almost paralyzing difficulties as they offered in the summer of 1917. The underlying methods have been thought out, tested, and corrected in the work of the Committee on the Classification of Personnel in the Army. The perpetuation and development of these principles to meet new war conditions is a straightforward problem in which most of the factors are known, and the remainder can be found by approved methods.

The problems of discovery, graduation, and placement of the capacities to learn necessary military tasks are in a much less satisfactory position. The Army tests for general intelligence which were worked out by Major Yerkes and his collaborators, the

specific mental tests for prospective aviators which were worked out by Professor Thorndike, and the Naval tests for prospective gunpointers, listeners, radio-operators, pay-officers, and lookouts have shown the practicability and substantial advantages of tests of natural aptitudes where speed of training was a consideration. But, at least as far as tests of specific abilities are concerned, this kind of military service has only made a start.

In the last war an enormous amount of time was wasted in trying to train for special tasks men who were relatively poorly fitted for them. Conversely, the chances of a drafted man's being picked for training in the line of his greatest possible usefulness to the service were almost negligible. The development of an adequate personnel service for the quickest possible training of a citizen army with every man in the position of his maximum usefulness will need years of patient research. It should not be left to improvisation when the next war starts.

Military Morale

The mental engineering problems of military morale, both defensive and offensive, are quite chaotic. During the war, responsibility for morale was divided between a number of practically uncoordinated agencies, partly civil and partly military. But there is no study of the proper reach and scope of the various agencies. A systematic doctrine of the conditions that affect military morale favorably and unfavorably is conspicuously lacking. Close observation of the American soldier by trained workers and by officers is still available. If these observations are not collected and systematized it will be an intolerable loss of invaluable military experience. I believe that all available knowledge of offensive morale should be collected and systematized with equal thoroughness.

My military experience leads me to the conviction that somewhere in the training of every young officer there should be systematic indoctrination in the best available traditions of military mental engineering. This should include not only the selection and placement of personnel and the principles of morale, but also the conditions of observation and report; the nature, results, and correction of mental fatigue; all devices by which the effective learning of new coördinations may be speeded up; the possibility of training by indirection; and the conditions of effective leadership.

The Industrial Use of Intelligence Tests

It would be a very narrow view of the possibilities of mental engineering that saw only its military value. Doubtless long before this some of my readers have been asking why schemes similar to those proposed for increasing military efficiency would not be useful for improving economic and social efficiency. It is the unanimous belief of the Psychology Committee of the National Research Council that the mental engineering needs of peace are even more important for the welfare of the nation than those of war.

We have grown familiar with the use of intelligence tests for discovering the conditions of poor scholarship, and of juvenile crime and delinquency, for the analysis of feeble-mindedness, the study of racial differences, mental inheritance, and the relative importance of inheritance and education. The experience that was gained in testing almost two million men in the National Army guarantees substantial permanent advances in the technic of mental testing and an incomparable collection of data for standardizing test performances. One of the important non-military applications of this information is its indication of the grade of intelligence that is necessary for average success in the various skilled trades and professions.

Rapid extension of the use of standardized intelligence tests is imminent in industrial and technical education. In the absence of other specifications as to the mental qualities that are necessary for success in the various industrial tasks, a mental examination that will show whether the candidate possesses the grade of intelligence that the task requires will be useful not only in the selection of new employees but in the transfer and promotion of old ones.

A similar development is imminent in gen-

eral education. Professor E. L. Thorndike of Columbia has prepared an intelligence examination for high-school graduates to be used as an alternative to the regular system of entrance examinations at Columbia College and elsewhere. Aside from its primary function as an indication of fitness for college, such intelligence examinations should furnish college authorities with more detailed and more exact information concerning the mental equipment of prospective students than the old examinations. In the case of each entering student they should show the various points of mental strength and weakness. They should help to clarify the problem of individualizing the educational program. Taken in connection with scientifically elaborated tests for the graded schools, it is not impossible that we may soon expect a kind of detailed exploration of the mental capacities of a child that will open the way to a scientific orthopedic and corrective education on the one hand, and, on the other, to an individualized education of each child's particular genius.

The analysis of industrial jobs and specific tasks to determine what kinds of special skill and capacity they demand, is not new in applied psychology. The testing of candidates to discover which ones possess the required skill or capacities is an accomplished fact of employment management. Both sides of the process of fitting the man to the job have been improved by the war experiences. The organization of the old Committee on the Classification of Personnel in the Army with its enviable service record, has been perpetuated as the Scott Company of Philadelphia. The business of this company of personnel experts is, however, not merely the analysis of jobs and the selection of qualified personnel. They are able to furnish their clients, whether a department store or a factory, with an exhaustive occupational index of their business, with exact occupational specifications, rating scales of efficiency in the various tasks, and examination blanks for the selection of promising novices.

One aspect of its work which is even more far-reaching and promising is an unique experiment in the organization of workers to meet the present complex industrial conditions.

The army personnel maxim of the right man in the right place is as imperative for the development of an efficient industrial society as it was for the development of an efficient army. With the experiment in organizing

workers a new and equally important phase of scientific personnel work has begun in the direction of industrial morale.

Engineering for Patriotism

But again I fear that some of my readers are impatient at the narrowness of our view. The morale of a people is just as important for its national existence as the morale of its armed forces or the industrial morale of its workers.

One of the most inspiring phenomena of the war was the overwhelming wave of patriotic devotion that swept aside lifelong habits and social barriers in behalf of service to the common cause. It was a wonderful exhibition of the latent social consciousness of America. Our ladies who only yesterday rebelled at the little clause of the marriage ceremony concerned with obedience *took orders* from State and national Councils of Defense not only with complacency but with a certain fierce joy in the sacrifices they entailed. Almost every man, woman and child in the country gladly did what he could find to do to help and hunted for more exacting duties. Except for a small minority who will not easily be forgiven, the question was not what can I get, but what can I give? Personal ambition and financial gain were alike forgotten in enthusiasm for national service. It seemed as though the whole country had suddenly been purged of selfishness and individualism.

Our conspicuously high war morale did not just happen. It was achieved by a combination of patriotic agencies that few of us could name. But the marvelous fact is that the popular mind was hungry for patriotic self-sacrifice. The planning and effort have not relaxed. Great Americanization, patriotic, and religious movements are under way, but some of them do not find the same mental readiness that they did when our national traditions and existence were threatened by autocratic force. The first conspicuous break in the national morale came before the armistice in the rebirth of political partisanship. Soon after the ebullition of patriotic fervor at the signing of the armistice, manufacturers and laborers, men of affairs and even the boys in the training camps gradually found themselves thinking more and more in terms of the old individualism. It became increasingly difficult to maintain the effective organization of even the necessary military forces. The wonderful war-time force of patriotic zeal has suffered lamentable depres-

sion in spite of all the efforts to keep it alive.

Another conspicuous mental consequence of the war has been the consistent depression of some of the strongest traditional cohering forces of society. Some of them have suffered to a degree that is scarcely possible to estimate. For example: whatever our personal attitude towards autocratic rulers may be, we must realize that the king as the personal representation of the state and the object of the allegiance of its citizens has commonly served as a potent social cohering force.

The moment that the "Little Father of the Russians" disappeared as a social force, Russia broke into numerous contending factions that no power has yet been able to reunite. Apparently the same process is occurring in Austria, and as this is written it threatens to occur in Germany. The old social power of the personalization of the state is widely depressed throughout the world. Where it has disappeared no one seems to have set himself the task of developing a cohering force that is adequate to take its place. Such forces are available in human nature, if only they can be found and brought into action. They probably lie in the direction of the parental instincts rather than the instincts of the herd. To make the world a better world for the children to live in, few personal sacrifices are too great. But the relative force of such an appeal depends on a racial psychology of which we know comparatively nothing.

Similarly, however we may deplore it, the cohering power of the Christian Church lost prestige by the war. In part this may have been the consequence of the brutality of the professedly Christian German nations, their international perfidy, and their subversion of religion and private morals to military expediency. I have not seen an adequate analysis of the facts. Fortunately the church is alive to the importance of the reconstruction. Its task is fundamentally a great mental engineering task. It has a legitimate field of appeal to the strongest human instincts.

Engineering for the Social and Industrial Unrest

While some of the great cohering forces in society have lost prestige, there has been a conspicuous increase in the menace of some of the de-cohering forces. There is an alarming increase in social restlessness, in intolerance of restraint, in disguised and undisguised

anarchistic tendencies. In part these may be viewed as the inevitable consequences of a great war. Analogous social movements are familiar historical events following other wars. But this time the social and economic unrest is almost world-wide. It has been most acute in the defeated countries of Europe, reaching its maximum proportions in Russian chaos. But recent events in widely scattered sections of the United States clearly indicate a menace to which it would be folly to shut our eyes. The total restlessness in the world is appalling. It is not merely the sum of individual voices that we hear, but the protests of great organized groups.

These problems cannot be annihilated by ignoring them. They demand causal analysis of human motives, and of the interaction of economic and social forces; the wisest use of our educational resources; the discovery and development of a social consciousness; some tangible basis for a nation-wide spirit of co-operation. This is not a matter for force or legislation. It is a matter of social morale. We cannot afford to let matters muddle along if good mental engineering can help to find a quicker and more adequate solution.

New Problem of a League of Nations

With the imminence of world politics and a league of nations the scientific study of racial psychology takes on unprecedented importance. Some of the necessary international adjustments and accommodations will be effected by the close contact of representatives of the different races and a free expression of different points of view. But if these representatives are elected by, and are responsible to democratic states there must be something more.

There is an inevitable tendency in the human mind to understand all other people in terms of one's own experience and traditions. One of our Wesleyan alumni who is conspicuous in foreign educational work reports overhearing the end of a discussion about himself, in which an aged Chinese sage insisted to his baffled fellow countrymen that the impossible stranger was probably still a member of the human race. If we are to have a political unity that is more than a mockery, the various nations must know and respect each others' traditions, points of view, and aims. There can be no interracial sympathy and no benevolent mutual helpfulness without knowledge. The dream of a world-wide democracy is absurd unless we can discover and develop an adequate inter-racial

consciousness, unless we can discover some common aim on which we can unite.

A College of Mental Engineering

It seems to me that the time has come when we may venture to think and speak openly both of the need and of the practicability of a General College of Mental Engineering. As an organized scientific body the business of such an institution would be to collect and systematize the available data in all important fields of mental engineering, to investigate the most pressing problems with all the resources of the human sciences, and to indoctrinate qualified students and groups.

The ideal College of Mental Engineering that exists in the minds of some of us, is not a direct parallel to the schools of mechanical, electrical and chemical engineering. It is rather an institution for coöperative and intensive practical research in the conditions of human efficiency and morale. On the basis of our actual experience I have indicated certain military, industrial, and educational desiderata. But it seems to some of us that the great problems for such an institution to face would be after all the problems of the social mind.

On the whole, scientists in the allied fields of history, sociology, political economy, education, and psychology realize the complexity of these problems better than men of affairs. They have larger scientific resources to meet them. And they have the advantage of the confidence of the community not only in their ability but also in their non-partisanship. Many scientists are devoting a large part of their time to the study of such problems. But all of us work at an enormous disadvantage for the lack of that scientific cooperation that was the most precious development of scientific work under the National Research Council.

Practical mental engineering wisdom is widely scattered. One finds it often inarticulate and un-selfconscious in politicians, physicians, dentists, lawyers, and business men, in employers and leaders of labor, in administrators, editors, and publicists. But it is often a kind of trade secret, destined to die with its possessor. The College of Mental Engineering must be catholic enough to collect and systematize all this practical wisdom—the products of the laboratory of affairs as well as of the laboratories of science.

But at least in its investigation and exploi-

tation of the stabilizing forces in society it must do more than enlist the coöperation of a group of scientists and men of affairs.

Organization of Stabilizing Agencies

In an informal meeting of a group of those who were interested in morale, at the office of the Secretary of War, one of the psychologists pointed out the enormous social potentialities of existing clubs and societies with more or less pronounced patriotic interests. Most of those potentialities are barely touched. There is no tabulation of their reach and power, no mechanism for enlisting their coöperation, no deliberative mutual formulation of plans, no available scientific basal knowledge of the relation of any accidentally suggested plan to the goal that it is expected to accomplish.

A few weeks ago I was consulted about the value of some Americanization propaganda that was being started by a metropolitan organization. My practical wisdom in the matter was very small. But it became perfectly obvious to all concerned after a little deliberation that the plan proposed was entirely inadequate to the task and that some of the specific instruments were not only ineffective but really harmful to the real aim. Such an accidental dissipation of patriotic zeal ought to be impossible. It is too discouraging in its results. Our capital is too valuable to waste.

A Neo-humanitarian Revival

A College of Mental Engineering should include at least four great schools. These are a Central School of Social Engineering for the discovery and reinforcement of such cohering and stabilizing social forces as are still available; a School of Industrial Engineering for studying the mental problems of our industrial life; a School of Educational Engineering that looks to the future; and a School of Expression to study the problems of "putting things across."

In all these directions there are well-established scientific and academic traditions. But nowhere in the world, as far as I can learn, does there exist any agency for coördinating the available fragments of our science of the social mind for the practical solution of our pressing social problems.

I have no illusions of wisdom as to the exact form that such a coöperative scientific institution should take. But it is clear to some of us that to be a safe as well as a vital factor in the reconstruction period, The Col-

lege of Mental Engineering must be rigidly scientific and absolutely free from any suspicion of being controlled in the interests of any social group. It must be able to command the services of the best trained minds in the several fields of mental engineering no matter where in the world they may be found. It must be able to collect its data wherever the data exist. It must be able to consult with a wide group of experts.

We may be reasonably sure that if it once gets a proper start such an institution will have very wide influence. It should become a center for a neo-humanitarian revival—a balance both for the tendencies to social mechanization, and to extreme individualism.

To be thoroughly successful it must enlist the active coöperation of all scientists everywhere who can contribute relevant scientific data, or aid the scientific analyses that it undertakes. Personally I would go farther than that. I believe that in some way or other it must stimulate the widest possible popular coöperation, reinforcing in every legitimate way the splendid latent humanitarianism that the war disclosed.

As the hours of routine work tend gradually towards an unknown lower limit, and the aggregate of leisure for self-determined activity increases, our social salvation will depend on whether the average of the self-determined activity is social or anti-social. In some way or other, as occurred during the stress of war, the whole people must feel their participation in a social consciousness, as necessary parts in the great social advance. So some of us have come to believe that if ever a nucleus of scientists is actually called into being for a College of Mental Engineering, it should not regard itself as an instrument for leadership so much as a center for colligating the several functions of widely scattered coöperating members.

Our tentative program for continuing the essential factors of war-time mental engineering is obviously vastly larger than any single science, pregnant with more important social issues than any effort that has hitherto been made to organize scientific research for practical social ends. To be even moderately successful it will not only require brains but large and independent financial resources. It probably ought not to start at all rather than to start wrong, or to start trivially. But it seems to some of us that whatever the cost in money, time, or effort, we who are living in this supreme moment of social evolution cannot afford to neglect the investment.

GARDEN WORK BY PUPILS AT A GARY SCHOOL

(They plant, cultivate, and harvest—not only giving ordinary care, but also doing the heavy work. By indoor related study and by experimenting, stress is laid upon such matters as soils, fertilizers, seed selection, and transplanting)

THE GARY SYSTEM EXAMINED

A REVIEW OF THE REPORT BY THE GENERAL EDUCATION BOARD
ON THE SCHOOLS OF GARY, INDIANA

BY HENRY W. HOLMES

(Professor of Education at Harvard University)

TO most people, Gary, Indiana, means steel. To many, it means also an extremely significant experiment in public education. Before the war, the schools of Gary had attained a national, even an international, reputation. Educators everywhere agreed that Gary was making a radical attempt to put into practical operation a thoroughly modern conception of education and that William F. Wirt, Superintendent of the Gary schools, had devised some very ingenious plans for doing it. In 1916 Mr. Wirt was called to New York to demonstrate the value of the Gary scheme for city schools. This attracted to the principles and practice of the Gary plan a public attention even more widespread and serious than before, and it was clear that a thorough, sympathetic, and impartial examination of the Gary schools would be a service of national importance.

A Survey by Expert Investigators

At the request of the Gary authorities the General Education Board undertook, therefore, to make a careful survey of the system in Gary itself, seeking to understand its aims in their broad relation to the conditions and needs of the community and the times, and to assess its results by every available measure of educational achievement.

The very undertaking was notable. The Gary Schools are a distinctively American product. The General Education Board is equally a distinctive American institution. Founded and endowed by John D. Rockefeller, Sr., incorporated by the Congress of the United States, and free to forward education in every way its ingenuity might suggest and its funds and influence permit, the Board has rendered notable service to the schools and colleges of the country. It has made a number of independent studies of educational undertakings and has gained the reputation of conducting investigations efficiently, without prejudice, and with vision.

The responsible agents of the Board in the Gary study had already commended themselves for the clarity, sanity, and forward-looking character of their views on public education. Students of education knew that the Board would assess the work of the Gary schools fairly, and that what was of permanent good in them would be made clear for the use of all, what was of dangerous tendency or precarious value made clear for avoidance. The Board had no rival system to protect, no previous pronouncement to substantiate. It could take the standpoint of an objective inquirer, eager to find anything of promise for the schools of America.

A PLAYGROUND SCENE—PHYSICAL TRAINING OUT OF DOORS

(The Gary scheme abandons "setting up" and "breathing" exercises in the classroom, and takes the pupils to the gymnasium, swimming-pool, and playground. Special teachers are responsible for everything that pertains to physical education. The illustration shows also the "portables" which often supplement the main building in a Gary school)

The Published Findings

The report of the Board is published under the general title, "The Gary Public Schools." It consists of eight volumes, some of which are still in preparation. The first of these, called "The Gary Schools: A General Account," summarizes the results of the special studies reported in the other seven volumes. The special studies, undertaken by a corps of experts in various phases of school work, deal with "Organization and Administration," "Costs," "Industrial Work," "Household Arts," "Physical Training and Play," "Science Teaching," and "Measurement of Classroom Products." The summarizing report, which is the volume here under review, was written by Dr. Abraham Flexner, Secretary of the General Education Board, and Dr. Frank P. Bachman, who has participated, as an agent of the Board, in a number of its investigations. Any of the reports may be secured from the Board at a nominal cost.

What, then, are the findings as to the Gary schools? What may we learn of Gary for that enrichment and increased effectiveness of public education which is on all sides urgently demanded, and which is bound somehow to be accomplished? The nation, and practically every State in the nation, is facing a legislative program for educational reform. England has passed one of the most comprehensive measures of educational reorganization ever presented to a national legislature. From H. G. Wells to the president of Princeton University, reformers of

every grade and kind are urging changes in education to meet the changes in social conditions and social ideals. Of all the changes that may be made, those that apply to the common schools will have the widest application and the most far-reaching effect. Can we learn from Gary what to welcome and what to avoid, at least so far as elementary schooling is concerned?

The report of the General Education Board makes answer: We may welcome the conception that schooling means more than the common book-work of the conventional class room; we may welcome the use of shops, laboratories, auditoriums, playgrounds, museums, gymnasiums and gardens as school equipment; we may welcome the democratic spirit in school management which subordinates regimentation to activity and learning to doing; but we must avoid such extension and complication of school work as will outrun provision for watchful administrative control; we must avoid the wholesale abandonment of tested methods and programs for novel and stimulating experiments undertaken without critical examination of results, without provision for records or accountability, without the establishment of supervisory agencies.

It is to the substantial and lasting credit of Gary that it has had the courage, liberality, and imagination to "try things." Nor have things been tried blindly and recklessly. The social situation to be dealt with has been thoughtfully analyzed; the resources at our disposal have been intelligently marshalled. Gary . . . failed only in caution and criticism. Hence, while things have been tried, results have not been carefully

checked. Disappointment was inevitable, but it is a disappointment that does not imply fundamental error. . . . The theory of which Gary is an exemplification is derived from the facts and necessities of modern life. The defects of Gary cannot therefore simply throw us back on the meager type of education appropriate to other conditions. Gary's experience up to this time means merely that further efforts, at Gary and elsewhere, more clearly defined, more effectively controlled, must be made in order, if possible, to accomplish Gary's avowed object—the making of our schools adequate to the needs and conditions of current life.

So ends the report. What is it, specifically, that Gary is trying; what, in typical detail, are its failures; what may be suggested by way of further efforts to realize, under clearer definition and more effective control, the object at which it aimed?

Teaching the "Business of Living"

Gary has tried to add to the conventional program of school work a wide range of special activities. It is teaching its children reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, geography, and history, as do other school systems. It is also teaching them science—partly through gardening, the care of animals, and active experimentation with cameras, automobile engines, and other mechanisms; it is teaching drawing and hand work; it is teaching "industry"—that is, it is giving its children opportunity to participate in shop-work

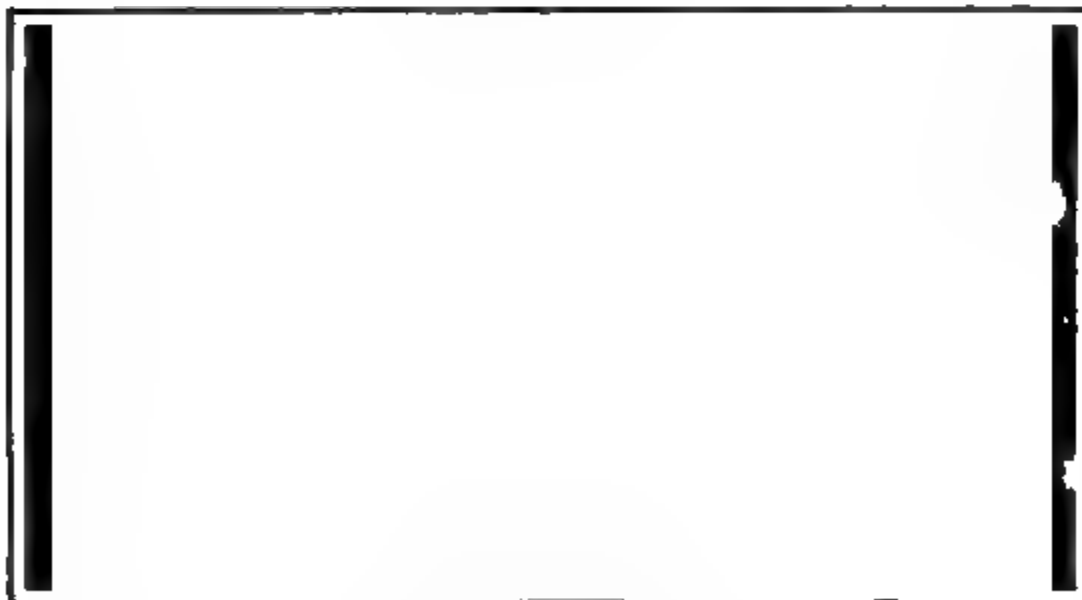
A CLASS IN DRAWING AND DESIGN

(An elective system results commonly in boys taking mechanical drawing and girls free-hand drawing. Pupils work in charcoal and crayon, as well as in pencil, and later on in water color. Designing takes the form of curtain and wall decorations, metal work, book covers, and costume outlines)

of various kinds and in repairing, painting, and printing for school purposes; it provides extensively for play and physical training, the children being taught, for example, to swim and dive, and drilled in life-saving and first aid; it is teaching girls the domestic arts; it provides auditorium periods which are devoted to choral singing, individual performance on violin and piano, dramatic and other group exercises. Gary also arranges for the religious instruction of its children during school hours. In brief, Gary tries to do everything schools can do for the development of their pupils, physically, socially, and spiritually, as well as intellectually. No mere catalogue of additions to the common program can do justice to Gary's effort to make the school in truth an opportunity for the boy or girl to learn how to live by participating in the activities of life.

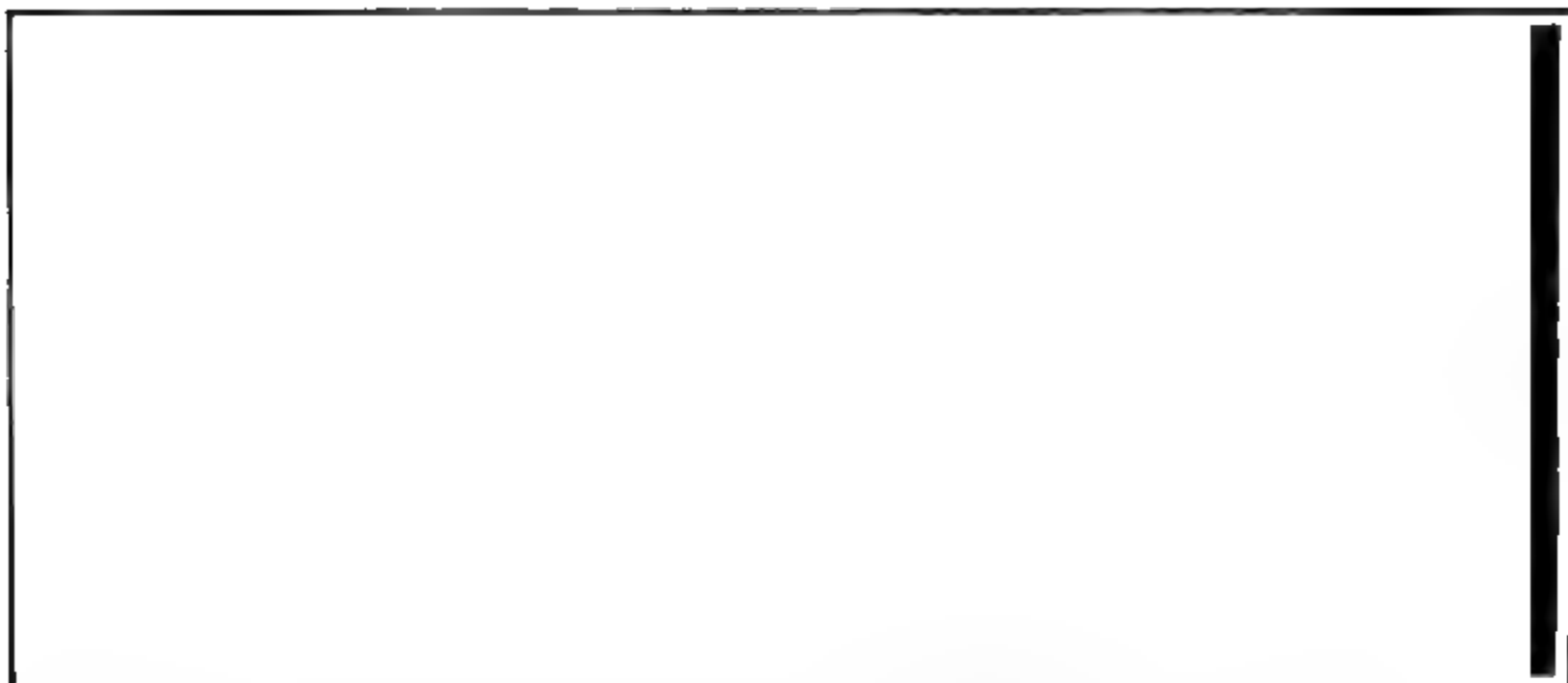
The "Duplicate School"

To make these enrichments possible, Gary has provided an enlarged school plant and it has lengthened its school day. The Gary schools are in session from 8:15 A.M. to 4:15 P.M. Furthermore, Gary has "departmentalized" its teaching—i.e., it has organized its work with special teachers for the several subjects, even in the lower



THE NATURE STUDY ROOM

(The pupils are here brought into contact with growing plants and live animals. Around the room are mounted plant specimens, birds' nests, pictures of birds and animals, and exhibits of children's handwork)



THE WOODWORKING SHOP AT A GARY SCHOOL.

(Equipped with electrically driven saws, a planer, and a mortising machine. Pupils work is confined, however, to bench operations. A large part of the output represents boys' personal interests—kites, windmills, bows, and bats.)

grades of the elementary school. This it has done to make possible the administration of a plan of organization which is perhaps the most striking feature of the whole Gary experiment—the “duplicate” school.

The Gary program is organized so that—“instead of assigning each class to a classroom teacher who conducts instruction in all branches in one room continuously occupied by the same class, the . . . plan involves the use of several teachers for each class, each . . . in charge of one subject or related group of subjects; and every class circulates among the rooms, shops, and laboratories in carrying out the details of its day's program. . . . The arrangement . . . is, in popular phrase, said to keep ‘all school facilities going at full capacity all the time.’” While one class is in Room 20 studying arithmetic, another is in the swimming pool, a third in the foundry, a fourth in the playground, a fifth in the auditorium. At the completion of the period, all the classes shift.

Actually, all the facilities cannot be used all the time, and the term “duplicate school” is a misnomer; for it is impossible to conduct a comprehensive school program so that there shall be exact mechanical matching of various group curricula, using each special facility to full capacity at every hour. “Nevertheless, the Gary type of organization procures a larger use of modern facilities and of a modern plant than the common type of organization, which requires a room and a teacher for each class and allows regular rooms to be idle when special facilities are in service.”

Analysis of the Results

To understand fully the defects in the execution of the Gary plan and to estimate the extent to which they are either adventitious or inherent, one must read the report of the Board. “The management of a system of schools conducted on the Gary plan is obviously a highly complicated affair.” The report traces this management through all its complications. It describes Gary—a fiat city, created on waste land to accommodate the plants of the United States Steel Corporation and its subsidiaries, a city with a population about two-thirds “of actual or recent foreign stock.” It traces the development of the schools and describes the plan and the plant. It discusses the organization of the schools, and their administration and supervision. It outlines the course of study. It discusses the teaching staff, its character, training, pay, and the burden of its work under the lengthened school day.

The report passes judgment on the teaching as a whole—“In the main, therefore, the teaching is of ordinary type, ineffectively controlled.” It records the results of classroom tests . . . “The results of testing the Gary schools do not invalidate the effort to socialize education, but it is evident that the Gary experiment has not yet successfully solved the problems involved in the socialization of education, in so far as efficient instruction in the necessary common school branches is concerned.” It examines the work in each of the special branches, recording in general terms the results of new and as yet unstandardized tests in each.

THE PRINTING SHOP AT A GARY SCHOOL.

(The equipment consists of type cases, imposing stone, a proving press, two printing presses, a power punch, a wire stitcher, a cutting machine, and everything else necessary for job work)

"Not even in those branches to which Gary has given impetus and development—the so-called special activities—has a high or even satisfactory standard been reached." It discusses enrollment, attendance, and pupil progress; and it attempts an estimate of costs—" . . . the advantages offered by the Gary schools at their best probably cost less than the same advantages on a more conventional plan of school organization." The general conclusion as to the working of the whole scheme would appear to be that "Gary failed to appreciate the extreme difficulty of converting new educational principles into new educational practise . . . [but] . . . It would be both unjust and unwise to make too much of this error, for it does not disprove the fundamental soundness of the scheme or destroy its stimulating influence on public education."

The whole report is admirably conceived and admirably written. It is clear, emphatic, illuminating. It presents graphs, tables, figures in proper subordination to the text. It makes the whole complicated experiment stand out in simple terms. It is just, judicial, sympathetic, genuinely scientific, yet infused by a liberal humane, and progressive spirit.

Suggestions for Other School Systems

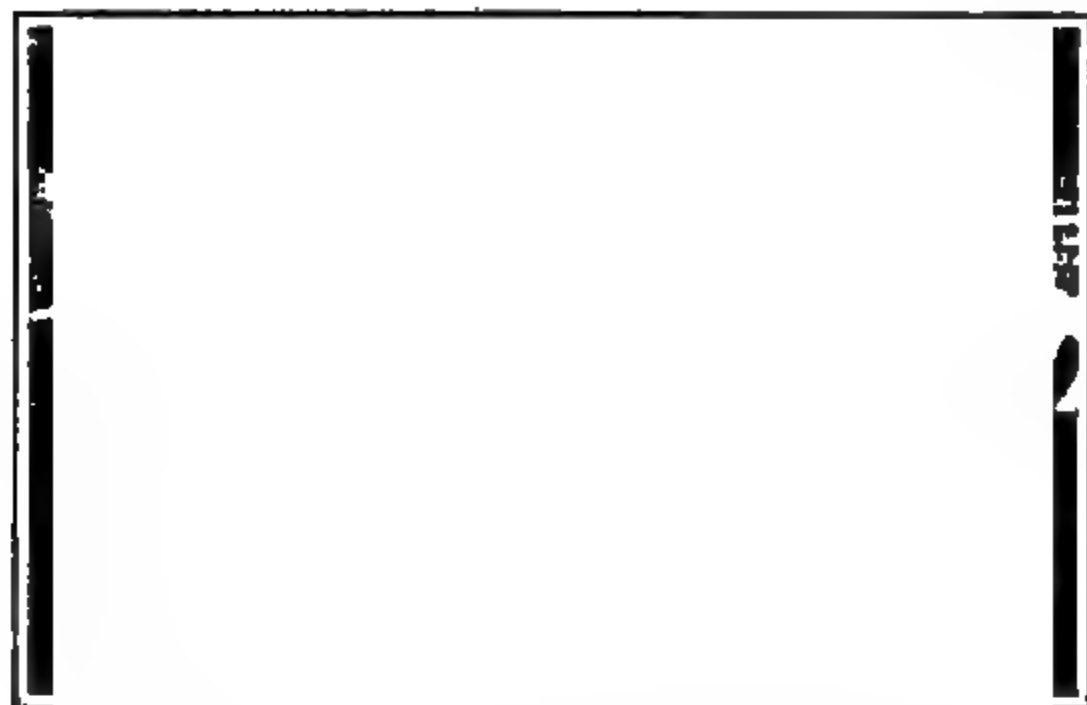
Is it possible still to make any suggestion that might serve to help other innovators or other practical school workers to achieve a success more complete than the success achieved at Gary? Every suggestion to this end, whether of theorist, of layman, or of school worker, must of course be tentative. One hesitates to suggest, in view of the practical courage of those who have at Gary

actually "tried things," hesitates also in view of the work of those who have recorded in this report the results of a painstaking and elaborate inquiry, in which the insight of a group of highly competent students of the subject, combined with the use of every available instrument of precision in educational investigation, has produced a volume instructive in marked degree as to the ends and means of modern education. All that follows here may well be put, therefore, in the form of questions for discussion.

Can the School Do It All?

Is it possible that the Gary scheme places too heavy a burden on a single institution—the school? Modern schooling must of necessity be complicated. Need it be as complicated as modern education? Must the school itself—the public institution—do for every child all that ought to be done to render him competent and loyal as a citizen, a worker, a member of the family, the community, and the social whole, and to give him the common means of appreciation and expression? Must we not create a new educational organization, of which the school shall be but a subordinate part? Must not the community itself be organized for education?

In a New England town of early days the minister was the center of spiritual and social life and the activities of home, community, and church provided a wide range of educative experiences. The environment of the modern child, at least in the city, has become by comparison passive, sterile, and uninviting. It is neither stimulating nor disciplinary, although it is exciting, complicated, and dangerous to health and morals. The



A FORGE SHOP

(With anvils, forger, and pneumatic hammer, the pupils turn out simple wrought-iron shapes—staples, hooks, brackets, bolts, chains, etc.)

child's wants are supplied by invisible agencies and he is offered little opportunity to experiment; explore, or construct things for himself. The unity of control over his growth has been destroyed also.

Church, school, and home are out of touch with one another, and industry has gone out of the home or neighborhood shop into the factory. The playground has not yet taken the place of field and wood, and there is less natural grouping of children for active work and play with adults. No wonder Gary tried to enrich the program of its schools; but can a single institution expand so far and so effectively as to compass what was once done by school, home, church, neighborhood industries, community enterprises, and the infinite opportunities of a natural environment not yet despoiled?

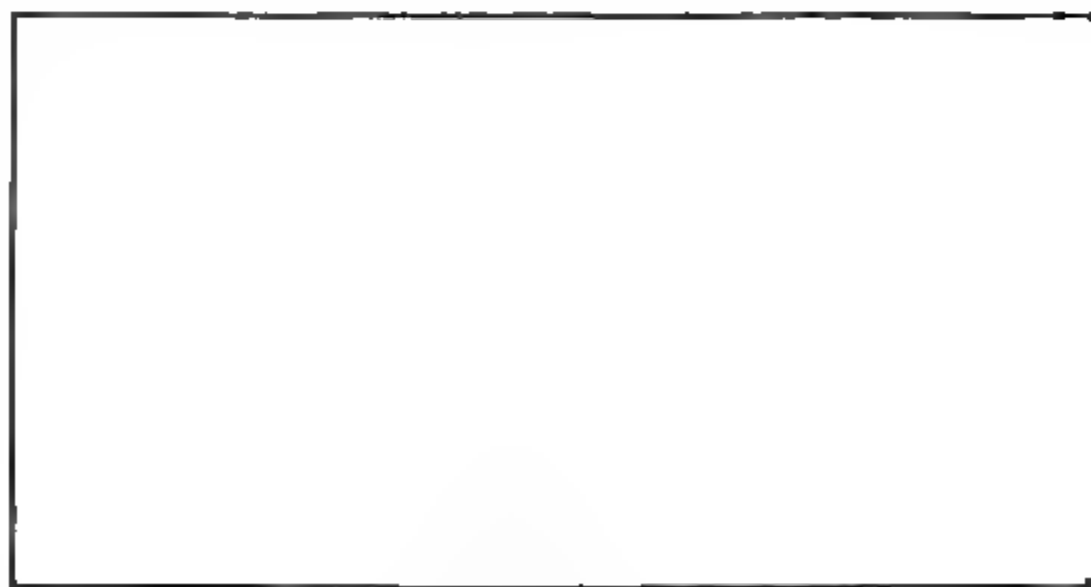
No doubt the picture we paint of the life of a child before railroads and the factory system disrupted the old social order is somewhat rosy; probably no child of that period got all the education we credit to his times, and certainly what he got in school was meager and costly compared to what a modern school can give him in the very same subjects. But must we not recognize, in any case, that no modern child can expect to have all the educative experiences that the older environment afforded—that

pect by arti-

ficial means to develop every trait and attitude that was once developed by the more direct pressure of work and play? To care for the two foxes in the cages at the Froebel School in Gary is no substitute for hunting foxes in the woods on one's own farm.

Something drops out of life with every shift in the organization of society; and usually something else replaces it. There was no telephone or automobile in the environment of the children of a former generation. What we have to do

is to pick out the experiences and activities that are really essential and that can be so organized, guided, and combined with one another in an articulated, well-controlled program that they will have full educative effect. Merely to provide an extended range of experiences is not necessarily educative. It was not a smattering acquaintance with the industrial processes of the home and the neighborhood that made the older generation thrifty, industrious, and versatile in dealing with material things; it was daily contact under considerable pressure of necessity. The fourth-grade girls (nine- and ten-year olds) who play with the sand in the molding-room at Gary get very little out of the experience, even by way of acquaintance with the processes of a foundry. We must of necessity pick and choose among all the possible experiences and activities of children those that will be of fullest educative value.



A SEWING ROOM

(Most of the pupils in the elementary schools at Gary take more than the required hours of sewing. Even with high-school girls, with whom it is optional, sewing is more popular than cooking as a "study".)

Community Direction

And is it not possible that we can organize all these activities and experiences—which must now come under conscious control and hence be somewhat artificial and restricted—to better advantage by coöperation of many institutions and agencies rather than by combination in one?

Suppose a community could be induced to bring all its educational agencies under one director and center the buildings and equipment needed for them in one place. School, library, museums, gardens, playgrounds, gymnasium, theater, auditorium—all in close proximity, about an open square; the headquarters of Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts and the offices of various community groups all provided for in a separate building for educational administration; a varying control, sometimes direct and authoritative, sometimes merely supervisory or advisory, in the hands of the Community Educational Director; a general recognition of the interdependence of educational and recreative efforts and agencies both for young and for old; and the principle of election under supervision established for every child; would not such a scheme work out more effectively than the attempt to make the school all things to all children?

The two big educational agencies lacking in the picture are the church and the shop;

THE GARY SCHOOLBOY STUDIES THE MECHANISM OF AUTOMOBILES

but both could be either in it or nearby. Neither religious education nor industrial education are properly a part of the Gary scheme. Both present complicated and difficult problems, social as well as educational. What Gary is trying to do is to enrich and enlarge the general education of its school children. Can that be done most effectively by extending the school plant and the school day, or by organizing the school into a larger plan of education for the community as a whole? ●

COOKING—A COMPULSORY STUDY FOR GIRLS IN THE SEVENTH AND EIGHTH GRADES

(The pupils prepare and serve luncheons. The kitchen shown here served forty-five thousand persons in a single school year, at an average charge of fifteen cents)

OUR CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES AFTER THE WAR

BY CHARLES BASKERVILLE, PH.D., F.C.S.

(Professor of Chemistry and Director of the Laboratory,
College of the City of New York)

"POISON Gases" used by the German in the Great War in contravention of a solemn agreement, to which he was a party at The Hague Convention, probably had more to do with arousing America's general interest in that practical science, chemistry, than any other factor. The transient dreams of "landing" large emergency contracts for explosives and other munitions for the Allies excited the glib tongues of not a few rainbow-chasers. Chemistry and chemical industry acquired in consequence some prominence in the gossip of certain circles where finance is the primal topic of conversation. This was after the war began, but before we had been drawn into it.

The Government laboratories had informed the people as to food adulteration; municipalities had provided pure drinking water and realized the necessity of sewage disposal. The medical profession had disseminated chemical knowledge in teaching means for prevention of disease and ways for curing bodily disorders, as by diet, for example. Universities, colleges, and schools were teaching chemistry, more or less attractively, but our people as a whole continued to look upon chemistry as a kind of necromancy, and failed to grasp its real significance in life and general welfare.

We got coal-tar dyes and optical glass from Germany, as the German had specialized in these. We got potash salts for the soil from Germany, because that country was blessed by nature with rich deposits and they were easily available. Interruption in shipping cut off these supplies, and then the people in general criticized the American chemist; forgot or never knew what he had done, but they waked up to the importance of the chemical industry.

What We Did Before the War

American chemical industry of no mean proportions existed before the war. Far-

sighted industrialists in the United States have for some time appreciated the utility of chemistry and its researches. They have built up large industries and made fortunes as a result. The industry operated on the normal working basis of the American mind, which is a tonnage basis. Only a few instances need be cited: For example, in petroleum refining we led the world; we produced 90 per cent. of the metallic aluminum, and by an American process; we refined 60 per cent. of the copper, by an American-devised electrolytic process; we produced more sulphuric acid, a basic chemical (some 5,000,000 tons per annum) than any other nation; and more acid phosphate, some 4,000,000 tons, for fertilizers; we produced more caustic soda and chlorine, by American processes, which were later adopted by Germany and Japan; we produced more cement; we invented and manufactured graphite, the basis of electro-chemistry, and so forth. But, as mentioned, we did not produce certain organic chemicals to any extent. These, of great variety, are usually produced in comparatively small quantities, and involve intricate processes. Some of the reasons why we were not very active in this field and why we were not in the bottom of a mirific black hole are mentioned in this article.

We produced window, plate, and bottle glass on a big scale, but relied upon Europe, primarily Germany, for optical glass and chemical glassware. We still rely, for that matter, upon England for fabricated quartz.

Expansion of the Industry in 1917-18

When the United States entered the war the preachings of patriotic chemists as to the necessity of our becoming a self-contained nation came nearer realization. Chemicals essential to winning the war were made on a grand scale. The capacity of plants producing familiar materials was increased. Nitric acid production, synthetic from the air by va-

rious processes, was pushed up to nearly a million tons a year. The production of sulphuric acid reached 7,000,000 tons in 1918. Both are essential in the manufacture of explosives and dyes. Plants for producing new materials went into operation like magic. Natural waterfalls were hitched up, great streams were harnessed, by-product coke ovens were caused to produce more and more of the raw materials, wasted sawdust became industrial alcohol, and other things which play a big part in the grim business of making war were created almost overnight. Optical glass of the finest quality and chemical glassware, equal to or superior to any other, are made here. Dyestuffs and medicinal synthetics in value production within a year jumped from \$350,000 to \$17,000,000. Within eight months in 1918 approximately \$400,000,000 went into the American chemical industries. All this cost money and called for the most devotedly unselfish service.

Now what is to become of these extra investments that were made in the time of effort to "see the thing through"? Some efforts have had to stop.* Temporarily they cannot participate in the acute competition now evident in some instances and inevitable later. Sequentially the "war-gas" plants (involving about \$100,000,000 outlay) were rendered latent. Five million dollars as a private investment were spent in a kelp, potash, acetone plant, which is now junk. Advertisements to sell shop-used chemical apparatus appear daily. What do these signs mean? In seeking an answer it is of fundamental importance to decide, and decide now, whether we are to be a self-contained nation, which means continuance as a nation of the first order.

Magnitude of the German Operations

Prior to our entrance into the war, the American chemical industry contended with several serious difficulties in its development. One of these was suspected by individuals and corporations in special instances, but the whole stupendous activity opposing it was not known until the joint investigations of our Alien Property Custodian and the Department of Justice brought together the various threads which exposed the enormous German organization and its insidious modes of operation. The procedure is now known, and steps to overcome the difficulties have been taken. Mr. Joseph H. Choate, Jr., who had special charge of this work for the Alien Property Custodian, has so aptly ex-

pressed one phase of the operations that we quote his words: "We instantly saw that the whole industry was permeated with German influence, that German chemists were ubiquitous, and that the myth of their superiority had been so industriously propagated that it had become almost an article of American business faith. Most people (especially those who knew nothing about it) thought that nothing chemically good could come out of any other country than Germany." Again, "Hun methods in business were like Hun methods in war. Either could be deduced from the other; and neither knew any limit of decency or self-respect."

The German chemical industry was highly organized into gigantic government-aided combinations, which eventually became one combination, whose purpose apparently was the consummation of the joint aims of its parts, namely, to monopolize the chemical, and dependent, industries of the world. First six great companies combined to form two greater organizations, three in each, two smaller independent companies being left out. Then a combination of all eight was brought about, thus nationalizing the German chemical and pharmaceutical industry. All of them, except one located in Berlin, were concentrated in a narrow strip of territory along the Rhine or its tributaries. The profits were pooled; each had the benefit of the other's researches and experience; the same products were manufactured in two or more factories to stimulate competition production, and were marketed under their respective names, by agreement, to delude outsiders; and, in order to circumvent tariff obstacles in other countries, materials were produced by cleverly organized companies in foreign lands by common action at common expense. By stock manipulation and other means the joint cartel reached a capitalization of \$400,000,000.

The scheme was deep in conception. The works, if not actually producing explosives and other munitions, could readily be converted into factories for such purposes. All fitted into the German military program, hence had full government protection and support. Many researches, seemingly harmless in themselves and apparently intended for the welfare of the world, were supported by these chemical industries; the reports thereon were widely published. After the war should have been won by Germany, the mechanism was so devised that the enormous engines of commercial warfare were ready

to sweep all competition aside and give Germany control of the world's trade. Information is at hand showing that these factories are quite intact and ready for business, when it is again allowed. In fact, the plan is emphasized in an editorial by Professor Bechhold, which appeared as late as November 30, 1918, in *Die Umschau*. From this it is pertinent to quote the following:

Germany will require highly trained engineers, chemists, electricians, skilled mechanics, and artificers, and, in order that her needs in these directions may be suitably met, she will further require first-class teachers, first-class training institutions, and research laboratories, as well as colleges. These matters are of such overwhelming importance that they must not be permitted to become a class or caste question; at the present time already the intellectual men in Germany are combining forces in various directions: this is so in the case of the technical man and the academician, as well as in that of the artificer and the university professor.

Germans Took Advantage of Our Patent Laws

The purpose of this article does not admit a discussion of the many and interesting details involved in the German program. Just sufficient of what was developed during forty years will be referred to for illustration.

Elaborate research laboratories were manned with excellently trained investigators. University and technological institute professors were retained, so their researches offering patent possibilities came promptly under the eye of vigilant patent attorneys employed by these companies. Thousands of patents were obtained in Germany and elsewhere. In the United States alone they obtained thousands of patents, many of them being "product" patents. More patentable inventions in the field of organic chemistry (coal-tar dyes and synthetic medicinals) were made by the Germans than by the chemists in any other nation.

There was little or no effort on the part of the Germans to manufacture these articles in the United States. Our patent laws (which need revising and whose discussion would require many pages) do not require working for the continued operation of a patent. The Germans, taking advantage of this, secured and held patents here in order to prevent the formation of American dye and synthetic remedy industries and to make it impossible to import the same from other countries. They had no fear of us. There might be some competition from Switzer-

land, France, and England, but their program was so carefully worked out that in 1914 Germany was supplying approximately 90 per cent. of the world's demands for dyestuffs.

The Dye Industry

Withal the volume of the dyestuff business *per se* was not great. We imported dyes in value of about \$12,000,000 per annum from Germany. A little dye goes a long way. The amount of dye actually used on a suit of clothes or a dress is insignificant in the total cost of the garment, but of great significance in computing the value to the purchaser or wearer. This comparatively small business in volume affected the whole textile business of this country, reaching even the cotton grower, as well as the leather, paint, paper, printing, and other industries, or in figures about two and one-half billions of dollars per annum.

Sole agencies (about five) were established in this country. Some little manufacturing was allowed them, using intermediates from Germany, but the permits were tied up with what is known as the "full-line forcing" process. Dyes were indispensable to the textile manufacturer. These were not supplied, however, unless the buyers bought their *other* supplies as well from the German manufacturers. Buyers were bribed. Propaganda, purchased, in department stores discrediting goods dyed with other than of German origin was familiar. Even the dyers were bribed to dilute the dyes or alter the procedure with American product so that the goods did not wear well. These are only a few of the facts, all of which are now matters of record.

Some 1200 of these patents owned by the Bayer Company were sold along with their American works by the Alien Property Custodian to a well-established chemical company of the United States. But this did not strike the root of the evil.

German Patents Taken over by Uncle Sam

The Trading-with-the-Enemy Act, as amended last November, gave an opportunity to remove a colossal obstacle to the development of the American dye-stuff industry. This amendment allowed the taking over of German patents. Accordingly, after consultation with all the associations and various American interests involved, a strong financial corporation, known as the Chemical Foundation, was organized for the purpose

of Americanizing the chemical industry, previously throttled, "for the exclusion or elimination of alien interests hostile or detrimental to the said industries, and for the advancement of chemical and allied science and industry in the United States." By Executive Order some 4500 German-owned chemical patents were sold to the Foundation.

The stock is owned by numerous chemical interests of the United States, no one interest being allowed to hold more than a very small percentage of the stock. The voting stock has been placed in a voting trust composed of five well-known gentlemen of unquestionable integrity. The officers also are gentlemen of recognized ability and without connection with any chemical interests. Licenses are to be allowed under the patents. Dividends are limited to 6 per cent. Excess profits are to be used for research and to assist in further development of chemical industry. "The new institution promises an incalculable benefit not only to the dye and chemical industries, but to the whole American manufacturing world." Given five years' freedom from the former German domination, American dye-industry can hold its own. Such a statement, which means that the United States, within a few years, may accomplish what Germany did in forty, smacks somewhat of the sophomoric, but compared to what was done in even less time in developing our army and all that went with it, including the mistakes, it is not an unwise prophecy at all.

Five large American companies have come together in the National Aniline and Color Company, with a paid-up capital of \$20,000,000. It is now producing colors in such quantities that the exports equal in value the former total imports of dyes from Germany. The DuPont Company has already directed the activities of several hundred of its research chemists from the field of explosives to dye and synthetic drug manufacture. The Eastman Kodak Company is already producing special colors and a considerable number of the unusual organic chemicals formerly coming only from Germany. Plans are well under way for the establishment of the most elaborate pharmacological and biological research station (involving \$10,000,000) to prove out the medicinal and other values of products from all American research laboratories. There is good reason for optimism, but these are associated with several serious factors which demand most earnest attention and prompt protective action.

Waste of American Resources

We were, and are still, for that matter, wasting untold wealth in the luxuriant enjoyment of our abundant natural resources. The wastes incident to the production of one good piece of lumber are many times more valuable. The utilization of our coal dumps and mine wastes, in conjunction with a few dams to increase hydro-electric power, would release the necessary fuel for ocean transportation, supply energy to run our factories, and keep us warm in the winter. Our soils must be better fertilized. We average 14 bushels of wheat per acre, while Europe secures 30 bushels.

An Improved "Anti-Dumping" Law

We must revert to the German's methods to grasp the full significance of one of his practices, and determine means for preventing its future operation. The facts have been most carefully studied by the United States Tariff Commission, especially by Mr. W. S. Culbertson, and a legislative remedy has been proposed. This in brief calls for the enactment of a more effective "anti-dumping" law, involving not only criminal prosecution where possible, but supplemented by authorization to the President "to levy by proclamation additional duties on goods which are being systematically dumped into the United States, or to prohibit their importation, in case he has reason to believe (being advised by the Federal Trade Commission) that the result will be to injure, destroy, or prevent the establishment of an American Industry."

By "dumping" is meant selling in a foreign country at a price abroad below the prevailing price at home, often without any consideration of cost. Chemicals selling at 7½ cents per pound in Germany have been delivered in the United States for 3½ cents. The responsibility for this adjustment of our industries in peace time is squarely up to Congress.

German University Methods

Again we revert to German practice to draw attention to what must be done simply as a safeguard for ourselves. Insidious inducements—for example, easy qualification for admission and less severe examination for the doctors' degree—were employed to attract advanced students from other countries to German universities. Not only was valuable and intelligent assistance in the prosecution of the researches thus obtained, but the spirit of the instruction given—for example,

crediting German investigators with all real contributions and with scant recognition of those of other lands—was so inculcated that the new doctors of philosophy returned home imbued with the idea that the German chemists were "the only pebbles on the beach." Our universities and schools of technology saw through this and contended against this propaganda for a dozen years before we entered the war.

Progress was making; schools for chemical engineering all over the country were springing up; established schools, like the Institute of Technology in Boston, Columbia, Universities of Wisconsin and Kansas, and Throop and Rice Institutes were stabilizing; the American Chemical Society grew to be the largest chemical society in the world and was bringing the banker and chemical technologist closer to an understanding; the Mellon Institute at Pittsburgh was prosecuting nearly 100 technical research problems for various commercial interests; the research laboratories of such companies as the General Electric, General Chemical, DuPont, Standard Oil and Eastman Kodak were being extended. Scholarships and fellowships were increasing in number. But the spell of "Made-in-Germany" for precision instruments, special chemicals, and glassware still dominated in our colleges and universities.

Four Thousand American Chemists in War Service

Now, however, the slogan is "America for Americans." Over 4000 American chemists put on the uniform of the Chemical Warfare Service of the United States Army and Navy. Some 16,000 chemists in America are recorded and card-catalogued. Of these about 13,000 are now members of the American Chemical Society. Our Society has expelled all German members, including three honorary members. One of these was at the head of the diabolical poison-gas division of the German army. The other two, by acquiescence, if not otherwise, had approved the Hun program in peace and his shameful practises in prosecuting the war.

At the Buffalo meeting of the American Chemical Society last April, it was voted to request Congress to revoke the law under which American institutions were permitted to import chemicals and apparatus (practically all from Germany) duty-free. This was not a movement on the part of the chemists, for some professors, who

formerly imported considerable quantities of German chemicals and apparatus, urged official action in confirmation of what they had been doing voluntarily. It is only right that the institutions of learning and research encourage and support home industry. In turn the industries are giving to the universities and colleges and will give even more.

Since the signing of the Armistice over 100 new scholarships in chemistry have been founded, and more are soon to be announced. These scholarships are to go to young men and women to insure their advanced training not alone in chemical technology but "pure" chemistry. The Rockefeller Foundation has appropriated \$500,000 for research "fellowships," paying from \$1500 to \$3000 a year to especially talented graduates who have already secured the doctor's degree. They are to pursue investigations free from any likely industrial application. It is absolutely necessary to provide for pure research, as it is so closely related to the applied, and it is of even more importance to supply inspiring teachers. The industries are drawing heavily upon the teaching forces. The institutions of learning must be allowed to pay their professors larger salaries. Special industries have helped and others must help more, but the Nation and States must also come forward in adequate endowment of research for coöperative benefit.

As this is written on the fourth anniversary of the wanton and ruthless destruction of the *Lusitania*, "Der Tag," when German delegates are handed the terms for peace, thoughts of the use and abuse of the fruits of chemical research crowd so fast that one finds restraint difficult. Things already accomplished are numerous; the possibilities are enormous; and the prospect is promising, provided we fully realize the emergency. During the last five years the social structure of the world has been deranged beyond full conception by any one mind. The chemist and chemical industry have had thrust upon them responsibilities they may have long wished for in our country. As President W. H. Nichols, of the Chemical Society, a man of vision, power, and extraordinary success in every way, has said, "He has not failed hitherto; he will not fail in performing his unique and absolutely essential part in solving the problems facing the world," and, the writer may add, the vital problems of adjustment in the economic life and human welfare of his own American people especially.

WHY THE NATION SUPPORTS THE BOY SCOUTS

BY HAROLD HORNE

THE nation-wide campaign for one million associate members which is being conducted this month for the Boy Scouts of America by a Citizens' National Committee under the chairmanship of the Hon. W. G. McAdoo, former Secretary of the Treasury, brings this movement before the public eye more prominently, perhaps, than it has ever been brought before.

Ostensibly, the campaign is a drive for members.

In reality, it is a seven-day demonstration of gratitude in appreciation of the remarkable achievements of the Boy Scouts of America during the war, for the men behind it are determined that the work of the Scouts shall not pass unnoticed, that the people shall know what this army of "mere boys" did for the nation during one of its gravest emergencies.

When we first entered the war, the Boy Scouts of America, including its "reserve corps" of ex-Scouts who had passed beyond the scouting age, comprised an organization almost twice as large as that of the Army, Marine Corps and Navy combined.

From a standpoint of fighting strength, this, of course, meant little to the nation, for our democracy happily excludes boys from participating in the bloody, though necessary, work of warfare.

From the standpoint of an auxiliary organization, a second line of defense, if you will, a home army that could be relied upon to perform essential work that might otherwise be done by men of fighting age, the movement presented possibilities.

But the word "boy" was a bugaboo. "Boys," as most of us knew them before the war, were but playfellows of to-day, whatever they might be to-morrow. It would be folly to entrust them with real responsibilities, and more than folly to place in their hands tasks on which the lives of our fighting men might depend.

So, for a while, the offers of Chief Executive James E. West to various departments

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THE PEACE CRY OF THE BOY SCOUTS: "THE WAR IS OVER, BUT OUR WORK IS NOT!"

at Washington went begging for adequate recognition. It is true, a number of war agencies took advantage of the availability of the Scouts by having them serve as ushers, messengers, and in other capacities, where the main qualifications were a pair of nimble legs.

But the big things—the Liberty Loans, the work of actual defense, food production, the things that were national in scope, that called for hard work and real sacrifices—these were the things the Scouts really wanted a chance to do.

Of course the helmsmen at the head of the great departments in Washington were a little hesitant in calling upon the Scouts to perform what they were wont to regard as "man's size jobs." But thanks to James E. West, Chief Scout Executive, and President Colin H. Livingston of the National Council, the trepidation was soon allayed,

In addition to the war loans, the Scouts also sold approximately \$50,000,000 worth of War Savings Stamps, located 20,758,660 board feet of black walnut for the War Department, collected over 100 carloads of fruit-pits (enough to furnish the necessary chemicals for over half a million gas-masks), planted and cultivated over 12,000 war gardens and distributed over 30,000,000 pieces of literature for the Government and various war agencies.

SCOUTS TAKING A TREE CENSUS FOR THE GOVERNMENT

the administration was "sold" on the potentialities of the Scouts and the call for big national service went out to thousands of troops and leaders throughout the country.

The Scouts rose *en masse*; there was no hitch, no delay. True to their slogan, they were "prepared." Job after job was "tackled" and each seen through to successful completion. Even Washington was amazed, for the Scouts were making history that dealt in stupendous figures, in astonishing deeds.

The Scouts' "War Record"

Let us briefly summarize their war achievements:

In the first four Liberty Loans, as "Gleaners after the Reapers," they secured close to 2,000,000 subscriptions, totalling over \$300,000,000. This accomplishment, great as it is intrinsically, stands out all the more amazing in the light of the doubly difficult task to which the Scouts were put in this connection. They were asked to comb the ground after it had already been thoroughly covered by adult solicitors, so, what they got, were the "leavings" or subscriptions that might never have been secured. It is said that there are about 10,000,000 boys of scouting age in this country to-day. About 400,000 took part in the first four drives. This means that one twenty-fifth of the total boyhood participated. Hence, an interesting though somewhat hypothetical conclusion follows:

If all the boys of scouting age in this country had taken part in the first four Liberty loans, they would have multiplied the actual result twenty-five times, or sold \$7,500,000,000 worth of bonds. This exceeds the first two bond issues combined!

Of course, the bulk of their work could hardly be interpreted in terms of figures. Yet the enthusiastic front put up by the boys in all they were asked to do, their services in behalf of the Red Cross, the United War Work Drive and other war agencies, endeared these Scouts to the thousands of workers who came in contact with them, and brought forth a commendation of the movement, that, unfortunately, was lost during the heat of the times, but is just beginning to come to light.

The heart of the boy is a simple thing, yet well-nigh unfathomable despite its simplicity. Few men have sounded it as thoroughly as has the Chief Scout Executive, James E. West, who has been with scouting since its inception in this country in 1910. In the war-achievements of the Scouts he sees far more than the historical record they have made, as enviable as it is.

How They Found the Black Walnut

After all [says this big-hearted man], it is not the vast amount of work done by Scouts in support of the Government during the war that gives most cause for gratification in their splendid record; it is rather the intensive educational effects of such service. The permanent impression made upon the lives of these boys will prove a benefit to the nation itself fully equal to if not indeed greater than the benefits conferred by their deeds.

These Scouts have now learned more about their country and its economic needs, it is safe to say, than ordinarily would have been possible up to the time they became men. They have felt themselves to be a part of the country; a part of its Government. They have found out that in a very real way they belong to this country, and this country belongs to them. That is Americanization.

Take as an example their efforts to locate standing black walnut. The War Department had become desperate over the failure of the

supply of this wood necessary in the manufacture of aeroplanes. The situation was acute, and the authorities turned to the Boy Scouts for help. They reasoned that if anybody could search out and find standing walnut it would be Scouts, because of their training in woodcraft and in observation, plus their patriotic zeal. So they were asked to save the situation for the Government.

The Secretary of War acknowledged with gratitude that the result was the location of 20,758,660 board feet of standing walnut, equal to 5200 carloads. The Government's confidence in the Scouts was fully justified. The knowledge that such an important responsibility had been reposed in them, and the consciousness that they had met the emergency like men, cannot help but steady those boys and give them a lasting ambition to shoulder responsible tasks and perform them well.

Again in the form of service in the Liberty Loan campaigns described as "Gleaners after Reapers," Scouts realized that their Government was looking to them to do a difficult thing and do it well. The easy way, the natural way, was to jump into the campaigns in advance of the dates set for them to start and pile up promises from friends and relatives to save up their subscriptions for the Scout salesmen, and thus by making a big showing gain public applause and a coveted medal.

But upon the Scouts was put the simply Herculean task of repressing that natural impulse, and holding themselves in reserve until all other agencies had been given a fair chance to sell the issues, and then to go into a field already thoroughly reaped and glean what had been overlooked. This tested both the patriotism and the mettle of the Scouts to a remarkable degree. Above all, it taught them the valuable lesson that only genuine service is worthy of a genuine medal and of genuine applause.

I am sure that boys who have kept step with their leaders during this historical period have advanced materially in their sense of personal responsibility and in their understanding of what it means to be a good citizen. They have been thoroughly prepared for citizenship by the best method of education, which is "learning by doing."

Methods and Objects of Scout Training

"Learning by doing." Therein lies the secret of Scouting's success. It is a game to the boy who is in it, a huge, splendidly organized game, with all the fine zest of competition, the finer zest of co-operation, the keen testing of mind and muscle, the essential good sportsmanship of a football game. Only instead of just piling up a score, instead of winning for the sake of victory itself, it is constructive, progressive. It gets somewhere.

It teaches without resorting to the didactic, that, after all, life can be lived so much more happily if one is in possession of the fundamental virtues which lead to successful manhood. Hence, the Scout is taught, by a

PUTTING UP RED CROSS POSTERS

system of doing, to be trustworthy, loyal, helpful and friendly; courteous, kind, obedient and cheerful; thrifty, brave, clean and reverent.

Scouting doesn't booh the gang idea away! It encourages it, but, instead of having the place of congregation on a street corner, it takes the boys out into the country, and says, "Here! now play to your heart's content!" But it doesn't merely say that and then leave the boy alone!

It is too scientific for that!

It gives him a leader, a clean, able-bodied, well-trained, public-spirited sort of man, who holds himself responsible for the morale of his troop as a whole as well as its individual members. Remembering that Scouting is always an outdoor game, he sets up a friendly rivalry among his boys, a rivalry that has for its end and aim *achievement*, and it is not long before the Scout feels that the best way to achieve is to learn, and the best way to learn is to actually put into practice what his handbook teaches him to do.

Scouting also appreciates that a boy must be encouraged and helped. Hence, it supplies him with an adviser, who supplements the general leadership of the scoutmasters. This adviser may be a specialist in signaling, or a physician who helps him in first aid, or a practical mariner who aids him in seamanship. He may follow one of a hundred

professions, each fitting in with some subject included in the Scout program.

Just as the leaders themselves are chosen with the most painstaking care, so the specialist must prove to a competent body of men that he is qualified to teach and direct in his own field.

So, supplied with leadership, the boy is also given an incentive, a tangible bit of recognition that tells him when he has arrived. This is in the form of a badge, which he can acquire only after passing an examination and proving to his superiors that he is qualified in the subject in question.

And every badge is a sign of a deed. To the boy, it means but one thing, "You tackled a job, Scout, and put it over the top!"

One need never dread for the future of the nation if its destinies are placed on the shoulders of boys who, Americans all, love their country; whose actions are constructive, who are fearless, brave and true; who are brought up to serve—and serve well.

"Scouting," as President Colin H. Livingston says, "is non-sectarian, though its ideals are in accord with those of the modern church and it is based upon a pledged allegiance to the service of God, the brotherhood of man."

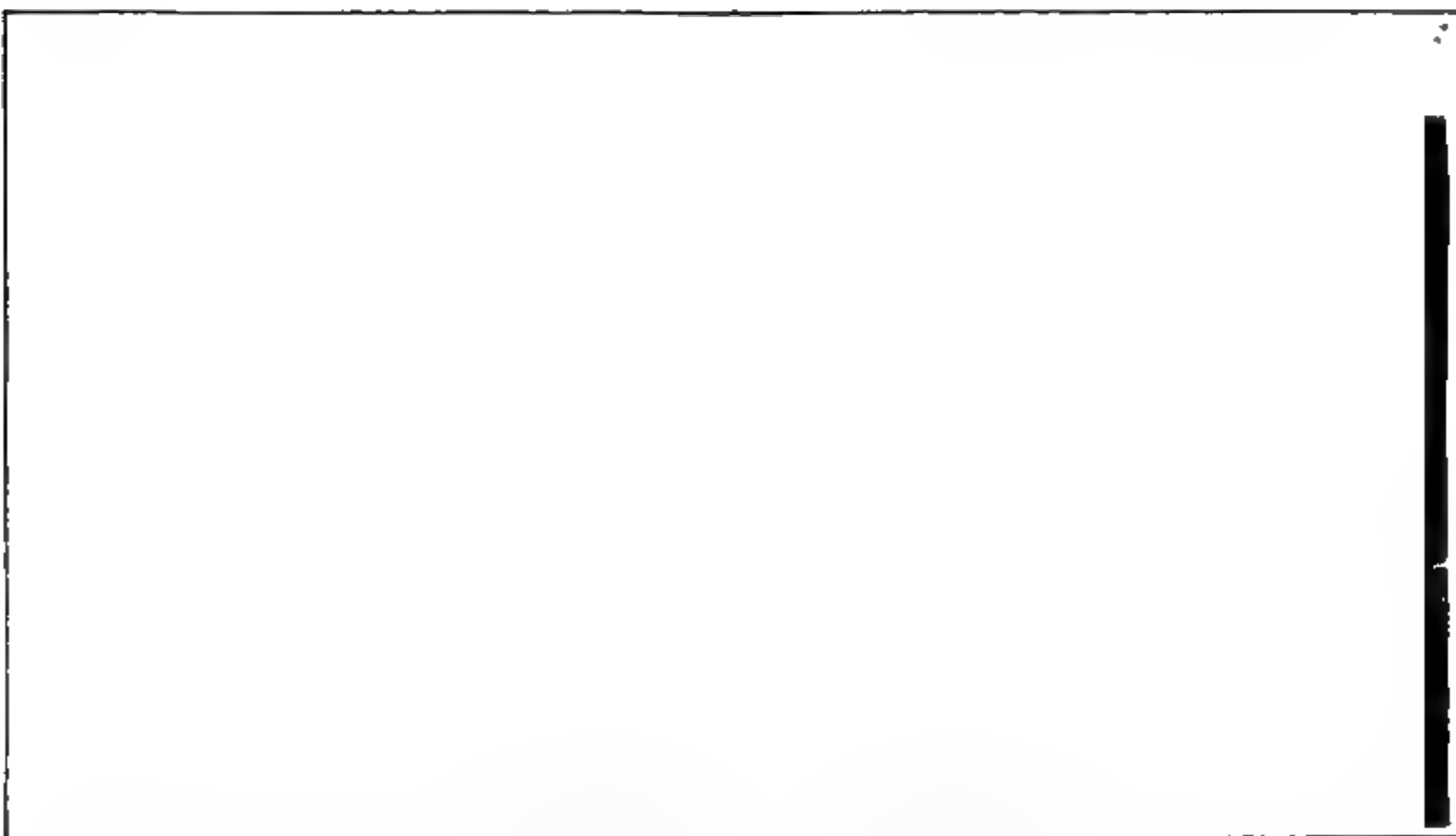
"Scouting is democratic. It aims not to run every boy into one groove, but to help

each develop into the fullest manhood of which he is capable, an individual in the highest sense of the word, with recognized responsibility to himself and society. Scouting is democratic also in that it knows no bounds of class or creed or race. It speaks the universal language of world boyhood. It is the great melting pot of American youth."

The President's Proclamation

It is such a movement that President Wilson, in a proclamation issued from the White House, calls upon the people to support. "The Boy Scouts," he points out, "have not only demonstrated their worth to the nation, but have also materially contributed to a deeper appreciation by the American people of the higher conception of patriotism and good citizenship. The Boy Scout Movement should not only be preserved but strengthened. It deserves the support of all public-spirited citizens."

After designating the period from June 8 to Flag Day, June 14, as "Boy Scout Week," he asks all who are eligible to enroll as Scout leaders, to become associate members, and declares that "anything that is done to increase the effectiveness of the Boy Scouts of America will be a genuine contribution to the welfare of the nation."



SCOUT GUARDS AT THE EXPERIMENTAL AVIATION FIELD, DAYTON, OHIO

(The Scout Patrol, shown in this picture, was entrusted with important secret work during the war. It was the duty of these Scouts to see that drivers of teams, messengers and others entering the Dayton Aviation Field, "kept their eyes ahead." The Scouts would mount the wagons, sit beside the drivers, and keep close watch over the visitors from the time they entered until they left the grounds. This was an important means of enforcing the Government's policy of secrecy.)

NATURAL HISTORY SCOUTS OF NEW YORK CITY

(Part of the Natural History Troop of Boy Scouts, at the entrance to the American Museum of Natural History, where the troop meets)

BOY SCOUTS AS NATURALISTS

BY GEORGE GLADDEN

(Deputy Commissioner, Manhattan Council, Boy Scouts of America, and Chief Guide of the Natural History Troop)

I hearing get who had but ears,
And sight, who had but eyes before.

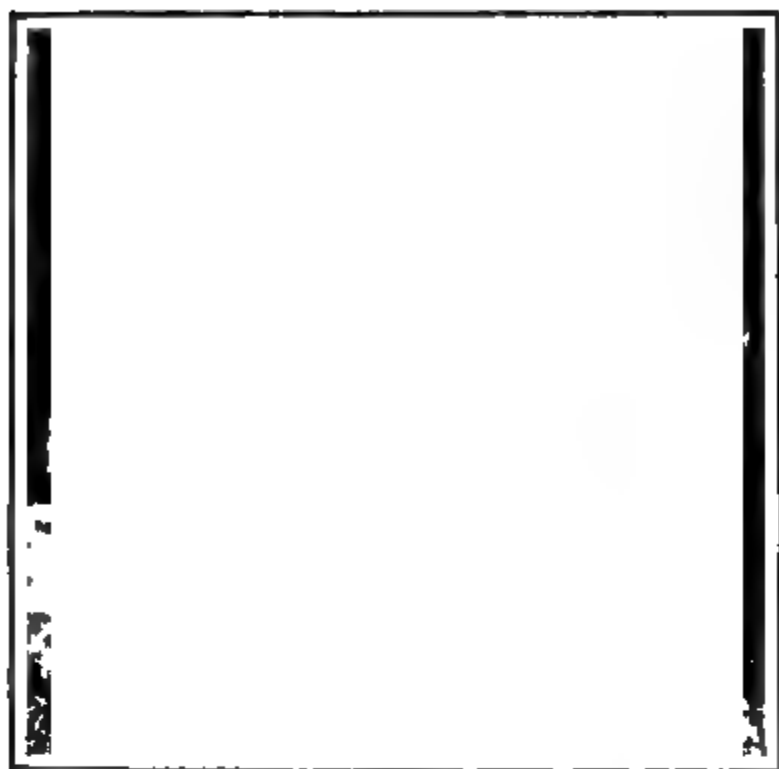
GROWN-UPS have been known not to understand immediately the precise import of this expression of Henry David Thoreau, perhaps because they had never actually experienced the psychological change here somewhat subtly described. Certainly, an astonishing number of persons having ears hear not, and having eyes see not, neither do they understand, whether they are in the woods or elsewhere.

Wherefore, it was gratifying to observe the prompt comprehension of the philosopher-naturalist's meaning, by the lads who form the Natural History Troop of the Boy Scouts of America, when the couplet was suggested for the troop's motto. Indeed, more than one of them had been heard to express, in his boyish way, the same thought in commenting on the results of the troop's hikes. As one of them succinctly put it: "I'm *seeing* more all the time, because I'm *learning* more all the time."

The troop had its small beginnings about a year ago in a series of informal talks about birds, to a few of the regular Scout troops identified with the Manhattan Council of

the general organization of the Boy Scouts of America—this council being composed of the Scouts who live in Manhattan Borough of New York City. These talks were followed by occasional "bird hikes," chiefly in the region about Van Cortlandt Park, which lies at the northern end of the city; and in the country adjacent to Camp Spencer, the regular summer camp of the Scouts near Bear Mountain, in Rockland County, N. Y.

Then came the suggestion from Mr. G. Henry Nessler, Scout Executive of Manhattan Council, that the Scouts who had shown interest in this field study of ornithology, be organized into a special troop, which should become identified with the American Museum of Natural History, an institution of which New Yorkers are justly proud, and all other Americans should be. That the officials of the Museum were favorable to this proposal may be inferred from the fact that Dr. Henry Fairfield Osborn, president of the trustees, agreed to permit the troop to hold bi-weekly meetings in one of the assembly halls of the museum building, and placed at its disposal all of the collections which are under the direct charge of the Educational Department. Furthermore, a definite program is to be formulated under



YOUNG HERPETOLOGISTS

(Members of this troop must identify and handle two harmless snakes)

which the members of the troop will hold themselves in readiness to be of direct and practical service to the museum in certain specified ways, such as the following:

- (a) In acting as guides to bring blind persons to the museum building on the occasion of lectures or entertainments for them, and taking them home again;
- (b) In acting as guides to explain to visitors certain exhibits in the museum, with which the scouts become familiar as a result of their field work in natural history;
- (c) In supplying and preparing material to be used in teaching natural history to blind children;
- (d) In collecting material for the School Nature League, under the direction of the museum's Educational Department, and
- (e) In preparing and repairing natural history specimens now in the possession of the museum, so that they will be suitable for use in the public schools.

Having obtained this substantial—and most gratifying—recognition, the troop proceeded to organize formally (on March 29, 1919), by adopting a constitution and by-laws, from which the following excerpts may prove informing as to the general objects of the troop, and the specific work in the field expected of its members:

ARTICLE I—The name of this Troop shall be "The Natural History Troop of Manhattan Council, Boy Scouts of America."

ARTICLE II—Its objects shall be:

- (1) The study—especially in the field—by means of observation and photography, of natural history and plant life.
- (2) The conservation of useful or harmless wild life and plant life.
- (3) Cooperation in the educational work of the

American Museum of Natural History and similar institutions.

ARTICLE VII—The members of this Troop shall be divided into four Tribes, as follows:

(1) **THE CHIPMUNK TRIBE**—Any member in good standing of a troop included in Manhattan Council, Boy Scouts of America.

(2) **THE RABBIT TRIBE**—Any scout of Tenderfoot (or higher) grade who is a member in good standing of Manhattan Council, and who can

(A) Identify in the field twenty-five species of native wild birds and describe the conspicuous color markings, diet, and habits of each, and the nest and eggs of five such species.

(B) Identify in the field three species of native wild mammals, and describe the color, habits, habitat and diet of each.

(C) Identify in the field four kinds of trees—two hard-wood and two soft-wood.

(3) **THE RED FOX TRIBE**—Any scout of Second Class (or higher) grade, who can

(A) Identify in the field fifty species of native birds, and give the particulars concerning ten such species as enumerated in Test A for Rabbit Scout.

(B) Identify in the field six species of insects, and tell whether they are useful or harmful, and why.

(C) Identify in the field six kinds of trees (three hard-wood and three soft-wood), three kinds of shrubs, and twelve wild flowers.

(4) **THE BEAVER TRIBE**—Any scout of First Class (or higher) grade, who can

(A) Identify in the field 100 species of native wild birds, and give the particulars concerning twenty-five of them as enumerated in Test A for Rabbit Scout.

(B) Identify twenty kinds of trees (twelve hard-wood and eight soft-wood), six shrubs and fifteen wild flowers.

(C) Identify ten species of native wild mam-

A LESSON IN TRACKING

(The Chief Guide explaining a rabbit track on one of the trails to the camp)

mala, and give the further particulars concerning them required by Test B for Rabbit Scout.

(D) Take, in the field, develop and print, without assistance, one recognizable photograph of a wild mammal, and five of any different wild birds (two to be shown incubating), excepting the English sparrow and the starling.

(E) Identify and handle two harmless wild snakes; and describe two species of rattlesnake, and the copperhead and water moccasin, and describe the method of treatment for the bite of a venomous snake.

At the time of this writing, the troop is hard at work building a log cabin for a permanent camp, on a wooden ridge overlooking the reservoir which furnishes most of the water supply for the city of Yonkers, in Westchester County, N. Y.

All of the logs (which are 24 feet, 3 inches long, for the sides, and 16 feet, 4 inches long, for the ends of the cabin) are being cut, hauled, nocked and put in place by the scouts. Two cross-cut saws, a buck-saw and the small belt axes carried by the scouts, are the only tools used in felling and trimming the trees, and nocking the logs. Hauling the logs to the cabin, often from a distance of a hundred yards or more, and frequently up a steep hill or over rough ground, is accomplished with a block and tackle, actuated by boyish muscle and grit. Most of the trees

used were standing dead chestnuts (killed by the blight which swept through this region seven or eight years ago) and some of the larger trunks have been estimated to weigh from 700 to 1000 pounds.

Once the laborious work of building the cabin is done, what the boys look forward to most eagerly as play—which, however, will be careful natural history field work—will begin. It is my personal belief that this kind of effort is invaluable mental and moral training for boys. Mere physical training is provided by many of the scout activities, and is properly considered a very important feature of scouting. Mental drill is also the purpose of much of the scouting program and undoubtedly has the desired result.

But serious field work in natural history produces distinct and peculiarly beneficial effects, in that it develops and sharpens the powers of observation and deductive reasoning, and at the same time inculcates respect for accuracy and precision of statement. The very plain evidences

of the growth of this tendency to be cautious and patient and sincere and to report only what has been certainly and clearly seen and comprehended, are the most gratifying rewards that come to a worker in this particular field.

A SCOUT PLACING A BIRD-
HOUSE IN A TREE NEAR
THE CAMP

CHILD LABOR—NOW

BY RAYMOND G. FULLER

(Managing Editor of the *American Child*, formerly the *Child-Labor Bulletin*)

CHILD-LABOR reform, in respect to its definite, immediate tasks and its breadth of program, is entering upon a new and interesting period of its history—moreover, its proponents are talking in a language which, though it was employed to some extent before the war, had not the appeal and potency that it has to-day, but which is now the natural and fitting and most convincing language to use. This is the language of patriotic humanitarianism.

Largely—but not wholly—the program of child-labor reform has been, and remains, legislative. Largely—but not wholly—the legislative program remains a matter of child-labor laws so-called. Of child-labor legislation in this narrower sense a distinguished economist wrote a few years ago that “viewed as a merely negative policy it is not of great moment.” He added: “Its real significance is to be judged only in connection with the broader social policy of protecting and developing all the children of the nation to be healthy, intelligent, moral, and efficient citizens.” Let it be further said that child-labor legislation cannot properly be regarded as “a merely negative policy.” It is an essential part of “the broader social policy of protecting and developing all the children of the nation,” and it directly affects citizenship in every one of the aspects named—health, intelligence, morality, and efficiency.

On a Positive Basis

The war that has just ended has emphasized in the minds of men the positive elements of life—of character and conduct. The appeal of a negative ethics or a negative religion has been weakened, while the appeal of a positive ethics or a positive religion has been strengthened. In the past the cause of social reform has suffered in public appreciation because too often it has seemed to be merely anti-this and anti-that; and to-day a positive message and a constructive program are indispensable.

The time has come when child-labor reform can best be preached and promoted al-

most wholly on the positive basis—in terms of construction rather than destruction, in terms of ideals of manhood, womanhood, nationhood. For behind the prohibitory provisions of child-labor laws are the child as growing citizen and the nation which this generation and the next are building. Child-labor laws, therefore, are means to an end—an expression of practical, patriotic idealism, as well as of pure humanitarianism.

The Nation's Need of Man-Power

The war has enhanced the national consciousness. There is more national thinking and more national idealism—more thought, perhaps, of the ideal America. Further, the war has popularized the idea of man-power, which is conspicuously a national conception. That peace has its need of man-power no less than war, who can be found to deny? America, in time of peace, needs man-power not only for purposes of industrial and commercial prosperity, but for the spiritual development of American life—for the furtherance, in particular, of democratic ideals and actualities—all told, a man-power of health, intelligence, morality, and efficiency.

A Broader Social Motive

Again, the war deeply stirred the humane impulses of the people, and joined humanitarian to patriotic service. There was manifested a humanitarianism of human conservation, a humanitarianism consciously enlisted in the service of national ideals and national destiny, seeking to conserve and develop man-power to great ends.

The war is over, but peace has only just begun; great ends are still to be served and measures to be taken—like the abolition of child labor—that depend more than ever before on a national-minded patriotic-spirited humanitarianism, idealistically positive in purpose, such as the war has seen and shown. In the beginning, the progress of child-labor reform depended principally on the humanitarianism of pity and tears. It was the suffering, the hardship, the cruelty of child

labor that roused public interest and concern; attention was attracted and sympathy evoked by the plight of the individual exploited child.

Before the war, nevertheless, broad social considerations and aims, with reference to child-labor reform, had been coming into prominence and influence; the war has helped to invigorate and clarify them by making it possible to identify them closely with national and patriotic considerations and aims. The present emphasis is not only social but national; and the emphasis is placed not only on the nationally *harmful* effects of child labor, but on the nationally *beneficial* effects of such public action—including the abolition of the child labor—as will “develop all the children of the nation to be healthy, intelligent, moral and efficient citizens.”

From the Standpoint of Education

The anti-child-labor movement is seen to be positive in spirit and mission. It is seen to be, in its own right, an educational movement or at least an important part of an educational movement. Child labor is seen to be evil because it is not educative—physically, intellectually, vocationally, or morally—and education, from the national standpoint, is seen to be, very largely, the task of developing manpower, which is the true basis and measure of national prosperity, material or spiritual.

So much for present conceptions and motives in child-labor reform. The present concrete program requires such conceptions and motives. For the worst abuses, the spectacular features, connected with the child-labor evil, have been eliminated or abated. It is true that among the child laborers there is still some suffering from excessive, premature toil; but, generally speaking, it is not a thrilling rescue to be effected, but fairness of opportunity to be established for the children's sake and America's. Prematurity of toil has come to be regarded as less a question of physical hardship than of deprivation of play life, which is educational in a variety of ways, and of school life, which ought to be, to a greater extent than is actually the case, educational physically and vocationally.

The Program in State Legislatures

Let us turn to the program of child-labor reform and briefly indicate its salient features. By the recent enactment into law of the Pomerene amendment to the federal revenue bill, a stop has been put to the employment

of children under 16 years of age in mines or quarries, and of children under 14 years of age in mills, canneries, workshops, and factories. Children under 16 are not to be employed in mills, canneries, workshops, or factories more than eight hours a day, more than six days a week, or at night. This is an excellent measure so far as it goes, and it goes about as far as any federal law¹ can as yet be expected to go; but much has been left to State action.

The federal law applies only to occupations in which are found but 15 per cent. of the child laborers of America. It affords no protection for the infant hawkers of news and chewing-gum on our city streets; none for the truck-garden conscripts of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Colorado, and Maryland; none for the sweating cotton pickers of Mississippi, Oklahoma, and Texas; none for the pallid cash and bundle girls in our department stores; none for the 90,000 domestic servants under 16 years of age who do the menial drudgery in our American homes—none for any of these, none for many others. One of the most unfortunate features of juvenile employment on farms and on the streets is its interference with school work.

All the common gainful occupations should be included in the provisions of State child-labor laws. Poverty exemptions in the child-labor laws of the States should be removed, and mothers' pension laws enacted. An important matter, badly neglected, is the regulation of the issuance of employment certificates. A proper system of certification, properly administered, contributes very greatly to the effectiveness of a child-labor law. In a few States no employment certificates are required.

Demand for Sixteen-Year Age Limit

The federal law calls for a certificate of age, but does not call for either a physical or an educational qualification on the part of the applicant. Only twenty-six States require that children entering industry shall be physically qualified. In only sixteen is a physical examination by a physician mandatory. Some States do not ask for an educational qualification. Ability to read and write is sufficient in several States to enable

¹The first step in the expected contest over the constitutionality of the new federal child labor law was taken in the Western Judicial District of North Carolina, when Judge Boyd on May 2 declared the law unconstitutional. He took the ground that the act sought to accomplish the regulation of employment by indirection, and was an invasion of the States' authority. The act is in force throughout the United States, except in this one district.

the child to get his certificate. Prof. John R. Commons and Dr. John B. Andrews, in "Principles of Labor Legislation," say: "Much of the time of the child under sixteen who drifts from one dull, monotonous job to another is wasted, so far as education is concerned. Consequently the completion of the eighth grade seems little enough to require of children who go to work under sixteen." Only six States have an eighth-grade requirement or an equivalent.

There is a steadily growing sentiment for placing the minimum school-leaving age at sixteen and the minimum age for children's employment in any of the common gainful occupations at the same point. Fifteen States have compulsory-education laws with the sixteen-year age limit. California, Michigan, South Dakota, Texas, Montana, and Ohio have child-labor laws setting a higher minimum than 14 for certain gainful occupations not usually classified as especially dangerous to life and limb or to morals; Montana says sixteen years for workshops and factories; Ohio says sixteen years for girls in a long list to which the fifteen-year limit for boys applies.

School, Health, and Relief Problems

The program of child-labor reform contemplates the formulation of a "children's code" in each State. In a strict sense a children's code is not a code at all, as it does not constitute a separate division of the published laws of a State, but is merely an establishment of consistency among the various laws affecting children. Children's code commissions have done splendid work in Ohio and Missouri. A code commission has been created by the Oklahoma Legislature of 1919. It will follow the usual procedure of studying the existing situation and making recommendations to the next legislature. Children's codes, as a part of the program of child-labor reform, are an outgrowth of the conviction that the child-welfare problem, despite its numerous phases and ramifications, is essentially unitary, and that the child-labor problem must be dealt with in its practical relations to the school problem, the health problem, the recreation problem, the delinquency problem, and so on.

The program is very much concerned with the schools. It is in the schools that children belong. And it is from the schools that children prematurely go into industry. The majority of children leave school just as soon as the compulsory-education laws allow, and

a majority of those who go from school to work do so just as soon as the child-labor laws allow. Why do children leave school at the earliest opportunity? Not so often because parents or circumstances force them, as because they themselves want to leave.

All the notable studies made in the last ten years of the reasons why children under 16 go into industry concur in the conclusion that the two main reasons are economic pressure and dissatisfaction with school. "The latter plays the more important part," we read in the reports of several of these studies. The fact is that the typical school does not hold the interest and allegiance of its pupils. We grown-ups defend ourselves by saying that it is all the children's fault; but to accuse children of a lack of interest in school is to accuse ourselves. If we made the school seem real and practical to the children it would hold them, and certainly the school ought at least to *seem* real and practical. Better schools, with stronger *holding power*, are part of the anti-child-labor program—a more important part, perhaps, than better compulsory-education laws.

The program is further concerned with the problem of poor relief. Mothers' pensions and children's scholarships are advocated. Three-fourths of the States have mothers' pension laws, more or less adequate. Scholarships are usually granted under private auspices. Through pensions and scholarships it is made possible for the child in poor circumstances to go to school and thus to be helped out of poverty. But the program of child-labor reform deals with the problem of poverty in other ways. It seeks the institution of a comprehensive system of social insurance and the enactment of minimum-wage laws applying to men as well as to women. It seeks, legislatively and otherwise, the economic well-being of adults, the economic prosperity of the whole American community. For poverty and near-poverty are prolific causes of child labor.

Poverty must be fought by fighting its causes—one of which is child-labor. There would be much less poverty if we did all we could to give all children a fair start in life—in every respect. As Wiley H. Swift puts it: "Americanism requires that every child be given a free, fair, fighting chance."

Whoever believes in America believes also in America's future. Faith in America's future implies faith in America's children—and faith without works is dead.

REAL COÖPERATION OF THE CHURCHES

THE INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT

BY LYMAN P. POWELL

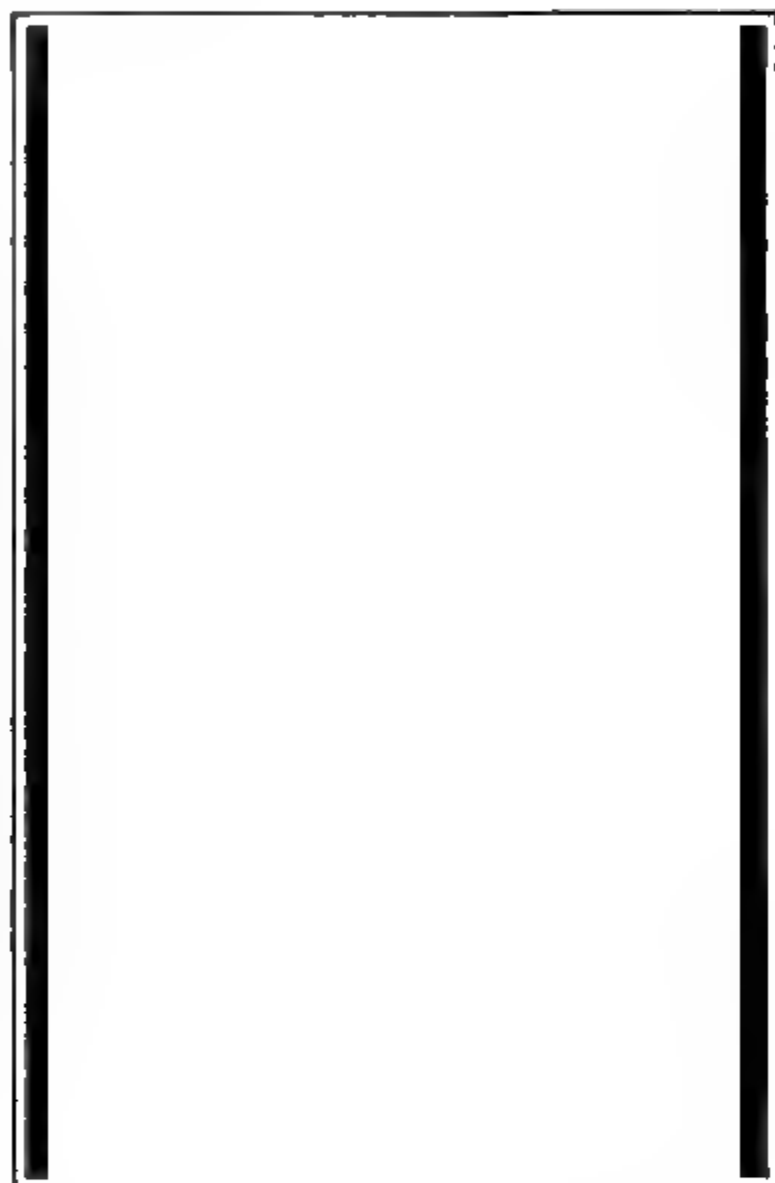
FROM April 29 to May 2 Cleveland was the objective of a group of public-spirited men, who seemed to be surprised at their very numbers. "They were all with one accord in one place." They had learned the lesson of the war. They had gone "over the top" in many a patriotic drive. They were afraid of nothing. They realized that a combination of forces with a common purpose and an uncommon leader could do things in the higher life never tried before.

Last December a conference of missionary boards of many religious bodies, called together by Dr. Vance of Nashville, met to discover whether they could work together. They were surprised at the simplicity of the problem. They at once adopted the policy of the Allies of a year ago. Then in swift succession other religious groups came together and the Interchurch World Movement was formed with Dr. S. Earl Taylor, who perhaps was first to see the far-flung sweep of the idea, as the animating spirit and director. Quietly, tentatively the experiment was tried out, and a group of experts was made up pledged to religious progress without competition.

They established a definite policy. They invited the churches of North America to unite for purposes of coöperation, not consolidation, or ecclesiastical unity on which coöperative enterprises usually break. More than forty are already in and others are on the way. Not merely was no church asked to make concessions, but there was tacit agreement to strengthen group convictions. The one objective was to combine in common service against evil and waste, so as to put new meaning into those lines,

"We are not divided
All one body we."

As the delegates began to arrive at Cleveland on Tuesday, April 29, they found not even a printed program. A few had promised to make addresses, but the purpose was to keep the meeting democratic. Wednesday brought a larger number and when the con-



DR. S. EARL TAYLOR, STATESMAN-DIRECTOR OF THE INTERCHURCH WORLD MOVEMENT

vention closed more than 500 delegates from all over the United States were present, representing Christian churches which sent 124, mission boards 115, women's organizations 76, educational institutions 71, religious papers 28, with officers and members of other religious groups exceeding 100, not to mention large local groups.

Irritations were avoided. A common basis was sought on which to stand and work. Dr. Taylor furnished a slogan for the convention when he began his evening address with the statement,

"Wanted—Somebody to go into the big brother business on an international scale."

Those who looked for extremists were as radically disappointed as those who thought

to find ultra-conservatives there. Dr. J. Campbell White indicated that those filled with the Spirit of God, though differing in doctrine, might undertake anything, while Christians divided and suspicious of one another would continue to stand "palsied in the presence of the needs" of to-day, and Christianity lose the biggest chance since Pentecost.

There was no lack of appreciation of previous efforts toward a common end. Men were present who looked back with admiration for church unity efforts of a generation ago, and few were there but had attempted to bring an end, each in his own way, to the overlapping and the undervitalizing which has resulted here and there in trying to make two blades of grass grow where only one could ever sprout. The proposals more recent of the Protestant Episcopal Church to find a basis for agreement among Christians were in mind, as well as the good work the Federal Council of Churches has long been doing. Neither Home nor Foreign Mission Boards of any Christian fold were asked to abdicate, concede, or qualify. Only, it was clearly evident to all that

"New occasions teach new duties,"

and that the experience of the great war calls to religion as well as government and business to "carry on" made possible by a community of understanding, a rightmindedness of spirit, a generosity of purpose, and an absolute comprehension of the wide-ranging meaning of the words Foch records in his "Principles of War," that "movement is the rule of strategy," that the economy of forces requires real soldiers "to strike with a concentrated whole," and that "men fight with their hearts."

Demand for a Religious and Social Survey

Extraordinary intelligence marked every step of the deliberations. There was unqualified agreement as to the imperativeness of a scientific survey of the world's needs from the standpoint of the Christian. Mr. R. E. Diffendorfer, a survey expert, explained without minimizing the difficulties the necessity of a careful and even costly survey of all churches and religious and social agencies now at work and all fields where more might be done. He suggested a supervisor of rural as well as city surveys and explained in detail the method of making the same.

of the facts already unearthed all

over the land were almost startling. He pointed out one county not very far away where there are many churches but no minister, either Catholic or Protestant. One county map in the Middle West was liberally sprinkled with churches with only one minister, and he supported by some home mission society. A community of 1600 has fourteen different denominational churches all receiving "a goodly slice of missionary support save one." A picture was given of a great city where in a population of a hundred thousand there are but three Protestant churches and six Catholic churches, with saloons in abundance in every block. Overchurching in many regions, underchurching in others.

The necessity of a scientific foreign survey was related to the political changes rapidly taking place. Such words were frequently spoken as those of General Byng to Bishop McConnell, "I trust that you will go back to your own country and in every way you can urge upon them in the terrible days ahead, the days after the war, that the Church shall fail not." Colonel House was quoted as saying, "There can be no permanent peace unless the churches can Christianize international relationships." "Christ or chaos for the world" was the statesman-like utterance of Dr. J. Campbell White.

A Comprehensive Program

The Committee on Findings brought in a report that placed the Interchurch World Movement on a sound basis. The report emphasized the importance of carrying the gospel to all men; effective coöperation among Christian churches without renunciation of conviction; the necessity of basing any program of action on facts to be ascertained by a survey no matter what the cost covering not merely the field at home but also abroad. These will be gladly placed at the service of folds out of the movement as well as in.

Emphasis was placed on the religious nurture of children; the enlistment and special preparation of youth for life service; the entire educational system of the churches at home and abroad; philanthropic institutions, hospitals, orphanages, asylums, and child welfare agencies; the means for the support of the ministry in retirement, as well as in active service; and the contribution of the Church to the solution of the definite social and industrial problems of the reconstruction period. Trained scholars like Professor James, of Northwestern University, gave gravity again and again to the situation by

such words as, "There is no one thing I believe as a teacher of American history that our Americans need to-day more than a world vision."

Strange to say, though the discussion was vigorous and the sessions lasted late, nobody seemed worried about the financial campaign. The discussion kept in a high altitude without capitulation of good sense. Scientific training was emphasized in preparation for a systematic campaign of enlisting by an uncompromising brotherhood which asks nothing and gives everything and considers the interests of all types of Christians. The critical attitude was discouraged. Intelligent organization and the utmost development of effective existing methods was on every lip.

Fearlessness in Meeting Issues

Realizing the futility of indulging in mere platitudes about industrial problems it was agreed at last not merely to approve the industrial platform of the Federal Council of Churches but also to add to it and to constitute an Industrial Commission of recognized experts to go to the bottom of the whole subject.

One who has attended many conventions, religious, social, academic, and political was particularly impressed with the purpose to conform to three conditions:

- (1) To saturate all proceedings with profound spirituality;
- (2) To eliminate all sentimentality in deference to "sweet reasonableness";
- (3) To dodge no issue which has been raised in times past and frankly to meet every criticism which has been brought against the Christian Church. No man will ever again dare say the Christian Church "sidesteps" any problem of the time.

Coöperation in Everything

To carry out the elaborate program adopted will cost much. But nobody worried over cost. The best is the cheapest. To match the scientific surveys of the Charity Organization Society and the Methodist Centenary Movement it was agreed to use only the best experts, and not to hurry them.

To ensure that everyone understands the large purpose of the movement the country was divided into districts, each under a director with educational aims, for such purposes as discriminating distribution of literature and the conduct of publicity campaigns. The directors are in fact already at their posts.

No word was spoken that could possibly be interpreted as coercion of a single denomination to coöperate, but the value of coöperation in surveys, education and financing was made clear. All were encouraged to study one another's plans and literature and to do together what they could. New groups are hurrying to a standard satisfying all and many more will undoubtedly come in and conduct a united publicity and, after proper preparation, a financial campaign. Where this does not seem possible or agreeable, the Interchurch World Movement will give all the aid it can to any independent effort. There is no ulterior motive. There could not be. The development of the spiritual resources of the movement was made so important as to saturate every department with it, though giving it no independent existence. The Committee of One Hundred will meet frequently to harmonize and coördinate surveys, to oversee the budget, to outline for the first time the approximate responsibility of Christians for the world's welfare, while the smaller Executive Committee will keep the wheels turning.

One daring speaker, Dr. W. E. Doughty, with the world war in mind, said in a speech which moved an audience packing the largest hall, "God has broken the heart of the world and left us where we simply must plan with a new daring of adequacy for the capture of His world. If we dare now as Christ's nailed, pierced hand beckons us to go on with courage, with unshaken Faith, God is ready to let the stream flow out so great and deep that no man can cross it." The war proved that victory always comes where right-minded allied nations work together without sacrifice of nationality. The Interchurch World Movement has learned the lesson of the war without raising any further question. It is out to win. It will, to the good of all Christendom. The hour has struck.



THE TREATY OF PEACE

A CONDENSATION OF THE OFFICIAL SUMMARY OF TERMS SUBMITTED TO THE GERMAN DELEGATES AT VERSAILLES ON MAY 7, 1919

THE preamble names as parties of the one part the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan, described as the five allied and associated powers; and Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, China, Cuba, Ecuador, Greece, Guatemala, Hayti, the Hedjaz, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Serbia, Siam, Czecho-Slovakia and Uruguay; and on the other part, Germany.

SECTION I.—THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The covenant of the League of Nations constitutes Section I. of the Peace Treaty, which places upon the League many specific in addition to its general duties. It may question Germany at any time for a violation of the neutralized zone east of the Rhine as a threat against the world's peace. It will appoint three of the five members of the Sarre commission, oversee its regime, and carry out the plebiscite.

It will appoint the high commissioner of Danzig, guarantee the independence of the free city, and arrange for treaties between Danzig and Germany and Poland. It will work out the mandatory system to be applied to the former German colonies, and act as a final court in part of the plebiscites of the Belgian-German frontier, and in disputes as to the Kiel Canal, and decide certain of the economic and financial problems.

Membership and Meetings

The members of the league will be the signatories of the covenant and other States invited to accede. A State may withdraw upon giving two years notice, if it has fulfilled all its international obligations.

A permanent Secretariat will be established at the seat of the league, which will be at Geneva.

The Assembly will consist of representatives of the members of the league, and will meet at stated intervals. Voting will be by States. Each member will have one vote and not more than three representatives.

The Council will consist of representatives of the five great allied Powers, together with representatives of four members selected by the Assembly from time to time; it may admit additional States and will meet at least once a year. Each State will have one vote and one representative.

Preventing of War

Upon any war, or threat of war, the Council will meet to consider what common action shall be taken. Members are pledged to submit matters of dispute to arbitration or inquiry and not to resort to war until three months after the award. Members agree to carry out an arbitral award, and not to go to war with any party to

the dispute which complies with it. If a member fails to carry out the award, the Council will propose the necessary measures.

The Council will formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent Court of International Justice to determine international disputes or to give advisory opinions. Members who do not submit their case to arbitration must accept the jurisdiction of the Assembly. If the Council, less the parties to the dispute, is unanimously agreed upon the rights of it, the members agree that they will not go to war with any party to the dispute which complies with its recommendations.

Members resorting to war in disregard of the covenant will immediately be debarred from all intercourse with other members.

The Council will in such cases consider what military or naval action can be taken by the league collectively.

Mandatory System

The tutelage of nations not yet able to stand by themselves will be entrusted to advanced nations who are best fitted to undertake it. The covenant recognizes three kinds of mandatories.

(a) Communities like those belonging to the Turkish empire which can be provisionally recognized as independent, subject to advice and assistance from a mandatory in whose selection they would be allowed a voice.

(b) Communities like those of Central Africa, to be administered by the mandatory under conditions generally approved by the members of the league, where equal opportunities for trade will be allowed to all members.

(c) Other communities, such as Southwest Africa and the South Pacific Islands, but administered under the laws of the mandatory as integral portions of its territory.

In every case the mandatory will render an annual report and the degree of its authority will be defined.

SECTION II.—CESSION OF GERMAN TERRITORY

Germany cedes to France Alsace-Lorraine, 5,600 square miles in the southwest, and to Belgium two small districts between Luxemburg and Holland totaling 382 square miles. She also cedes to Poland the southeastern tip of Silesia beyond and including Oppeln, most of Posen, and West Prussia, 27,686 square miles; East Prussia being isolated by a part of Poland.

She loses sovereignty over the northeasternmost tip of East Prussia, 40 square miles north of the River Memel, and the internationalized areas about Danzig, 729 square miles, and the basin of the Saar, 738 square miles, between the western

border of the Rhenish Palatinate of Bavaria and the southeast corner of Luxemburg.

The southeastern third of East Prussia and the area between East Prussia and the Vistula north of latitude 53 degrees 3 minutes is to have its nationality determined by popular vote, 5,785 square miles, as is to be the case in part of Schleswig, 2,787 square miles.

SECTION III.—GERMANY'S WESTERN BOUNDARY

Germany is to consent to the abrogation of the treaties of 1839, by which Belgium was established as a neutral State, and to agree in advance to any convention with which the Allied and Associated Powers may determine, to replace them. She is to recognize the full sovereignty of Belgium over the contested territory of Moresnet and over part of Prussian Moresnet, and to renounce in favor of Belgium all rights over the circles of Eupen and Malmedy, the inhabitants of which are to be entitled within six months to protest against this change of sovereignty either in whole or in part, the final decision to be reserved to the League of Nations.

Germany renounces her various treaties and conventions with the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, recognizes that it ceased to be a part of the German Zollverein from January 1 last, renounces all right of exploitation of the railroads, adheres to the abrogation of its neutrality, and accepts in advance any international agreement as to it, reached by the Allied and Associated Powers.

Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar Basin

After recognition of the moral obligation to repair the wrong done in 1871 by Germany to France and the people of Alsace-Lorraine, the territories ceded to Germany by the Treaty of Frankfurt are restored to France with their frontiers as before 1871.

Citizenship is regulated by detailed provisions distinguishing those who are immediately restored to full French citizenship, those who have to make formal application therefor, and those for whom naturalization is open after three years.

All public property and all private property of German ex-sovereigns passes to the French.

For five years manufactured products of Alsace-Lorraine will be admitted to Germany free of duty to an amount not exceeding in any year the average of the three years preceding the war.

In compensation for the destruction of coal mines in Northern France and as payment on account of reparation Germany cedes to France full ownership of the coal mines of the Saar Basin with their subsidiaries, accessories and facilities. Their value will be estimated by the Reparation Commission and credited against that account.

In order to secure the rights and welfare of the population and guarantee to France entire freedom in working the mines the territory will be governed by a commission appointed by the League of Nations.

After fifteen years a plebiscite will be held by communes to ascertain the desires of the population as to continuance of the existing regime under the League of Nations, union with France or union with Germany.

SECTION IV.—GERMANY'S EASTERN BOUNDARY

German Austria and Czecho-Slovakia

Germany recognizes the total independence of German Austria in the boundaries traced. Germany recognizes the entire independence of the Czecho-Slovak State, including the autonomous territory of the Ruthenians south of the Carpathians, and accepts the frontiers of this State as to be determined, which in the case of the German frontier shall follow the frontier of Bohemia in 1914.

Poland, East Prussia, and Danzig

Germany cedes to Poland the greater part of Upper Silesia, Posen and the province of West Prussia on the left bank of the Vistula. A field boundary commission of seven, five representing the Allied and Associated Powers and one each representing Poland and Germany, shall be constituted within fifteen days of the peace to delimit this boundary.

The southern and the eastern frontier of East Prussia is to be fixed by plebiscites.

The five Allied and Associated Powers will draw up regulations assuring East Prussia full and equitable access to and use of the Vistula. A subsequent convention, of which the terms will be fixed by the five Allied and Associated Powers, will be entered into between Poland, Germany and Danzig to assure suitable railroad communication across German territory on the right bank of the Vistula between Poland and Danzig, while Poland shall grant free passage from East Prussia to Germany.

The northeastern corner of East Prussia about Memel is to be ceded by Germany to the associated Powers.

Danzig and the district immediately about it is to be constituted into the "Free City of Danzig" under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

A convention, the terms of which shall be fixed by the five Allied and Associated Powers, shall be concluded between Poland and Danzig, which shall include Danzig within the Polish customs frontiers, though a free area in the port; insure to Poland the free use of all the city's waterways, docks and other port facilities, the control and administration of the Vistula and the whole through railway system within the city, and postal, telegraphic and telephonic communication between Poland and Danzig; and place its foreign relations and the diplomatic protection of its citizens abroad in charge of Poland.

Denmark, Heligoland, and Russia

The frontier between Germany and Denmark will be defined by the self-determination of the population. Ten days from the peace German troops and authorities shall evacuate the region north of the line running from the mouth of the Schlei, south of Kappel, Schleswig, and Friedrichsadt along the Eider to the North Sea south of Tønning.

The commission shall insure a free and secret vote in three zones.

The International Commission will then draw a new frontier on the basis of these plebiscites and with due regard for geographical and eco-

conomic conditions. Germany will renounce all sovereignty over territories north of this line in favor of the associated Governments, who will hand them over to Denmark.

The fortifications, military establishments and harbors of the islands of Heligoland and Dune are to be destroyed under the supervision of the Allies by German labor, and at Germany's expense. They may not be reconstructed or any similar fortifications built in the future.

Germany agrees to respect as permanent and inalienable the independency of all territories which were part of the former Russian Empire, to accept the abrogation of the Brest-Litovsk and other treaties entered into with the Maximalist Government of Russia, to recognize the full force of all treaties entered into by the Allied and Associated Powers with States which were a part of the former Russian Empire, and to recognize the frontiers as determined thereon.

The Allied and Associated Powers formally reserve the right of Russia to obtain restitution and reparation on principles of present treaty.

SECTION V.—GERMAN RIGHTS OVERSEAS

Germany renounces in favor of the Allied and Associated Powers her overseas possessions with all rights and titles therein. All movable and immovable property belonging to the German Empire or to any German state shall pass to the government exercising authority therein.

Germany renounces in favor of China all privileges and indemnities resulting from the Boxer Protocol of 1901 and all buildings, wharves, barracks for the munition of warships, wireless plants and other public property except diplomatic or consular establishments in the German concessions of Tientsin and Hankow and in other Chinese territory, except Kiao-Chau.

Germany cedes to Japan all rights, titles and privileges, notably as to Kiao-Chau, and the railroads, mines, and cables acquired by her treaty with China of March 6, 1897, by and other agreements as to Shantung.

SECTION VI.—MILITARY, NAVAL, AND AIR *Military Forces*

The demobilization of the German army must take place within two months of the peace. Its strength may not exceed 100,000, including 4000 officers, with not over seven divisions of infantry and three of cavalry, and to be devoted exclusively to maintenance of internal order and control of frontiers.

Armaments, Conscription, and Fortifications

All establishments for the manufacturing, preparation, storage or design of arms and munitions of war, except those specifically excepted, must be closed within three months of the peace and their personnel dismissed. The exact amount of armament and munitions allowed Germany is laid down in detailed tables. The manufacture or importation of asphyxiating, poisonous or other gases is forbidden, as well as the importation of war materials.

Conscription is abolished in Germany. The enlisted personnel must be maintained by voluntary enlistments for terms of twelve years.

No military schools except those absolutely indispensable for the units allowed shall exist in Germany two months after the peace. No associations such as societies of discharged soldiers, shooting or touring clubs, educational establishments or universities may occupy themselves with military matters. All measures of mobilization are forbidden.

All fortified works, fortresses, and field works situated in German territory within a zone fifty kilometers east of the Rhine will be dismantled within three months. The construction of any new fortifications there is forbidden. The fortified works on the southern and eastern frontiers, however, may remain.

Navy and Air

The German navy must be demobilized within a period of two months after the peace. She will be allowed six small battleships, six light cruisers, twelve destroyers, twelve torpedo boats and no submarines, either military or commercial, with a personnel of fifteen thousand men, including officers, and no reserve force of any character.

Germany is required to sweep up the mines in the North Sea and the Baltic Sea as decided upon by the Allies. All German fortifications in the Baltic defending passages must be demolished.

The cables, or portions of cables, removed or utilized remain the property of Allied and Associated Powers, and accordingly fourteen cables or parts of cables will not be restored to Germany.

The armed forces of Germany must not include any military or naval air forces except for not over one hundred unarmed seaplanes to be retained till October 1, to search for submarine mines. No dirigible shall be kept.

SECTION VII.—RESPONSIBILITIES

"The Allied and Associated Powers publicly arraign William II. of Hohenzollern, formerly German Emperor, not for an offense against criminal law, but for a supreme offense against international morality and the sanctity of treaties."

The ex-Emperor's surrender is to be requested of Holland and a special tribunal set up composed of one judge from each of the principal Great Powers with full guarantees of the right of defense.

Persons accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war are to be tried and punished by military tribunals under military law. Germany shall hand over to the associated Governments either jointly or severally all persons so accused and all documents and information necessary to insure full knowledge of the incriminating acts.

SECTION VIII.—REPARATION

The Allied and Associated Governments affirm and Germany accepts the responsibility of herself and her allies for causing all the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany and her allies.

While the Allied and Associated Governments recognize that the resources of Germany are not

adequate, after taking into account permanent diminutions of such resources which will result from other treaty claims, to make complete reparation for all such loss and damage, they require her to make compensation for all damages caused to civilians under seven categories.

Germany further binds herself to repay all sums borrowed by Belgium from her Allies as a result of Germany's violation of the treaty of 1839 up to November 11, 1918, and for this purpose will issue and hand over to her Reparation Commission 5 per cent. bonds due in 1926.

The total obligation of Germany to pay as defined in the category of damages is to be determined not later than May 1, 1921, by an Inter-allied Reparation Commission.

At the same time a schedule of payments to discharge the obligation within thirty years shall be presented. Germany irrevocably recognizes the full authority of this commission, agrees to supply it with all the necessary information and to pass legislation to effectuate its findings. As an immediate step toward restoration Germany shall pay within two years one thousand million pounds sterling in either gold, goods, ships or other specific forms of payment.

In periodically estimating Germany's capacity to pay, the Reparation Commission shall examine the German system of taxation, to the end that the sums of reparation which Germany is required to pay shall become a charge upon all her revenues, prior to that, for the service or discharge of any domestic loan, and, secondly, so as to satisfy itself that in general the German scheme of taxation is fully as heavy proportionately as that of any of the peoples represented on the commission.

The commission may require Germany to give from time to time, by way of guarantee, issues of bonds or other obligations to cover such claims as are not otherwise satisfied in this connection, and on account of the total amount of claims bond issues are presently to be required of Germany in acknowledgment of its debt as follows:

One thousand million pounds sterling, payable not later than May 1, 1921, without interest, two thousand million pounds sterling bearing $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest between 1921 and 1926, and thereafter 5 per cent., with a 1 per cent. sinking fund payment beginning in 1926, and an undertaking to deliver bonds to an additional amount of two thousand million pounds sterling bearing interest at 5 per cent.

Germany is required to pay the total cost of the armies of occupation from the date of the armistice as long as they are maintained in German territory, this cost to be a first charge on her resources. The cost of reparation is the next charge, after such provisions for payments for imports as the Allies may deem necessary.

Shipping and Devastated Areas

The German Government recognizes the right of the Allies to the replacement, ton for ton and class for class, of all merchant ships and fishing boats lost or damaged owing to the war, and agrees to cede to the Allies all German merchant ships of 1,600 tons gross and upwards, one-half of her ships between 1,600 and 1,000 tons gross, and one-quarter of her fishing boats.

As an additional part of reparation the German

Government further agrees to build merchant ships for the account of the Allies to the amount of not exceeding 200,000 tons gross annually during the next five years.

Germany undertakes to devote her economic resources directly to the physical restoration of the invaded areas. The Reparation Commission is authorized to require Germany to replace the destroyed articles by the delivery of animals, machinery, etc., existing in Germany and to manufacture materials for reconstruction purposes, with consideration for Germany's requirements.

Coal, Dyestuffs, and Chemical Drugs

Germany is to deliver annually for ten years to France coal equivalent to the difference between annual pre-war output of Nord and Pas De Calais mines and annual production during above ten years. Germany further gives options over ten years for delivery of 7,000,000 tons of coal per year to France, in addition to the above; of 8,000,000 tons to Belgium and of an amount rising from four and a half million tons in 1919 to 1920 to eight and a half million tons in 1923 to 1942 to Italy at prescribed prices.

Germany accords option to the commission on dyestuffs and chemical drugs, including quinine, up to 50 per cent. to total stock in Germany at the time the treaty comes in force and similar options during each six months to end of 1924 up to 25 per cent. of previous six months output.

SECTION IX.—INTERNATIONAL TRADE

For a period of six months Germany shall impose no tariff duties higher than the lowest in force in 1914. Germany must give most favored nation treatment to the Allies.

Ships of the Allied and Associated Powers shall for five years and thereafter, under condition of reciprocity unless the League of Nations otherwise decides, enjoy the same rights in German ports as German vessels.

Germany undertakes to give the trade of the Allied and Associated Powers adequate safeguards against unfair competition.

Some forty multilateral conventions are renewed between Germany and the Allied and Associated Powers, but special conditions are attached to Germany's readmission to several.

Each allied and associate state may renew any treaty with Germany in so far as consistent with the peace treaty by giving notice within six months. Treaties entered into by Germany since August 1, 1914, with other enemy States and before or since that date with Rumania, Russia and Governments representing parts of Russia are abrogated.

A system of clearing houses is to be created within three months, one in Germany and one in each Allied and Associated State which adopts the plan for the payment of pre-war debts, for adjustment of proceeds of liquidation of enemy property and the settlement of other obligations.

The proceeds of the sale of private enemy property in each participating State may be used to pay the debts owed to nationals of that State.

Germany shall restore or pay for all private enemy property seized or damaged by her, the amount of damages to be fixed by the mixed arbitral tribunal. The Allied and Associated States

may liquidate German private property within their territories as compensation for claims.

Except as between the United States and Germany, pre-war licenses and rights to sue for infringements during the war are cancelled.

SECTION X.—CANALS AND RAILWAYS

Belgium is to be permitted to build a deep draft Rhine-Meuse canal if she so desires within twenty-five years, in which case Germany must construct the part within her territory on plans drawn by Belgium. Similarly, the interested allied governments may construct a Rhine-Meuse canal, both, if constructed, to come under the competent international commission. Germany may not object if the Central Rhine Commission desires to extend its jurisdiction over the lower Moselle, the upper Rhine, or lateral canals.

Germany, in addition to most favored nation treatment on her railways, agrees to cooperate in the establishment of through ticket services for passengers and baggage.

To assure Czechoslovakia access to the sea, special rights are given her both north and south. Toward the Adriatic, she is permitted to run her own through trains to Fiume and Trieste. To the north, Germany is to lease her for ninety-nine years spaces in Hamburg and Stettin.

The Kiel Canal is to remain free and open to war and merchant ships of all nations at peace with Germany, subjects, goods and ships of all States are to be treated on terms of equality.

SECTION XI.—AERIAL NAVIGATION

Aircraft of the Allied and Associated Powers shall have full liberty of passage and landing over and in German territory, equal treatment with German planes as to use of German airdromes, and with most favored nation plans as to internal commercial traffic in Germany. Germany agrees to accept Allied certificates of nationality, airworthiness or competency or licenses and to apply the convention relative to aerial navigation concluded between the Allied and Associated Powers to her own aircraft over her own territory. These rules apply until 1923 unless Germany has since been admitted to the League of Nations or to the above convention.

SECTION XII.—FREEDOM OF TRANSIT, PORTS, AND RIVERS

Germany must grant freedom of transit through her territories by rail or water to persons, goods, ships, carriages, and mails from or to any of the Allied or Associated Powers without customs or transit duties, undue delays, restrictions, or discriminations.

The Elbe and the Oder are to be placed under international commissions.

The European Danube Commission reassumes its pre-war powers, but for the time being with representatives of only Great Britain, France, Italy, and Rumania. The Upper Danube is to be administered by a new international commission.

The Rhine is placed under the central commission to meet at Strassburg within six months after peace, composed of four representatives of France, four of Germany, and two each of Great Britain, Italy, Belgium, Switzerland and Netherlands.

SECTION XIII.—INTERNATIONAL LABOR

Members of the League of Nations agree to establish a permanent organization to promote international adjustment of labor conditions, to consist of a labor conference and a labor office.

The former is composed of four representatives of each State, two from the Government and one each from the employers and the employed; each of them may vote individually. It will be a deliberative legislation body, its measures taking the form of draft conventions or recommendations for legislation, which if passed by two-thirds vote must be submitted to the lawmaking authority in every State participating. Each Government may either enact the terms into law; approve the principle, but modify them to local needs; leave the actual legislation in case of a Federal State to local legislatures; or reject the convention.

The international labor office is established at the seat of the League as part of its organization, to collect and distribute information.

On complaint that any Government has failed to carry out a convention to which it is a party, the governing body may make inquiries directly to that Government, and in case the reply is unsatisfactory may publish the complaint with comment. The chief reliance for enforcement will be publicity, with possible economic action.

SECTION XIV.—GUARANTEES

As a guarantee for the execution of the treaty German territory to the west of the Rhine, together with the bridgeheads, will be occupied by Allied and Associated troops for fifteen years. If the conditions are faithfully carried out by Germany, certain districts, including the bridgehead of Cologne, will be evacuated at the expiration of five years; certain other districts, including the bridgehead of Coblenz, and the territories nearest the Belgian frontier, will be evacuated after ten years, and the remainder, including the bridgehead of Mainz, will be evacuated after fifteen years. In case the Interallied Reparation Commission finds that Germany has failed to observe the whole or part of her obligations, either during the occupation or after the fifteen years have expired, the whole or part of the areas specified will be reoccupied immediately. If before the expiration of the fifteen years Germany complies with all the treaty undertakings, the occupying forces will be withdrawn immediately.

SECTION XV.—MISCELLANEOUS

Germany agrees to recognize the full validity of the treaties of peace and additional conventions to be concluded by the allied and associated Powers with the Powers allied with Germany, to agree to the decisions to be taken as to the territories of Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, and to recognize the new States in the frontiers to be fixed for them.

Germany agrees not to put forward any pecuniary claims against any allied or associated Power signing the present treaty based on events previous to the coming into force of the treaty.

Germany accepts all decrees as to German ships and goods made by any allied or associated prize court. The Allies reserve the right to examine all decisions of German prize courts.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

A FRENCH VIEW OF THE PEACE CONFERENCE

IN the *Revue de Paris* of April 15, M. Auguste Gauvin publishes a long paper (dated March 31st) on the record thus far and outlook of the Peace Conference. Of chief interest at present is the attitude of the writer himself, and his incidental revelation of French opinion and feeling generally. M. Gauvin is bitterly disappointed at the long delay and feels that it has already changed the eager hopefulness and confidence of November into disappointment and anxiety. It is noted that the Conference assembled on the forty-eighth anniversary of the proclamation at Versailles of the new German Empire.

By no means all the expectations of the various allies could be realized. Often they overlapped and excluded one another. The secret treaties had long before pledged to some allies benefits that meant serious injury to others. The later entrance of the United States into the war is frankly recognized as the decisive factor in the result, and the unselfish aims of our country, with the general acceptance of President Wilson as the spokesman of all the allies in the correspondence leading up to the Armistice, fairly justify him in insisting that all the conditions of peace shall accord with his famous "fourteen points," as modified by later messages and speeches (and by the explicit repudiation of the second point, "freedom of the seas").

Nevertheless, it is clear that Mr. Wilson is held largely responsible for at least one of the three salient causes for the long delay in formulating peace terms, viz., the insistence on the preliminary creation of the League of Nations and the inclusion of its constitution in the formulated conditions of the peace itself. The other two explanations for slow progress are the compulsory use of two languages, since many English-speaking delegates were lamentably ignorant of French (a somewhat naïvely one-sided criticism),

and lastly the constant daily switching from one subject to another, without apparent effort to reach conclusions on any. (The acute difficulties over Fiume and Shantung had not then come so fully to the front.)

The writer intimates that prompt frankness and persistence by the French would doubtless have secured for them the Sarre basin and Landau, which he regards as French land, taken away in 1815 in violation of the solemn pledges made in 1814, and renewed even after Napoleon's return from Elba.

He hopes Austria will be enabled and encouraged to maintain complete independence, becoming "a second Switzerland." The suggestion is cleverly put that Vienna need not lose the visitors who "for a long time to come will not care to spend their money in Germany!" Even if the eventual union of all German-speaking peoples proves unpreventable, the three Slavic nations may meanwhile have "justified their existence, and France will have had time to make preparation against new perils."

The author recognizes, and deprecates, the severe and general criticism of Mr. Wilson by the French, during and since his brief return to the United States. With a full and accurate rehearsal of all Mr. Wilson's earlier statements of his ideas on a righteous and stable peace, it is made clear that he never contemplated any such measures as the permanent military holding of the German frontier by the Allies in general or by U. S. troops in particular. On the other hand, there is nothing to indicate President Wilson's disapproval of indemnity for actual damage (especially that done in violation of the laws of war), or full restitution, and of adequate guarantees for future security.

The writer may fairly be counted a sincere defender, an apologist at least, for Mr. Wilson and for the general attitude of our dele-

gation. But it is no less evident that he faces an overwhelming hostile majority among his countrymen. His closing words are:

The Wilsonian principles, taken literally, might be invoked by the Germans in their eagerness to escape the consequences of their crimes; but they are still better suited to solve problems of the most delicate character which we could not dispose of without them. At any rate, it is not against France that they are aimed, and it is not against her that they would be applied. It is strange that the French fail to realize this, and are playing into the hands of governments which, after profiting like ourselves by American help, are devising ways to escape their contracts with Mr. Wilson.

It is more regrettable still that they make protest against the principles in the name of which France fought, when imperiled, and the honor of which so many peoples expected France to defend, when herself "victorious."

This discriminating and valiant champion of American sincerity and honor makes one statement which, if it cannot be proven untrue for the recent past, should be made quite untrue in the future:

As for the United States, it has come to be a rare event if an ambassador sent to a foreign capital, including Paris, speaks or even reads French.

THE NEW ERA OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE—AN ITALIAN VIEW

THE policy to be followed by the League of Nations as to international commerce is a question of the greatest possible importance for the world's welfare, and a paper by Signor Constantino Bresciani Turrone, in the Roman journal, *Il Tempo*, presents some considerations on this subject which merit attention. At the outset he cites the declaration of President Wilson urging "the removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance."

The writer proceeds to show that, owing to the interdependence of the various states, any undue restrictions imposed on the products of any one will necessarily react upon the others, for where the exports of a nation are reduced its purchasing power will be correspondingly lessened, and its imports will become smaller.

Nevertheless, Signor Turrone does not forget a fundamental fact, brought out by the study of economic history, that is, the aspiration of all peoples for the creation of home industries. This is too generally observable to be regarded as due to some erroneous political view, or to the influence of special interests, rather than as the expression of an organic necessity for development in the several countries. It is a force as uncontrollable as the aspiration of the peoples for national independence. Therefore the nations which are economically weak cannot renounce a protective tariff, necessary for the future of their young industries, which even when

favored by natural conditions, are unable for a time to compete with long-established foreign industries.

Although favoring, therefore, a moderate protective tariff when this is really essential for a country's industrial development, and does not involve too great a sacrifice of the advantages offered by complete reciprocity in trade, the Italian writer is disposed to arraign the policy of the great colonial empires, such as Great Britain and France.

He finds that not only in consideration of international relations, for which the colonial policy of France has long been a disturbing factor, but even in the enlightened interest of France herself, the rigors of her colonial tariffs should be mitigated. He thinks that the attempt to exclude other nations permanently from regions having an area of over 4,000,000 square miles ought to be abandoned, especially as, for demographic reasons, France is not able to exploit them fully. And yet the report of the last "Conférence Coloniale" shows a tendency to favor a more restrictive policy. It is proposed, by the help of preferential tariffs, to form of France and her colonies a compact "bloc"; it is asked that the agreement of Berlin regarding the French Congo be so modified as to prohibit the importation of foreign goods instead of French goods. The abrogation of the Anglo-French agreement of June, 1898, containing the clause of the most favored nation regarding the colonies of the Ivory Coast and Dahomey, is also demanded.

That Italy ought to oppose the application of such and similar protectionist policies at

the Peace Conference is the writer's conviction, and he thinks she ought to ask that her commerce be guaranteed equal treatment in some at least of the French colonies, notably in Tunis. Only too well known are the complaints of Italian exporters concerning the difficulties they encounter in the French colonies, where they are forced to compete with goods favored by a preferential tariff.

The idea of strengthening the economic bonds uniting the metropolis with the colonies by a vast reform of tariffs, has made rapid progress during the war in England also. It is proposed to develop the preferential treatment inaugurated before the war. If then India and Egypt as well should concede to English goods more favorable conditions, and if this policy should be completed by preferential rates on raw materials, as

has already been suggested in the Indian Chamber of Commerce, the result would be that an enormous extent of territory, with hundreds of millions of inhabitants, would be removed from the operation of the régime of the "equality of trade conditions" advocated by Wilson.

In conclusion, the writer asserts that parity of treatment in the colonies ought to cover three main points: the importation and exportation of merchandise; the employment of capital and the granting of concessions for the execution of public works, such as railways, the construction of ports, etc., finally, the immigration of laborers. He adds that to a greater degree than international rivalry, it was rivalry for predominance in the colonies, and in backward countries, that inflamed the hatred of the nations.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF GERMANY

AS long ago as 1915 it was clear to level-headed German business men that the industrial reconstruction even of a conquering Germany was a problem of great difficulty and embarrassment. One of them, Herr Herzog, an eminent engineer and economist, wrote a memorandum on the subject which has recently been published in English as "The Iron Circle." The writer's proposals—we quote from an article by Mr. Francis Gribble in the March *Anglo-French Review*—were twofold:

In order to secure German trade, foreign governments must be required, under forfeit, to purchase, every year, whatever quantity of German goods a German Board of Trade decided that they ought to need. In order to maintain German efficiency and output, German labor must be "militarized"—strikes suppressed, emigration forbidden, and migration regulated. The Allies, in short, must be made the commercial vassals of Germany, and the German masses must be reduced to serfdom for the benefit of Westphalian and Silesian manufacturers.

Reconstruction on these ugly, if possibly effective, lines, is clearly out of the question now. Germany is not a victorious, but a defeated, power. The Allies are not accepting terms, but imposing them, and the question Mr. Gribble asks his readers is: Seeing that reconstruction would have been difficult for a conquering Germany, is it even possible for a defeated Germany to be reconstructed as a power capable of paying her way? It is possible, he answers, but not from within.

If Germany's industrial fabric is to be reconstructed within a measurable time it must be done by her enemies, and those of her enemies who are in a position to do it are France and England. It is vitally in the interest of the Allies that German industry should be re-established on a profitable basis, because otherwise the chance of recovering any appreciable portion of their war costs and indemnities is problematical. As to the method of doing it, Mr. Gribble suggests that the rebuilding must be the work of a joint supervisory board of the Allies:

And that can only mean, in practice, entrusting the reconstruction and administration of German industry to competent and duly authorized trustees, who will collect and pool the profits for the common advantage of all the beneficiaries. This cannot be done in a day; but a beginning could be made at once, and the area of administration rapidly extended. Industries to which the principle could be applied without delay are those of the Westphalian coal-mines, the potassium-beds, and the woods and forests. Coal, timber, and potassium are commodities which, at present, are not only readily salable, but badly needed. In none of the three industries need there be any question of unprofitable exploitation; in each of them there is a substantial margin of profit after working expenses have been paid. It would be a simple matter, therefore, for France and England, with a mandate from the other Allies, to take over these three going concerns, with the existing *personnel*, pay the working expenses, and devote the profits to any purpose to which they might, by agreement, be earmarked.

ROOSEVELT THE NATURALIST

as "one who knew a little about more things than anyone else in this country." This gives an entirely false impression of Roosevelt's mind. His mind was quite of a contrary order; for what Roosevelt did know, he knew thoroughly; he went to the very bottom of things, if possible; and no one was more conscientious or modest than he where his knowledge was limited or merely that of the intelligent layman.

His thorough research in preparing for the African and South American expeditions was not that of the amateur or of the sportsman, but of the trained naturalist who desires to learn as much as possible from previous students and explorers. During his preparation for the African expedition, I sent him from the rich stores of the American Museum and Osborn libraries all the books relating to the mammal life of Africa. These books went in instalments, five or six a week; as each instalment was returned, another lot was sent. Thus in the course of a few weeks he had read all that had been written about the great mammals of Africa from Sclater to Selous. He knew not only the genera and species, but the localities where particular species and subspecies were to be found.

I remember at a conference with African great game hunters at Oyster Bay, where were assembled at luncheon all the Americans that he could muster who had actually explored in Africa, a question arose regarding the locality of a particular subspecies, Grévy's zebra (*Equus grévyi foai*). Roosevelt went to the map, pointed out directly the particular and only spot where this subspecies could be found, and said that he did not think the expedition could possibly get down in that direction. This was but one instance among hundreds not only of his marvelous memory but also of his thoroughness of preparation.

To the same effect writes John Burroughs, who was Roosevelt's companion in many out-of-door rambles:

When we went birding together it was ostensibly as teacher and pupil, but it often turned out that the teacher got as many lessons as he gave. Early in May, during the last term of his presidency, he asked me to go with him to his retreat in the woods of Virginia, called "Pine Knot," and help him name his birds. Together we identified more than seventy-five species of birds and wild fowl. He knew them all but two, and I knew them all but two. He taught me Bewick's wren and one of the rarer warblers, and I taught him the swamp sparrow and the pine warbler. A few days before he had seen Lincoln's sparrow in an old weedy field. On Sunday after church, he took me there and we loitered around for an hour, but the sparrow did not appear. Had he found this bird again, he would have been one ahead of me.

The one subject I do know, and ought to know, is the birds. It has been one of the main studies of a long life. He knew the subject as well as I did, while he knew with the same thoroughness scores of other subjects of which I am ignorant

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COLONEL ROOSEVELT AS HUNTER OF BIG GAME

(As is clearly brought out in the context, Colonel Roosevelt's activities as a hunter directly served his intense interest in natural history)

THE sumptuous magazine formerly called the *American Museum Journal* has adopted the new name *Natural History*, and the initial number bearing this title is mainly devoted to paying homage to a distinguished American naturalist recently deceased—Theodore Roosevelt. It includes anecdotal tributes to the great man's memory from the pens of John Burroughs, Henry Fairfield Osborn, Robert E. Peary, Carl A. Akeley, David Starr Jordan and Gifford Pinchot, together with a series of photographs recalling Roosevelt's achievements in various fields.

To the rule that versatility implies superficiality the case of Roosevelt furnishes a shining exception. Dr. Osborn, president of the American Museum of Natural History, writes of him:

An American statesman, who should have known better, has recently characterized Roosevelt

He was a naturalist on the broadest grounds, uniting much technical knowledge with knowledge of the daily lives and habits of all forms of wild life. He probably knew tenfold more natural history than all the Presidents who had preceded him, and, I think one is safe in saying, more human history also.

Above all, John Burroughs was impressed by Roosevelt's stupendous vitality, which made it impossible to associate the thought of death with him. "I think," he says, "I must have unconsciously felt that his power to live was unconquerable."

Dr. David Starr Jordan recalls the fact that Roosevelt's accomplishments in natural history dated from early life:

Roosevelt entered Harvard College in 1876 at the age of eighteen, hoping to become a naturalist, having already made a considerable collection of birds, besides many observations as to their habits. His eyesight being defective, however, and not connecting well with magnifying glasses, his early ambition was discouraged by his teachers to whom the chief range of study lay within the field of the microscope. They overlooked the fact that besides primordial slime and determinant chromosomes, there were also in the world grizzly bears, tigers, elephants and trout, as well as song birds and rattlesnakes,—all of which yield profound interest and are alike worthy of study.

So, being discouraged as to work along his chosen line, and in his love of outdoor science, the young naturalist turned to political philosophy, his secondary interests lying in history and politics. He then closed up his private cabinet,

giving his stuffed bird skins (through Professor Baird of the Smithsonian) to me. These I transferred to the University of Indiana where they are now in a befitting glass case in Owen Hall, each skin nicely prepared and correctly labeled in the crude boyish handwriting which the distinguished collector never outgrew.

Long after all this, I once took occasion to remind Mr. Roosevelt that "they spoiled a good naturalist" in making him a statesman. But the naturalist was never submerged in the exigencies of statesmanship.

In our exploration of Hawaii in 1901, my colleague, Dr. Barton W. Evermann and I came across a very beautiful fish, the *Kalikali*, golden yellow with broad crossbands of deep crimson. This then bore the name of *Serranus brighami* given it by its discoverer, Alvin Seale. But the species was no *Serranus*; and it was moreover plainly the type of a new genus. This we called *Rooseveltia*, in honor of "Theodore Roosevelt, Naturalist" and in recognition of his services in the promotion of zoological research. With this compliment he was "delighted." "Who would not be?" he said.

In the various natural history explorations undertaken by me—and by others during his administration as President of the United States—we could always count on intelligent and effective sympathy. In so far as scientific appointments rested with him he gave them careful and conscientious consideration. Indeed, during his administration, governmental science reached its high-water mark. In 1905 I was preparing for an exploration of the deep seas around Japan by means of the Fish Commission steamer *Albatross*. While I was talking this matter over with Roosevelt he said, pounding the table with his fist: "It was to help along things like this, Dr. Jordan, that I took this job!"

AN AMERICAN OFFICER'S TRIBUTE TO GENERAL GOURAUD

ONE of the most interesting articles in the *North American Review* for May is an appreciation of General Gouraud, commander of the French Fourth Army, from the pen of Colonel William Hayward, who commanded the 369th Infantry, the colored regiment from New York City.

In March, 1918, this negro regiment, formerly known as the Fifteenth New York Infantry, learned that it was to become an integral part of the famous French Fourth Army, commanded by a general whose brilliant fighting at the first Battle of the Marne had earned for him the title "Lion of the Argonne," and whose exploits in command of the French at Gallipoli, where he had left an arm and part of his hip, had only increased

his reputation. These New York troops, says Colonel Hayward, were proud to know that they were to serve under General Gouraud.

We did not have to wait long to see him. The second day after our arrival he came to my billet in a tidy room of a clean French house, the walls of which were covered with sacred pictures and family portraits. The mutilated hero sat down and in fifteen minutes found out from me all there was to know about my regiment. Instead of deprecating our ignorance of modern warfare, he propounded the startling intelligence that he would re-equip and re-organize us into a French regiment from top to bottom, teach us to fight in a couple of weeks and then place us between the German Army and Paris. The General said in a kindly way that while we did not seem to know much about war he was convinced our hearts

GENERAL GOURAUD

(Commanding the French Fourth Army)

were in the right place and that, after all, was the main thing with soldier men.

I understood at the end of our interview why the French phrase, "The mere sight of him made men brave," had been so often applied to him. It was on this first visit that he became enamored of our band and many times afterward he would motor from Chalons to hear it play. His favorite piece was "Joan of Arc," sung by the Drum Major with the band accompaniment. After such a performance one day he unostentatiously slipped into my hand a considerable sum of money which he insisted I take and give to the families of the first of my soldiers who should be wounded or killed under heroic circumstances. He said, "It is only a little, but the Americans have done such wonderful things for our unfortunate people, I feel we French should at least do all we can, though with no possibility of even beginning to repay the debt."

The general kept his word, and on the 8th day of April my recruits had their baptism of fire "doubled" with a French battalion in the "*Main de Massiges*." Before we could realize it we were holding 5½ kilometres (about 4 miles) of front line trenches, and were having daily and nightly encounters with the dreadful enemy who faced us. For nearly ninety days we held this one sector, two battalions in line, twenty days at a time, and one battalion out ten days. During this time the French trained us and taught us and encouraged us. It was no unusual sight to see two French generals carefully instructing and drilling a battalion of my regiment, theoretically at rest for a ten-day period, at seven o'clock in the morning and again after dark.

Colonel Hayward comments sympathetic-

ally on the total absence of impatience, needless criticism, arrogance, and condescension on the part of the French officers. By the first of July the 369th was able to stand alone. At this time the German attack in the Champagne was daily awaited, and it was necessary to devise some means of withstanding the terrible mass formation used by the Germans with such deadly effect on the English in March and on the French in May. General Gouraud decided on a new method of defense. The French and Americans were to evacuate most of their first-line positions and strongly build up, fortify and man what were known as the "intermediate positions" from two to three kilometres in the rear. Only a handful of men were to be left in the front lines to retard and signal the advance of the enemy assault, hinder it with machine-gun fire, and on retiring leave the dug-outs and trenches drenched with mustard gas for the enemy's benefit.

All through June and the first day of July the Fourth Army worked day and night on this plan. The American soldiers now in the Fourth Army were the Rainbow Division, including the gallant 69th of New York, some heavy artillery, and Colonel Hayward's negro regiment.

Information obtained from prisoners enabled General Gouraud to start his counter-artillery preparation in advance of the Germans. When the furious French artillery fire began the Americans said, "The old man has beaten them to it." What happened then is thus related by Colonel Hayward in the latter part of his article:

It was too late for the Germans to change their plans, so they went ahead as best they could, but their great 4:15 assault, even following their artillery fire, was a thrust against empty trenches on which a deadly French fire fell as soon as the Germans occupied them. The French guns were firing into the back doors of their own gas-filled dugouts, and it was an unhappy afternoon for the Boche. At no point did the enemy pierce General Gouraud's real line of resistance, the intermediate position. By noon the advance had stopped, but the Germans were still savagely attacking. By night, with broken lines of wire communications somewhat repaired, runner routes re-established and working, and the whole marvelous French system of liaison functioning, as it only can function, a thrill went through the army. There was good news from the right, and better news from the left. The French losses had been relatively small. Everywhere the enemy was stopped. "It could not be better," the French said. The Germans, terribly punished and demoralized, were in a suitable frame of mind to be easily driven from our front lines by counter attack.

THE REAL PHILIP GIBBS

THE name, Philip Gibbs, means to the masses of American people the long scroll of graphic war dispatches that came from the British front continuously during the entire duration of the war. These dispatches are admittedly the finest, most moving descriptions of the various military actions with which they deal, and among the most poignant reactions to the war that have been written. They are illuminating and vivid. They are enduring because even at the beginning of the conflict and on through the darkest periods of defeat, through the dreary trench warfare of the mud-fields of Flanders, Philip Gibbs saw over and above the war. He saw in every manifestation of nature's serenity, in the blue sky, the song of birds, the poppies in the fields, a prophecy of the world's escape from horror and desolation. And he stood steadfastly for the truth that the sacrifice of blood and tears could not be made in vain.

Frank Dilnot states in the May number of *The Bookman* that his numerous friends in this country are repeatedly asking what Mr. Gibbs is like personally. Mr. Dilnot answers that "he is just the kind of man one would expect," and gives a memorable picture of the man.

Philip Gibbs is a slim figure of a man, with boyishness and sympathy in his pale, clean-shaven face, with reflective eyes, a sensitive mouth, and shoulders slightly canted forward in a kind of gentle eagerness. He is about forty years of age. . . . You could look at Philip Gibbs and know at a glance that he is not a business leader. There is neither aggressiveness nor acquisitiveness in that thin, clear-cut face, despite the fact that one senses tenacity in the carefully formed jaw. In his eyes, however, you get a hint of the real Philip Gibbs. They are deep-set and reposeful, but they are the most sensitive eyes I have seen in any man. Serene is the word to apply to them. . . . Their understanding and their humor irradiate the man. . . . kindness and sympathy shine from him, and he talks with the softness of a woman and the candor of a boy. All the time you realize that there are flames in him.

Gibbs began to write at the age of sixteen. His first article, five hundred words, descriptive of the flights of the sea-gulls around London Bridge in winter, was published in the *Daily Chronicle*, the paper which was subsequently destined to gather the fruits of his mature genius. At nineteen, he wrote a book called "Founders of The Empire,"

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PHILIP GIBBS, THE DISTINGUISHED WAR
CORRESPONDENT AND AUTHOR

which still has a steady sale. "The Individualist," his first novel, was published when he was twenty-one—the year of his marriage. In the succeeding years many books followed these two. They were "The Street of Adventure," a novel, a history of the French Revolution, reference books, "Facts and Ideas," "The Eighth Year," and "The New Man." Jointly with Cosmo Hamilton, his brother, he is the author of a play, "Menders of Nets," which was played in two theaters in London. Besides the books, he wrote essays and was constantly engaged in newspaper work, building up for himself, to use Mr. Dilnot's phrase, "a reputation as the best descriptive writer in Fleet Street." Those who think that the power, ease and lucidity of Philip Gibbs' war dispatches came without long training and rigorous discipline should study the facts of his career.

Hard, trenchant journalism has been the continuing web on which Philip Gibbs has woven his literary output. . . . Like all the rest of his craft, he has had to go through months and years of hard work, often enough unrelieved by any touch of color. . . . Two successes of his may be mentioned. One was in connection with the revolu-

tion in Portugal, where after the Republic came into power many of those who were opposed to it were thrust into jail under horrifying physical circumstances. Philip Gibbs, who was in Portugal for the *Daily Chronicle*, made it his business to visit these places and wrote a series of articles for the English paper which, reprinted on the continent, caused a sensation and led to the release of fifteen hundred persons.

The other achievement was his early detection of Dr. Cook's fraudulent story of the discovery of the Pole.

In regard to his family connections, Mr. Dilnot writes:

Philip Gibbs comes of a literary family. He was born Philip Hamilton Gibbs. He is one of the six sons of the late Henry Gibbs of the Board of Education (England), and Helen Hamilton. He is thus the brother of Cosmo Hamilton, the

well-known novelist and dramatist, who in 1898, for family reasons, legally adopted his mother's surname; of Anthony Hamilton Gibbs, whose books dealing with the west coast of Africa were widely praised, and of Major Arthur Hamilton Gibbs, M. C., Royal Field Artillery, author of "Rowlandson's Oxford," "The Compleat Oxford Man," "Cheadle and Son" and "The Hour of Conflict." . . . Those who have not met Philip Gibbs are enthusiastic about his literary gifts, but those who know him personally think less of his writing than of the man.

British people generally are proud of his achievements, and grateful to America for the reception that great nation has given one of Britain's gifted sons. They like to think, moreover, that he represents to the American people he has met, not only many special attainments but also that which is particularly precious to our race—a typical illustration in manners, speech, and character of an English gentleman.

FOUNDER OF THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AGRICULTURE

A SYMPATHETIC study of the character and work of the late David Lubin is contributed by Signor A. Agresti to *Nuova Antologia* (Rome). His personality is most interesting in a variety of aspects, not the least noteworthy of these being the fact that he illustrates the splendid work that may be done by a gifted Russian Jew of humble parentage when he comes into a favorable environment.

David Lubin was born in an obscure village in Eastern Russia in 1840. He lost his father when a mere child. His mother remarried, and the newly constituted family emigrated to the United States, the goal of their hopes, when David was but six years old. The child grew up in the city of New York, and at the age of fourteen was employed as polisher in a goldsmith's workshop. Dissatisfied with this occupation, he changed over to a sawmill, wherein he worked for three years, and then, at eighteen, he found his way out to the Far West.

After a brief experience in an Arizona mining camp, Lubin embarked in retail business in a small way, at first in San Francisco, and then in Sacramento. Here he soon became impressed with the waste of time and patience caused by chaffering over the cost of goods, and he determined to risk the innovation of having fixed prices. This he found to be a difficult matter, as the old practice was deeply rooted in the minds of the settlers.

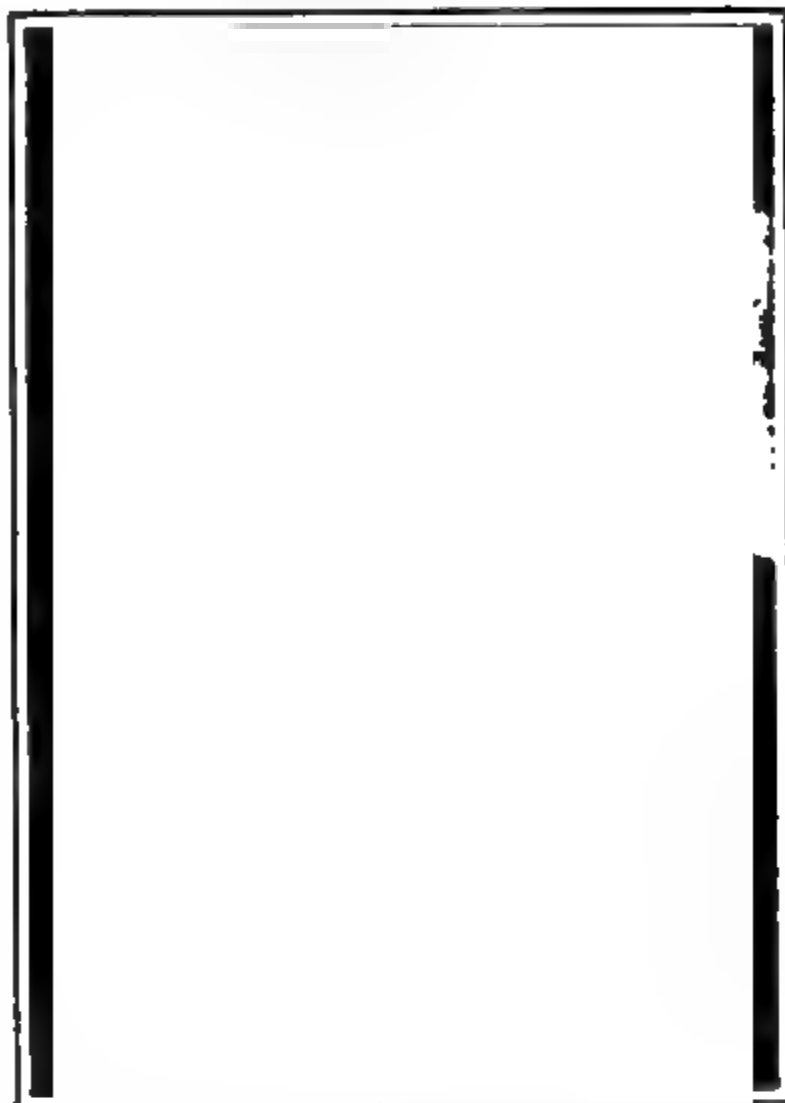
One day there came into his shop a customer who insisted upon bargaining, and when Lubin refused, sought to force him to take the lower sum offered. Losing patience, Lubin seized him by the shoulders and put him out of the shop, throwing after him the money he had laid on the counter, and ordering him never to show his face there again. In the evening, after shutting up shop, Lubin, who was of a studious frame of mind, was reading the Dialogues of Plato, when he heard the vociferations of a crowd outside and then a loud knocking at the shop door. He quickly understood that this meant the return of his unruly customer with a party of friends. Nevertheless, he threw open the door, ready to face the danger. His conjecture proved correct, the man was there, but turning to his friends he exclaimed: "Here is the most honest man in Sacramento! Let us buy up all he has in stock at his own prices." They did so, and in this unexpected way began the successful development of his Sacramento business. He became one of the pioneers of the department store and of the mail-order business, and prospered greatly.

Ever ready to enter new fields of activity, Lubin, after making a trip abroad in the course of which he was able to redeem a promise made long years before to take his mother to the Land of Promise, bought a grain and fruit ranch in California. Here he acquired practical experience in the diffi-

culties encountered by producers, and this stimulated him to do something to better their condition, for they were then suffering greatly from the actions of the railroads. By earnest and persistent efforts he succeeded in persuading the companies to give up their rule of accepting nothing less than full carloads of produce, a rule which made it impossible for the small producers to compete with the large shippers.

He now threw himself heart and soul into the cause of agricultural improvement. A second trip to Europe, made in 1895, because of ill-health, gave him an opportunity to visit the International Agricultural Congress of 1896, held in Budapest, and it was here that he conceived the idea of an International Agricultural Institute. On his return to the United States, he elaborated a plan for its realization, but the project failed to arouse much interest, many seeing in it nothing better than a kind of socialistic utopia. But Lubin, animated as he was with a strongly religious faith in human progress, persisted in his enterprise, did not lose courage, and sought to gain favor for it in England and France. Disappointed in this, he turned to Italy, where he succeeded in enlisting the support of King Victor Emmanuel III, and it was principally through his influence that the Institute came into being.

Lubin's idea was an international organization that would render it possible to bring the consumer into direct contact with the producer; that would make known to the latter the quantity of produce it would be profitable to cultivate for the market, and to the consumer the quantity that had been produced, thus making both fully aware of the exact state of crops and markets, and ren-



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THE LATE DAVID LUBIN

(Founder of the International Institute of Agriculture)

dering the task of the speculator a most difficult one. He also saw the social importance of such an organization, which would combat the exploitation of both consumers and producers by useless middlemen, and would thus remove one of the causes of distress among the poor.

He lived to see the association accepted by fifty-eight nations, handsomely housed and subventioned by the King of Italy, and progressing successfully along the path he had traced out for it.

HOW TO PREVENT THE BREEDING OF CRIMINALS

IN a series of articles contributed to the *New York Tribune* (copyrighted by the Princeton University Press), to which we referred in our April number, ex-Police Commissioner Arthur Woods, of New York, endeavors to solve the problem of prevention of crime by destroying the criminal breeding spots in our social system.

Mr. Woods divides criminals into professionals and amateurs. Of the amateurs

—detected and convicted—many become professionals by reason of faulty methods. It is therefore among the amateurs in crime that the first and greatest efforts should be made; primarily to prevent and, secondly, to cure. Those persons peculiarly subject to criminal acts are mental defectives, persons driven to desperation, and neglected children in faulty environment; and they may be treated in the order of their importance.

Mental defectives are persons with undeveloped mentality, but fully developed bodies, and are classified according to the ages at which their brains stopped growing. The New York Police Department's Psychopathic Laboratory estimated that twenty-five mental defectives a day are arrested for the commission of crimes. The problem is, what to do with them.

Mr. Woods says:

The crop of defectives is steadily increasing, since they are free to marry and bring forth children, and the individual defective who pays the specified penalty for his crime steadily progresses in criminal proficiency. . . . From other points of view besides the criminal it is clear that the need is imperative for grappling with the question of the mental defective, and trying to free the community of him. And from the criminal point of view alone we should not need to have so many policemen by a goodly percentage, even if we went no further in the matter than to ordain that such mental defectives as are convicted of crime should be immured until cured.

DRINK AND DRUGS

Commissioner Woods turns a new light on an old fact, when he says:

Drink and drugs are silent partners in many a crime. I sometimes think of them as a means by which a person born normal makes himself a defective (certainly and fairly speedily a moral defective, and, if he persist, very likely physically and mentally defective), and one cannot but wonder whether these self-made defectives should not be treated the same way as born defectives: confined and isolated until cured. . . . You don't send a smallpox patient to an isolation hospital to stay there for a fixed term; you keep him there until he is cured or until he dies—he must stay there until he ceases to be a menace to the public. . . .

The drug habit seems to be about as easy to acquire as it is difficult to check. For this reason, in spite of all the laws that have been passed and in spite of all the efforts to enforce them, it has grown to great proportions. One drug user in the neighborhood is a source of infection, practically sure to corrupt a number of others.

Mr. Woods argues strongly for the passage of a federal law which will absolutely prohibit habit-forming drugs, and for a Government monopoly where it does not prohibit; with distribution through a careful system of licenses, so that only reputable doctors could handle the drugs. By thus shutting off the supply, we could begin to accomplish the "cure" of the victims now among us, "without being oppressed by the gloomy thought that for every one patient cured probably a dozen more had fallen victims."

Mr. Woods puts a strong case for the relief of poverty by the police force, through

reporting urgent cases to the proper institutions and lending personal aid where necessary; just as most of the great-hearted policemen of New York have been doing quietly for years, without recognition or publicity, and usually out of their own pockets.

The boys and girls in a crowded city are hard put to it to find a place to play, and the attitude of annoyance and intolerance on the part of their elders, which arouses the spark of resentment toward society bring these growing children to a life of crime—especially if they have drunken, quarrelsome or careless parents; or bad surroundings. Mr. Woods attempted to find the cure for this condition. He says:

To see what might be done in this way we put into operation the plan of designating welfare officers, one in each residential precinct, with the single duty to look for boys who are going wrong and then try to help them to go right.

PREVENTION VS. PUNISHMENT

Commissioner Woods cites case after case, throughout the course of his discussion, of heart-touching episodes which illustrate how these new methods have proved their merit. His arguments for the complete isolation of drug addicts, mental defectives and insane persons until cured are not only convincing, but practical; for such isolation would prevent not only the increase of mental defectives through marriage and childbirth, but the spread of the drug habit among the normal citizens. He says:

Society has no wish to punish for the sake of punishing. Its real object in committing offenders to institutions is, although it does not always recognize this, to put them where they can do no harm, in the vague, optimistically irresponsible hope that they may learn better by the time they come out, and in sublime indifference to the fact that most of them, instead of learning better, learn worse. Society's greatest task with reference to criminals is to protect itself.

The clear inference is that confinement for the purpose of curing the offender, or isolation for the protection of society, is the object of our penal institutions, so-called; rather than the punishment of the offenders.

Commissioner Woods sums the whole matter up by saying:

Police force must try to keep crime from claiming its victims as boards of health try to keep plague and pestilence away. And police forces are bound to rise to this conception of their profession, for the public will demand it and will reward success, and the feeling of noblesse oblige will surge through their ranks and bring with it devotion to the larger duty and increasing capacity to fulfil it.

TESTING MEN FOR AVIATION

PROFESSOR G. M. STRATTON, of the University of California, writing in the *Scientific Monthly* (New York), on "Psycho-physical Tests of Aviators," tells us that "the application of psychology to the problem of discovering special aptitude for flying is one of the interesting developments of the war." The context of his article shows, however, that it is a development that has not yet fully developed. The work of which the author writes consisted in part of testing the *tests* rather than in testing the would-be aviators. Many tests were finally abandoned; others seem to be of value.

The leading pioneers in this field, or, at any rate, those whose work blazed the path for American investigators, were Nepper in France and Gemelli and Gradenigo in Italy. Nepper tested the ability of the subject to make rapid decisions by measurements of the rapidity of reaction to various signals in the regions of sight, hearing and touch.

Coolness Nepper tested by delicate apparatus familiar to all psychologists and physiologists, which gives a written record of one's breathing, of the changes of volume of blood in his finger, and of the steadiness with which it is possible for him to hold his hand, these records being obtained from the aviator in the first place under comparatively normal conditions, which were in due time suddenly changed by giving some violent form of surprise, either by a flash of light, or by cold water, or by a blank shot from a pistol near the man. On the basis of these two forms of experiment he classified his candidates into good and poor, and rejected those whom he regarded as unsuited for the work of aviation.

Gemelli and Gradenigo made use of the reaction-time experiment and of the test of emotional steadiness, much after the French fashion, and yet with modifications. An interesting enlargement of procedure on their part was by means of what is known as a "Carlinga," which reproduced in some respects the cockpit of an airplane and could be moved in various directions. The candidate blindfolded was required to indicate the vertical after he had been tilted from the vertical; and again, without being blindfolded, was required to respond quickly by means of his "joy stick" to some sudden tilt of the machine. His value as a future aviator was estimated in part by the character of his responses under these conditions.

Before psychological tests were introduced in the American air service, the candidate underwent a severe medical examination and also a "professional and mental" examination. The latter

was based upon the candidate's carefully written answers to several pages of questions that were

put to him with regard to his family history, his education, his business experience, his athletic interest and training, the character of the responsibilities placed upon him in civil life, the organizations to which he belonged, and his military experience. He had also to furnish letters testimonial from persons who knew him well, and credentials of his schooling. Of particular importance was the personal interview, when the applicant faced his military examiners and was required to clarify or supplement the facts given in the ways just described.

The psychological tests were designed to supplement, and not to replace, the tests previously in use. They were in part similar to those developed in France and Italy, but many additional features were proposed by Professor Brown and his assistants at the University of California, Professor Thorndike, of Columbia, Professor Henmon, of the University of Wisconsin, Doctor Burtt, of Harvard, and others.

Besides reaction time and emotional stability, aviators were tested as to their power rapidly to learn to form several complicated and untried combinations of muscular movements not unlike those which an aviator has to learn, the idea being that in this way the least skilful persons might be eliminated. Other tests were concerned with a careful recording and measuring of the success with which a person could stand motionless with eyes open and with eyes closed, indicating general and constant control over the muscles of his body as a whole.

He also had to show evidence of the fineness with which he could perceive gradual departures of his entire body from the perpendicular brought about by a mechanism of screws and levers, the test being aimed at his sensitivity, his power to perceive, rather than to control, since it might well be asked whether a nicety of perception of the position of the body is an important factor in guiding the aviator as he restores his airplane to its proper balance in the air. And, since the landing of the airplane is one of the difficult parts of the aviator's early task and requires judgment as well as careful response and control as he approaches the ground swiftly with his ship, he was tested as to his power to continue in imagination certain fragmentary curves that were given him; for his skill in landing might well require him to anticipate where his present course at any moment would, if continued, carry him and how he must needs alter it to make it suitable in angle, speed and place. A simple test of dexterity was also used; the candidate was required to balance one of a graded series of rods vertically upon his finger for a stated time to see how short a rod he could balance.

Careful comparisons were made between the indications afforded by these tests and actual aptitude for flying, as subsequently shown by the men admitted to the service,

and as determined by army officers in charge of the training of aviators.

The tests which under this stern trial proved to be of value were those on the perception of gradual tilt, on the power to stand steadily, as judged by the record which a man makes when a writing point attached to his head moves over a smoked surface, on his power quickly to discriminate between a sudden jerk of his body to the right or to the left, particularly when this is combined with his reaction time to a visual signal and to an auditory signal, and on the steadiness of his hand when a pistol shot is

fired behind his back. The tests which did not scientifically justify themselves were those upon a person's power to learn certain complicated combinations of movement of hand and foot, on the power to continue in imagination a fragment of a curve presented to him in model, and on dexterity. This latter test was disapproved not so much because it arrived at nothing which could be connected statistically with flying ability, as that it could so largely be influenced by practise, and practise would be invited if the test were introduced as a regular part of a board's examination, when the candidates would soon know beforehand that they would be tested on this feat of dexterity.

FLYING OVER THE ANDES

ONE of the landmarks in the history of aviation was established on December 12, last, by Lieutenant Dagoberto Godoy, of the Chilean Army, when he made an airplane flight from Santiago to Mendoza, crossing the Andean range at a height of 17,300 feet, thus breaking the world's record for height in crossing mountain ranges. The flight was made in a Bristol monoplane with a 110 horse-power Le Rhone motor. The distance of 210 kilometers was covered in one

hour and twenty-eight minutes at an average speed of 130 kilometers an hour.

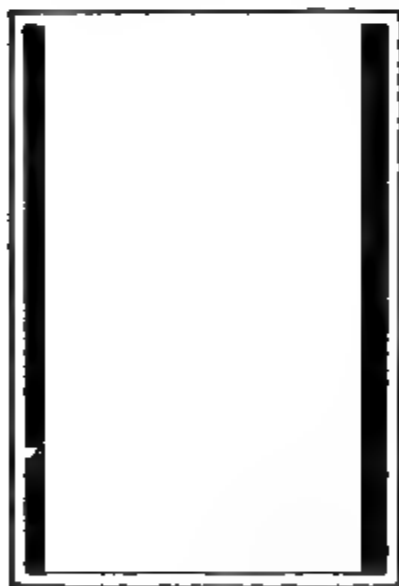
Two Argentinian aeronauts, Bradley and Zuloaga, had made a successful flight over the Andes in a balloon on July 24, 1918. In the preceding April a Lieutenant of engineers, Luis Candalaria, had crossed the southern ridge from Zapala

to Cunco at a height of 2000 meters. All other attempts to fly over the Andes had met with failure.

In the *Bulletin* of the Pan-American Union, from which we glean these facts, Lieutenant Godoy's own account of his flight and of the difficulties that he overcame is quoted in detail:

At that moment the motor missed and nearly stopped. I guessed what was the matter. The automatic engine was not working and the gasoline couldn't reach the carbureter. I worked an instant and the engine and rotary started up again before the change had affected the apparatus. I had to land. So I lessened the supply of gas slightly and began to descend slowly. The needle, which had reached a maximum of 17,300 feet, gradually lowered. Then the battle began, which lasted perhaps three or four minutes. The plane seemed to be crazy. That morning there had been a windstorm on the Argentinian side. Perhaps that was the result of the cyclone. Then—calm again. And there in the distance amongst the far-away foothills, insignificant when contrasted with the huge bulks I had just left, rose the outline of Mendoza, beyond the great plain, covered by a heavy veil of clouds.

Ten minutes later I was over the historic city. I could not see Tamarindos, the aviation camp, anywhere. I searched anxiously until I despaired of finding it. As there was a good field two leagues farther I started for it, unfortunately. I broke the screw propeller and the landing gear. I came to ground a little worn, my hands knotted from the cold, still rather uncomfortable from the rarity of the atmosphere in the heights, as I had not carried oxygen with me.



LIEUT. DAGOBERTO GODOY
OF THE CHILEAN ARMY

At last I was to get a bird's-eye view of the peaks upon which I had so often gazed from the track of my airdome. The Bristol mounted into space for a time. I had not yet looked downward. I had to watch my altimeter, my compass,

WINDS AND WEATHER OF THE TRANSOCEANIC AIR ROUTES

RECENT events have augmented popular interest in the subject of transatlantic flight, but it is several years since this subject began to be actively discussed. Strange to say, though the question of weather has necessarily figured in these discussions, the first comprehensive scientific account of the meteorological conditions over the North Atlantic as affecting aerial navigation has just made its appearance. It is from the pen of Mr. Willis Ray Gregg, of the United States Weather Bureau, and was published concurrently in the Bureau's *Monthly Weather Review* (Washington) and in certain unofficial journals. In the same number of the *Monthly Weather Review* appears an article by Dr. Griffith Taylor, of the Australian weather service, on the meteorological features of air routes to Australia.

For many years the Weather Bureau has prepared daily charts, in manuscript, of the weather conditions over the Atlantic, embodying data supplied by a large corps of shipboard observers, in addition to the reports of regular land stations on both sides of the ocean. Mr. Gregg and his colleagues have made a careful analysis of a file of these charts covering a period of ten years, and he is thus able to present definite information as to the percentage of days in each month of the year when on an average, favorable conditions for flying prevail over the routes that have been generally accepted as most propitious for transatlantic flight. These are, especially, a northern route, between St. Johns, Newfoundland, and Valentia, Ireland, and a southern route, between St. Johns and Portugal, *via* the Azores.

Mr. Gregg's article includes a great deal of valuable technical information that cannot be summarized here. His study of the Atlantic weather maps shows, among other things, the way in which areas of high and low barometric pressure and their attendant wind-systems cross the ocean, from west to east, and makes it possible to predict, with a high degree of confidence, whether, given a certain set of weather conditions, an aviator is or is not justified in embarking upon a transatlantic flight. Winds at the flying levels can be inferred with considerable accuracy from those prevailing at the earth's surface, according to laws that have been

worked out by meteorologists. Moreover, methods are now available of observing the upper winds directly. Mr. Gregg says:

This is being done very successfully at a large number of places in this country with kites carrying self-recording instruments known as meteorographs and with small rubber "pilot" balloons, whose movements through the air are followed by means of theodolites. The data thus obtained are telegraphed to the Central Office of the Weather Bureau, and bulletins are issued for the information of aviators in the Aerial Mail Service, Army and Navy Aviation Services, etc. Another method of determining wind conditions that has been used in the war and at ordnance proving grounds, is by means of so-called "Archie" bursts, which consist of puffs of smoke from a shell, the fuse being so timed that the shell bursts at any desired altitude. The movements of these smoke puffs are observed in a graduated mirror and the wind directions and velocities at the given height are readily computed. When low clouds are present several shells are sent above the clouds at stated intervals, usually half a minute apart, an airplane of known speed flies from the first smoke cloud to the last, and the aviator is thus able quite accurately to determine the current wind conditions and to set his compass course accordingly. Still another method used in France during cloudy weather consists in sending up small balloons which carry small charges of melinite so arranged that they burst successively at regular intervals. Sound telemeters record the explosions, and the position in space of the points of detonation can be thus determined. All of these methods are comparatively simple on land; they are less so at sea, yet some of them at least are by no means impossible, except in very stormy conditions.

In transatlantic flight wind is all-important, since unfavorable winds would prevent the aviator from reaching the end of his journey before his fuel-supply was exhausted. Mr. Gregg describes a set of weather conditions under which an airplane having a speed in still air of 90 miles an hour could fly from Newfoundland to Ireland in 17 hours. With neither aid nor hindrance from the winds the journey would take 21 hours; while with opposing winds it would be prolonged beyond the latter period and might easily lead to disaster. Of another important meteorological factor Mr. Gregg says:

One of the most serious obstacles to transatlantic flight appears to be the large percentage of days on which fog occurs, particularly near the American coast. This amounts in the regions southeast and east of Newfoundland to about 60

per cent. in summer and about 20 to 35 per cent. in winter, the frequency in the latter season being greatest to the southeast. Near the Irish coast it varies from about 10 per cent. in summer to 5 per cent. in winter. Fogs rarely occur near the Azores or between them and Portugal.

There is, however, abundant evidence that sea-fogs are generally quite shallow. This fact was strikingly brought out in the investigations made by the *Seneca* and the *Scotia*, of the International Ice Patrol, when an observer at the masthead was often above a fog that was dense at the level of the deck.

The author's elaborate discussion leads him to the following conclusions:

1. In the present stage of their development and until improvements give them a much larger cruising radius than they now have, airplanes can not safely be used for transatlantic flight except under favorable conditions of wind and weather.

2. Observations of conditions over as great an area as possible, and particularly along and near any proposed course, should therefore be available at as frequent intervals as possible, these observations to include upper-air as well as surface conditions.

3. With such observations at hand the meteorologist is able quickly to determine the current and probable future wind conditions along a proposed route and to advise an aviator as to the suitability of a day for a flight.

4. If a day is favorable, the meteorologist is able to indicate the successive directions toward which an airplane should be headed in order to keep to any desired course; also, to calculate the assistance that will be furnished by the winds.

5. Inspection of marine weather maps shows that at an altitude of 500 to 1000 meters condi-

tions are favorable for an eastward trip approximately one-third of the time, the percentage being slightly greater along the northern than along the southern route. At greater altitudes the percentage of favorable days materially increases, especially along the northern route. For the westward trip the percentage of favorable days is so small as to make transatlantic flight in this direction unpracticable until the cruising radius of aircraft is increased to such an extent that they are relatively independent of wind conditions.

6. All things considered, conditions for an eastward flight are most favorable along the northern course; for a westward flight they are most favorable along the southern course; that is, the prevailing westerly winds are less persistent along this course than farther north.

7. There seems to be little choice as to season, for, although the prevailing westerly winds are stronger in winter than in summer, yet on the other hand, stormy conditions are more prevalent in winter, and the net result is about an equal percentage of favorable days in the two seasons. Moreover, the greater fog percentage in summer just about offsets the greater percentage of cloudiness in winter. Fog is a disadvantage chiefly because of its interference in making observations with drift indicators. The Newfoundland fogs in general are of small vertical extent and do not extend far inland. They should not, therefore, prove a hindrance to landing, if the landing field is located some distance from the coast.

8. Most important of all, there is need for a comprehensive campaign of meteorological and aerological observations over the North Atlantic in order that aviators may be given data for whose accuracy the meteorologist need not hesitate to vouch, instead of information based on so small a number of observations, particularly of free air conditions, that the deductions, including some of those in this paper, are assumed and not proved, are given with caution, and are "subject to change without notice."

THE LATEST AID TO NAVIGATION

"A COIL of wire, a dial registering 360 degrees, a hollow steel shaft and an automobile steering wheel have overcome the terrors of fog and storm to mariners approaching port." Thus Mr. Jerome Lachenbruch, radio electrician, U.S.N.R.F., describes in the *Scientific American* one of the most notable inventions that were brought to the stage of practical utility by the exigencies of the late war. As a desideratum toward the fulfilment of which inventors were working, much had been heard before the war of the radio compass, or direction-finder. To-day this so-called "compass" is in actual use. It is contributing to the safety of mariners, and it is destined to be of indispensable value to aeronauts. The story of the radio

compass has just been revealed. Mr. Lachenbruch's article appears to be the first detailed description given to the public. He writes:

With the coming of peace, the attitude of absolute secrecy maintained by the Navy Department in regard to the many inventions perfected by this branch of the military establishment, has relaxed; and the scientific means whereby the men of the navy helped to protect our ports, may now be disclosed. The radio compass, which has served us in time of war, is now meeting the needs of peace,

It is not generally known that wireless operators are on watch every second of the day at various naval shore stations in the vicinity of New York; nor that, during the war, operators timed the length of, as well as the interval between dots and dashes whose characteristics aroused suspicion, all the while manipulating

the wheel of the radio compass to obtain a direction on the sending station. This exhausting work proved to be of valuable assistance in locating enemy wireless stations that persisted in the surreptitious use of radio despite the government's war order restricting the activities of all but government radio stations.

The radio compass is a device for receiving wireless signals and indicating the direction from which they come.

In construction, the radio compass differs from the usual radio receiving set mainly in the type of antenna used. The familiar sight of several strands of wire stretched at considerable length between high masts is absent. In place of the stationary, space-consuming aerial, is a rotating five-foot frame with a few turns of stranded copper-bronze wire wound about it. The frame is mounted on a vertical steel shaft which projects downward through the roof of the radio building into the room where the operator is on watch. In many stations, a cupola has been built about the frame with the double purpose of affording protection against the elements and of concealing its presence. At the base of the shaft, and within easy reach of the operator, the wheel which controls the turning of the frame is attached. The compass dial, usually a circular aluminum band, with the 360 degrees of the compass clearly engraved on its surface, is fastened to the shaft near the roof of the radio "shack," but the indicator is placed in a permanent north and south direction.

There is also a device for increasing the strength of incoming signals to about eight times their normal degree of audibility. The mode of operation of the compass, as nearly as it can be stated in non-technical language, is as follows: In the attached diagram we see the square frame, with its coil of wire, which projects above the roof of the building and serves as antenna. A wireless signal is due to electro-magnetic waves, traveling through the ether, which fills all space. In the diagram the frame is shown in a position parallel to the oncoming wave (represented by the curved line). The wave "induces" electric currents of opposite direction in the two sides of the wire coil. These tend to neutralize each other, but they are of different strengths because produced by different portions, or "phases," of the wave.

Although the one tends to obliterate the other, the difference in strength between them is conserved and heard in the telephones. However, if an incoming electro-magnetic wave strikes the plane of the antenna *perpendicularly*, the currents induced in both sides of the compass will be equal in strength, of the same phase and amplitude, and will neutralize each other. No sound is then heard in the telephones. By means of the rotating

antenna, the angle at which an electro-magnetic wave acts on it can be controlled by the operator. Thus the intensity of an oncoming signal can be increased, diminished or completely tuned out by a turn of the wheel. It is evident, then, that when the plane of the antenna is parallel to the direction of the oncoming wave, the sound heard in the phones will represent the maximum strength of the oncoming wave. By turning the antenna until this point is found, the maximum strength of any signal can be ascertained; and consequently, the position of the ship or shore station sending it will be disclosed. But to be more accurate, two positions are made known, 180 degrees apart. By consulting the diagram, the reason for this is apparent. It will be observed that two waves coming from opposite directions will affect the radio compass in the same manner.

In actual practice, however, a shore station operator knows that the coast line limits the arc of the compass in which he may expect to locate a ship. Moreover, to secure the best possible results in the every-day operation of the radio compass in guiding vessels into the port of New York, five radio compass stations have been established at strategic nautical points on the coast near New York. Each station is connected by a land line telegraph instrument with a central controlling radio station located in the office of the District Communication Superintendent, at 44 Whitehall street.

The close connection between the compass stations and the control station simplifies the details of communication with vessels at sea. Within a few minutes a ship may receive definite information as to its position. When a ship approaches the coast, the operator aboard calls New York and asks for his bearing. The ship does not get into direct communication with the various compass stations as they are equipped only with receiving sets, and so cannot reply. However, the radio operator at the central controlling station, in answering the ship's call, transmits a signal to the ship to send its call letters for 30 seconds. At the same time, a telegraph operator at the control station notifies the various compass stations, by means of a three-letter signal sent simultaneously, to obtain a bearing on the ship sending her call letters. Immediately the various stations in the district, at Montauk Point, L. I., Fire Island, L. I., Rockaway Beach, L. I., Sandy Hook, N. J., and Mantoloking, N. J., turn their compass wheels until an accurate bearing is obtained at each station. This is transmitted to the telegraph operator at the control station, who waits until all stations have sent their bearings before turning them over to the radio operator. The latter, when all the compass stations have been heard from, flashes by radio the bearing, in degrees, of the ship on the different shore stations. An acknowledgment from the ship of the receipt of the desired information completes the operation.

Knowing his bearing from two or more points on shore, the navigator can, of course, easily determine his exact location by means of his chart, and thus avoid the danger of going astray in thick weather.

THE NEW AMERICANISM

IT was not until the Great War brought to us the startling realization that one-sixth of our population was foreign, in language and ideals; that the rest of the hundred million began to wonder whether, after all, America was the melting-pot of the world. We had laid great stress on the claim that America could fuse the races of the world into a new race typically American; but the maze of plot and counterplot, of espionage and destruction, of foreign economic domination of our basic industries, smote the American-American between the eyes with solid fact untempered by idealism.

Men high in public office, in the Patent Office, even in our Intelligence Service, were found to be working directly for certain foreign governments. Nearly one-fourth of the men enlisted under the Draft Act were unable to read an American newspaper or to write a letter home. And so there was organized at Camp Upton, on August 21, 1918, the Sixth Development Battalion of 1500 men who could not read or write English, under the command of Major Ralph Hall Ferris. Says the *New York Times*:

The teachers selected were privates or non-commissioned officers who held university degrees or who were teachers in civil life. Race was not considered in the choosing of officers. It was soon proven that squads and platoons composed of different nationalities received their military instruction as easily as if racial groups had been organized for the purpose. Only English was permitted to be spoken in the mess halls, military formations and general gatherings of the men. Instruction except in the elementary classes was given in English.

Within three months men who could speak little or no English when they entered the battalion became sufficiently proficient in military English to fulfill the ordinary functions of soldiers both in organization and on separate missions. In addition practically all of the recruits proved their spirit of Americanism by becoming citizens.

The War Department now brings into being the "Recruit Educational Center," with fifty barracks and other buildings for its use, at Camp Upton; and Major Ferris is preparing to resume charge of the work. Illiterate recruits from the Atlantic and Great Lake States will be taught English and will receive American training from officers born here, attaining full citizenship at the expiration of their three-year enlistments.

The resumption of the great work of the

Sixth Development Battalion under substantially the same plan means the classification of the men into fifteen or twenty groups according to progress shown and their knowledge of English upon entrance. The normal course of instruction is four months, running to six in exceptional cases. A board of examiners will determine by suitable tests the rate of progress, with special attention to backward men, and as soon as the men have attained sufficient development, Major Ferris will report them to the War Department for disposition to regular military commands.

Brig.-Gen. Nicholson, commanding Camp Upton, in reviewing the plan, says:

The organization of the Recruit Educational Center at Camp Upton is a great constructive plan of Americanization. The idea underlying the Recruit Educational Center will unquestionably meet with nation-wide approval since it makes for better citizenship and for a higher order of Americanism. It will be a distinct step toward making the people of the United States appreciate that those responsible for the functioning of the army are really trying to make our army a people's army.

The army, like every other great agency in the country, has, in view of the unusual conditions incident to the war, a great opportunity to do in a short space of time what would otherwise have taken decades to accomplish. The Recruit Educational Center is simply one phase of this great opportunity; in its adoption the army will receive due credit for a far-seeing policy; and we shall be doing now what will be demanded of the army later when thought along the lines of reconstruction begins to crystallize.

Europe has for centuries suffered from the bitter racial antagonisms of its various peoples. America is no place to perpetuate these antagonisms, and no method has been conceived which will so successfully eliminate racial antagonisms as the Camp Upton plan which the War Department has adopted for its Recruit Educational Center.

Surely, the thing most to be desired in an American is patriotism, linked with an alert, self-reliant efficiency, intellectual idealism, and a love of law-abiding liberty. A three-year period in the United States Army will teach love of and respect for our flag and our country, its ideals and its institutions. The schools, the polls and the newspapers will have an ever-increasing influence on the health, sense and morals of the people; and these must also be turned to the development of American citizens with the motto, "America First!" We should deny admission to aliens who maintain divided allegiance or do not desire to become citizens.

GEOLOGY AND GEOGRAPHY IN THE WAR, AND AFTER

THE many-sidedness of modern warfare was not realized when the late war began; or at least not on the side of the Entente allies. Even now the general public is only learning piecemeal of the innumerable applications which it was found possible and necessary to make of all kinds of knowledge to the business of fighting; applications which will be accepted as a matter of course in a future war, if one should, unhappily, occur.

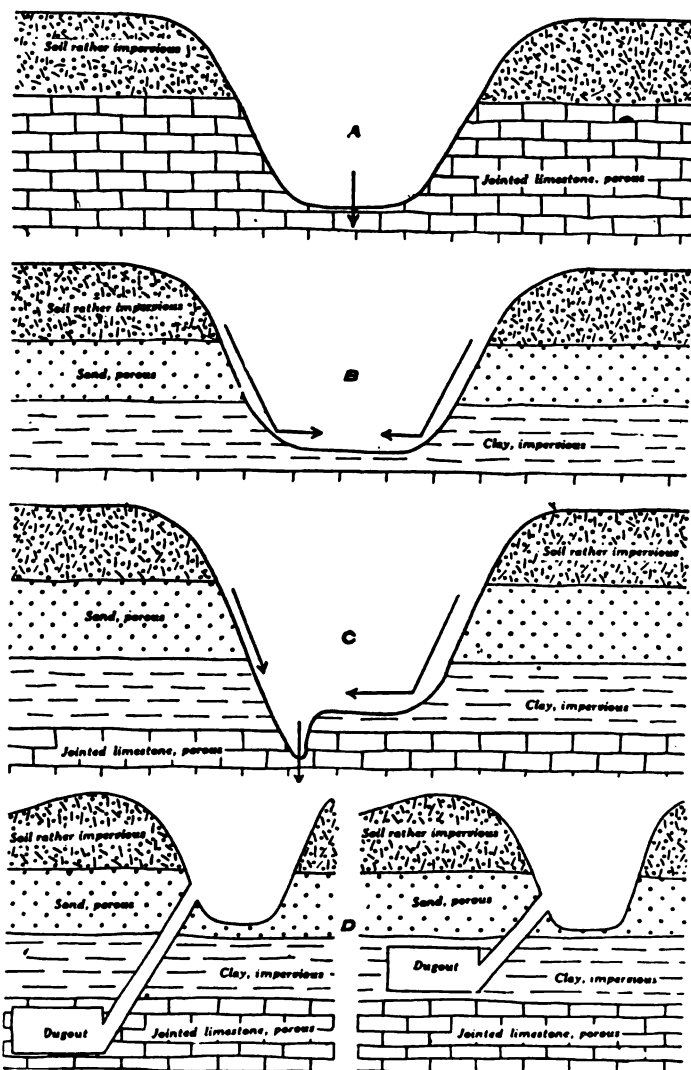
Mr. F. W. DeWolf, of the Illinois State Geological Survey, tells in *School Science and Mathematics* (Chicago) of the up-hill work which American geologists and geographers had to convince the Government that their special knowledge might be used effectively in the prosecution of the war. He says:

Our geologists and geographers tried unsuccessfully in 1917 to have technical units organized for service at the front, and to introduce certain kinds of instruction in the officers' training camps. In 1918 these hopes were partly realized when a number of geologists and geographers were commissioned in the War College Intelligence Office, and the geological service with General Pershing began to expand. Later the educational committee in charge of the Students' Army Training Corps courses planned to require certain courses in map reading, map-making and military geology.

By the time hostilities ended specialists in these lines were carrying on a wide range of activities in the Army, and in connection with home industries essential to a successful outcome of the war. Mr. DeWolf says:

Of first importance was the making of accurate topographic

maps of large scale for control of artillery fire. About one hundred commissioned topographers from the U. S. Geological Survey were engaged in the work on the American lines, and in co-operation with the French. A map-printing plant larger than the combined plants in Wash-



From *School Science and Mathematics*

CORRECT AND INCORRECT METHODS OF LOCATING TRENCHES AND DUGOUTS

- A. Correct trench construction. Water escapes through the porous jointed limestone.
- B. Incorrect trench construction. Water is held in trench by impervious clay.
- C. Correct trench construction under same conditions as "B," when it is not feasible to sink the whole trench to the level of the porous limestone as in "A." A small drainage trench carries water down into the porous limestone, permitting its escape.
- D. To the left, properly placed dugout. Drainage takes place readily through the limestone, making the dugout relatively dry. To the right, improperly placed dugout. Water fails to escape through the impervious clay and the dugout is subject to very poor drainage or even flooding.

ington and capable of producing nearly 1,000,000 maps each month was erected and operated. Many of the maps were revised and re-issued daily. As a result, all officers realized as never before the dependence of an army on topographic maps.

Related to map-making was the building of relief models. These revealed the visibility of the country from observation posts; and by the aid of special instruments assisted in controlling shell-fire on enemy targets. Finished models showing relief and villages and roads were made by the thousands, and in the remarkable time of a few hours for each mold.

Another vital need of the army was an enormous supply of water for men and horses, for concrete construction work, and for power plants and locomotives. Geologists made maps showing locations of springs and of shallow and deep water-bearing rocks. They also supervised the boring of wells, especially in the British army.

Supplies of rock, gravel, and sand were also needed in large amounts for building roads, gun foundations, dugouts, supply depots, and harbor works. Geologists assisted in locating these materials.

Finally, maps and diagrams were made of the rock formations along the lines held by our army, and by the enemy, in order to show their suitability for the construction of trenches, dugouts, and mines. It was possible to observe existing works, and then to predict the conditions in new areas which were geologically similar. Thus, it was possible to say in advance whether trenches would stand without revetment of the walls; whether they would be wet or dry during certain seasons; and to advise regarding tools which would be needed to construct defensive works. Maps were prepared to show the probable effect of artillery fire on the formations; thus, whether the rocks would shatter and add to the casualties; and whether barrage fire would make the ground impassable for tanks.

No less important than the services thus rendered in the war zone was the work of geologists at home in developing domestic mineral supplies for essential industries. This work was carried on by the U. S. Geological Survey, the U. S. Bureau of Mines, the State Geological Surveys, and individual mining engineers and metallurgists.

The average citizen was aware of the threatened shortage of coal and oil, but did not realize that we were dependent on foreign imports of manganese, chromium, and molybdenum for steel making; of pyrite and platinum for making acids for explosives; of graphite and clay for metallurgical crucibles and retorts; of antimony for hardening lead bullets; of potash for fertilizers; of optical glass for instruments; and of numerous other minerals for essential purposes. Geologists pointed out that the development of domestic supplies of many of these minerals would lessen the danger of submarine attacks on vital commerce, and would permit the use of more ships for transfer of soldiers and munitions to Europe. Fur-

thermore, to relieve railroad burdens, many ordinary domestic minerals were located and developed in new places close to market.

The results were so successful that many large ships were transferred to direct war service, and many of the industries formerly dependent on imported minerals were largely or wholly supplied from home sources.

The energy expended by geologists and geographers in behalf of war objects served to demonstrate the immense importance of the "earth sciences" to the nation under conditions of peace as well as warfare. The writer declares that

we have gained an added conviction of the fundamental value of topographic maps for defensive and offensive warfare; in the selection of routes for highways, railroads, electric power, and communication lines; in the development of drainage and of water supplies; in the search for, and development of, minerals and other natural resources. The topographic map of the United States should be completed, not in 80 or 90 years, according to the former rate of progress, but in twelve or fifteen years. The map of Illinois should not proceed at the old rate, which promised completion in 1960, but should be finished by 1930. The cost will be more than saved to the taxpayers by eliminating surveys for roads, water supplies, and other necessary developments throughout the entire State.

Similarly, geology has again demonstrated its practical value in locating water for domestic and industrial uses, and stone, gravel, and sand for building of roads, railroads, and other structures. A state like Illinois, about to invest \$60,000,000 in the beginning of a hard-road system should first locate and investigate the materials which are available close to the selected routes. Furthermore, a state about to build a great waterway should know the location and usefulness of the heavy, slow-moving mineral wealth in the adjacent territory which will help furnish profitable cargoes.

Again, we have seen in connection with minerals for war industries, the value of statistics of mineral production, of lists of producers, and of geological investigation of possible new sources of supply, in advance of acute need. Thus, in Illinois, we owe it to the nation, as well as ourselves, to collect accurate statistics, to complete an inventory of our enormous mineral wealth, and to encourage new or improved methods for its production, conservation, and wise utilization.

But while some of us, who needed no demonstration, have seen the justification of practical geography and geology, we have been dismayed to find, even in high places, that there was little, if any, advance appreciation of the military, industrial, and social significance of these sciences. They had been considered purely cultural and academic! No conception of their importance existed in the academics at West Point or Annapolis, in the intelligence service, or in the early organization of the boards for war industries, war trade, and fuel control.

THE EUROPEAN BOURGEOISIE

IN two successive numbers of the *Bibliothèque Universelle* (Switzerland), Edouard Combe discusses pregnant problems of the time. In the first article he discourses with much warmth upon the status and achievements of the bourgeoisie; in the second, upon the problem of nationalization and coöperation.

In view of the social conflicts—he writes—looming up before us, every one should know what he is contending for. The forces rallying to conserve the heritage of centuries of labor, the conquests of a patient, persevering evolution, should realize the grandeur of their task. The name "bourgeois"—in Socialist parlance a synonym for every sort of baseness—should be reclaimed by those worthy to bear it, as an honorable, glorious title.

The essential elements of production are capital, brains, labor.

The actual bourgeoisie comprises:

1. A small minority of the idle rich, who have paid workers to manage their capital; they are, properly speaking, parasites.

2. Active capitalists: bankers, financiers, engaged in efforts to increase their accumulated riches; not a very large class, but playing an important rôle; a class which has, above all, abused its position by arrogating to itself a sort of dictatorship.

3. Industrial heads, merchants, technicians, engineers, chemists, architects. This category, necessarily closely allied with financiers, is where initiative, the creator of wealth, is mainly concentrated. It represents the *interested* part of brain activity.

- (4) Scholars, professors, philosophers, pedagogues, doctors.

- (5) A whole army of salaried men who evidence an increasing tendency to copy the syndicalist methods of labor.

- (6) A considerable body who labor for beauty: men of letters, poets, artists, musicians. Their work is the hardest to estimate, since, though among the most precious of human possessions, its value is only determined by time; so that the majority in these fields are obliged to eke out a living by additional, inferior labor, depressing to the spirit and prejudicial to their chosen work.

Such at present is that "bourgeoisie" so violently condemned by socialist theorizers. We see that in the far greater part it con-

stitutes the bulk of the "brains," that second component of the productive trinity. Educated, as a rule, it is skeptical of quacks, shrugs its shoulders at the specious remedies of demagogues. It prefers, while awaiting the dawn of justice, to work and suffer in silence. But perhaps it does not assert its right to live vigorously enough.

The matter stands thus: All that humanity has thus far produced of what is useful, great, durable, has been the work of the bourgeoisie. Bourgeois, the creators of great industries and machinery which have revolutionized the world of production. Bourgeois, all the philosophers and thinkers who have unremittingly devoted themselves to solve the problems of life; yea, bourgeois, too, the theorists of socialism and anarchy. Bourgeois, all the philanthropists, whose efforts have procured a little more ease and security for mankind. Look at any list of celebrated men and women of our generation and those directly preceding—99 out of 100 will bear the names of the bourgeoisie.

And we should blush to belong to that élite? No. Even those among us, so numerous, whose life is a daily struggle, will honor our origin and say to our detractors: "We are bourgeois and claim that without us the great social problems confronting us will never be solved, for we form an indispensable part of the mechanism of humanity."

And let him who has the example of Russia before him dare to contradict us!

In the second article the writer reiterates that the evils of the present social organization are due not to the existence of capital—which is recognized by all serious economists as indispensable—but to the dictatorship of capital in the trinity of production.

The heads of the Bolshevik movement—which to-day threatens the world with total ruin—recognized the misdeeds of that dictatorship, but they erred in believing that they could remedy the matter by a simple transfer of dictatorship to the proletariat.

It would, M. Combe remarks, be impossible to touch in a brief article upon all the phases of this important issue. His aim is simply to indicate—since all recognize that we are on the eve of overturning the existing social and economic conceptions—what he regards a wholesome organization of great industrial production, one which would take the place of the present capitalist régime,

without causing its ruin. We cannot enter into the details of the writer's reasoning, but give some of his salient points:

Economists contend with right that the state, a political body, is not competent to undertake tasks inherently economic. The essential thing is to distinguish clearly between the possessorship of capital and the

means of utilizing it. For the latter the rational principle is to entrust its exploitation to those, collectively, who are directly interested, whether as laborers, technicians, directors, etc. These bodies would form for each production a coöperative enterprise in which every member would be interested, according to a scale to be established.

THE RE-BIRTH OF SPANISH TASTE IN ARGENTINA

WHEN, a few years ago, Enrique Larreta left the Embassy in Paris to return to his home, the press of Paris saluted him as one of the most ardent propagandists of French culture in South America: "He goes," said *Figaro* "carrying our image, to make it beloved by his compatriots."

E. Gómez Carrillo (in *Cosmópolis*, Madrid) rejoices that Señor Larreta has returned to the Argentine. His political career closed, says Carrillo, he has become wholly Argentinian again, "confessing, with noble frankness, his antipathy to the Gallization of taste."

"My pride," said he when showing his house to Señor Carrillo, "consists in having created here this bit of Spanish nationalism which surprises you so much. This house is my *best work*—because it is a concrete example of the traditional taste of my native land."

Martin Noel has described the house at great length—drawing on art of all ages in his enthusiasm for comparison. Alberto Blancas states that "later this house will become a museum—as from it proceeds a nationalistic, a traditional current that will completely renew our spiritual life."

To-day, and indeed for some time previous, Argentinian art, taste, and customs have shown a marked tendency to the Spanish: "the chaste, the lofty." Argentina's painters are true sons of Zuloaga, Anglada, Romero de Torres; her historians search the archives of noble Colonial Spain; her architects disdain the "florid elegancies" of Paris to follow meticulously pure Andalusian models.

Each year this movement is becoming stronger—the Argentine is becoming less cosmopolitan, more Spanish. The influence of North European architecture is yielding to the purity of Andalusia, to the "gracious

severity" of Castile. At the magic touch of Larreta a legion of architects has sprung up to carry out the new movement. No longer will a new millionaire order his "pocket Trianon."

One of the leaders of this movement—Martin Noel—says, "Following this current we shall merely return to our origin and continue the work of our Castilian grandfathers of the XVIIIth century"—the first step in this direction was the restoration of the church of Luján in Buenos Aires, which was initiated by Señor Noel to form "a museum of colonial art which will become our true school of traditional art."

Two distinct periods are exemplified in the Church of Luján: the earlier resembles the work of D. Juan de Lezica, in a chapel built in 1763; the later is pure Spanish of about 1800. The earlier part shows traces of local, or South American, influence—thus the building is peculiarly suitable as a monument of Argentinian architecture.

Señor Noel points out the fallacy of considering the Colonial period in the Argentine as falling in the middle of the last century. He considers it to be about 1750. His enthusiasm for this period is unbounded—he hopes to revive a taste for the best in Spanish art by restoring ancient buildings.

Neither Martin Noel, Alberto Blancas, Roberto Soto Acebal, nor any of those who are following the leadership of Larreta, are becoming rich but they are creating "a new Spain in the Pampas"—an aspect purer and less cosmopolitan than the Russian, Italian or German emigrants have produced when seeking to console their homesickness by absurd copies of their abandoned houses.

"A Spanish church in the midst of each village," says Señor Blancas, "is sufficient to transform, to picturesquely Hispaniolize any Argentine people."

A FRENCH CRITIC IN SOUTH AMERICA

ABOUT the year 1907 certain articles of literary criticism appeared in the *Mercury* (of Santiago de Chile) over the pen name of Omer Emeth; from the first the readers' attention was attracted by the mellowness, the erudition, and the literary style of his works—a style free from Spanish showiness.

Felix Nieto del Rio (in *Cuba Contemporánea*) presents the following view of Emilio Vaisse (whose pen name, as above, is Omer Emeth).

Emilio Vaisse, educated for the priesthood in France, at twenty-five years of age, was sent to South America, where he served as missionary in Bolivia, Northern Chile and Peru. He finally became chaplain of a hospital in Santiago (Chile), where he was able to pursue his literary studies.

His literary criticism was confined chiefly to the fruit of Chilean intellect. Don Carlos S. Vildósola, editor of the *Mercury*, immediately recognized the value of his work and arranged for a weekly article. These articles have appeared weekly, without interruption, since 1907. He has also written for *La Revista Historica y Geografia*, the *Boletin de la Academia, Familia, Zig Zag* and other publications.

In 1912 Vaisse was made chief of the section of information of the National Library. Here he was able to start publication of the *Review of Chilean and Foreign Bibliography*—the only publication of its kind in South America. To date one volume (as far as letter "B") has been printed. The object of this publication is the preservation of Chilean writings of all kinds; the attribution of various articles (unsigned or published under a pseudonym) to the authors; the correction of errors. In short, the series will present to the world a complete archive of Chilean intellectual production.

Omer Emeth is an orthodox Catholic—but the Catholic creed is not his standard of literary criticism.

His taste has been formed through knowledge of the best French and Castilian literature, joined to a close study of South American literature—yet "his critical T square is French."

His criticism is noted for a certain stiff-

ness—a tendency to classify and label. His phrases are dry—his periods sharp. He lacks capacity to understand and appreciate "lofty poetical sentiments, the subtilities of symbolism, emotional passions."

Though Vaisse may lack rhythm and emotion, he excels in irony; he would not be French if he had not inherited it from the very air of his birthplace. His criticism is kindly, nevertheless—frequently omitting observations about the language of an author, since (as he says) it is not fair to judge language in a country where no one studies Latin or Greek as the base of a literary career.

The younger intellectuals (of Chile) view the criticism of Omer Emeth with disgust: the poets accuse him of insensibility to artistic conceptions; petty historians disdain his minute judgment of details—orators dislike his dryness, novelists his small knowledge of the world. He is accused of maligning South American literature by calling it "tropical," saying it is "florid emptiness" and contains many useless figures—a common vice of the writers of many warm climates, because their education has not embraced the study of classic or modern idiom, philosophy or rhetoric. This adverse criticism has often vexed Omer Emeth. At times he has decided to drop judgment of any but new European works.

Vaisse believes the literature of each country should tend to the formation of suitable characteristics, whether Argentinian, Chilean, or Cuban.

He predicts a renaissance of classic study as a preparation for literature and the imitation of great works by Americans such as Bello, Cuervo, Caldas, Lastarria and Montalvo.

The masters of Vaisse are Boileau, La Fontaine and Flaubert—to whom he frequently refers—while Rabelais, Renan, France and Gourmont have influenced him strongly.

The reconciliation of the exegesis of modern and traditional theology, as sought by M. Mignot, is assuredly the ideal of Vaisse, yet his reputation will rest on his enormous bibliographical work—the definitive bibliography of Chile.

THE NEW BOOKS

INTERNATIONALISM AND THE HERITAGE OF WAR

The Society of Free States. By Dwight W. Morrow. Harper & Brothers. 223 pp. \$1.25.

Mr. Morrow analyzes the possibilities and difficulties of the League of Nations, from the standpoint of a practical lawyer and business man, who has had recent experience in obtaining international coöperation in the work of the Allied Maritime Transport Council, one of the coöperative agencies forced upon the Allies by the pressure of the war. He devotes a chapter to an account of this interesting organization. In other respects Mr. Morrow's discussion of the League of Nations does not differ materially from other recent writings on the same subject, save that the point of view throughout is more practical and less idealistic.

A Society of States. By W. T. S. Stallybrass. E. P. Dutton & Company. 243 pp. \$2.

An English authority on international law states in this volume the theory of the sovereign state, and explains the practical meaning of its sovereign independence and equality, as developed by the practise of statesmen and the beliefs of international lawyers. He then discusses to what extent, if at all, these conceptions of sovereignty will undergo a change if a League of Nations is constituted, and concludes with a consideration of the relation of the proposed changes to the true purposes of state existence. Like Mr. Morrow, he does not attempt to dodge the difficulties inherent in any scheme of this kind, believing that if some difficulties are not faced now, they will have to be met with when it is too late.

League of Nations. By Alfred Owen Crozier. Lecouver Press Company. 196 pp. 50 cents.

The author of this work sent to President Wilson a plan for a League of Nations as early as August, 1914. His present book is mainly a plea for a mutual, limited international government, rather than a mere alliance.

The Covenant of Peace. By H. N. Brailsford. B. W. Huebsch. 32 pp. 25 cents.

This essay by Mr. Brailsford took the prize in the *English Review's* contest for the best essay on a League of Nations. The judges included the Master of Balliol, Lord Parmore, General Sir Ian Hamilton, Professor Bury, H. G. Wells and John Galsworthy.

Constitutional Power and World Affairs. By George Sutherland. Columbia University Press. 202 pp. \$1.50.

Apropos of the revival of interest in the extent and limitations of the external powers of our

national government, former Senator Sutherland's discussion is most timely. Before it was embodied in a book, it took the form of a series of lectures on the Blumenthal Foundation at Columbia University. The concluding chapter looks forward to the era of reconstruction, following the Great War.

The Political Scene. By Walter Lippmann. Henry Holt & Company. 124 pp. \$1.

A brilliant and penetrating essay on the victory of 1918. For several months, in the spring of 1917, Mr. Lippmann served in the War Department. Later he was Secretary of the inquiry conducted by Colonel House, to prepare data for the Peace Commission, and during the latter half of 1918 he was in Paris as an officer in Military Intelligence, attached to the staff of Colonel House and the Peace Commission.

Problems of Peace. By Guglielmo Ferrero. G. P. Putman's Sons. 281 pp. \$1.50.

It is peculiarly interesting at this juncture to read this message from the Italian historian to Americans; for, says the author, it was in America that he has "had the good fortune to mature his mind for the understanding of these historical events," and it is on this ground that he is interested in recalling for Americans the history of international relations in Europe from the Holy Alliance to the present hour.

The Irish Convention and Sinn Fein. By Warre B. Wells and N. Marlowe. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 194 pp. \$2.25.

This book covers a significant chapter in Ireland's political history—the period from the failure in July, 1916, of Mr. Lloyd George's proposal to bring about a Home Rule settlement by the partition of Ulster, to April, 1918, when the Convention, made up of representatives of all parties, for drafting an Irish Constitution, submitted its report. Among the points discussed are the relation between Sinn Fein and the Convention, the true character of Irish opposition to conscription, the ultimate meaning of the Convention as an effort at peaceful settlement of the Home Rule question, and the claim of Ireland to consideration by the Peace Conference. The book is written in a continuation of "A History of the Irish Rebellion of 1916," by the same authors, who in this, as in the former volume, have endeavored to maintain a detached and purely historical attitude.

Rural Reconstruction in Ireland. By Lionel Smith-Gordon and Laurence C. Staples. Yale University Press. 301 pp. \$3.

An account of the remarkable coöperative movement initiated in Ireland by Sir Horace

Plunkett thirty years ago One hundred thousand Irish farmers are enlisted in this movement, which has established coöperative societies for manufacturing, buying, selling, and credit. One will find in this volume the essential facts about the coöperative creameries, credit societies, and societies for the purchase of farming supplies that were established and organized in Ireland upon the same principles that have worked successfully in Denmark and other parts of Europe. A preface is furnished by George W. Russell ("A. E.").

Why God Loves the Irish. By Humphrey J. Desmond. The Devin-Adair Company. 108 pp. \$1.25

A spirited and well-written eulogy of the Irish race.

Great Britain, Palestine, and the Jews. George H. Doran Company. 93 pp. 50 cents.

Jewish leaders the world over have received with great enthusiasm the declaration of the British Government in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. This pamphlet is intended to give a brief and comprehensive survey of the various forms of celebration in honor of the promulgation of this British charter of Zionism. It includes many resolutions, statements and messages of Zionist organizations, and expressions of opinion from eminent Jewish leaders.

Influence of the Great War upon Shipping. By J. Russell Smith. Washington, D. C.; Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 357 pp. Paper.

This is one of the series of preliminary war studies undertaken by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and edited by Professor Kinley, of the University of Illinois. The author, Professor J. Russell Smith, holds the chair of Geography and Industry in the University of Pennsylvania. He began the preparation of his report in August, 1917, and between that date and the date of the completion of the work, in May, 1918, nearly half of the events recorded in the book occurred. For this reason, perspective is lacking in the work as a whole, but for all that it is valuable as an account of shipping developments prior to the checking of the German advance in the spring of 1918. He describes the effect of the ship shortage on rates and profits, the efforts made by the different countries to replace the lost ships, the various forms of government aid, control, and operation, and the preparations made during the war for shipping expansion after the conclusion of peace.

War Thrift. By Thomas Nixon Carver. Washington, D. C.; Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 68 pp. Paper.

Although appearing too late to be useful to the American public in war time, this study of "War Thrift," by Professor Carver, of Harvard, ought to be helpful in many ways, even in time of peace. It is a topic with which Americans are in no danger of becoming unduly familiar, whether in peace or war. The treatment of the

subject is both theoretical and practical. The essay will well repay careful reading.

War Borrowing. By Jacob H. Hollander. The Macmillan Company. 211 pp. \$1.50.

This is another book that may be fairly described as a product of war conditions. It owes its origin to lectures delivered by Professor Hollander in the Economic Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University soon after America entered the war, and it is recorded that every one of the graduate students who listened to these lectures sooner or later entered the country's service. The book is a study of Treasury certificates of indebtedness and look forward to peace conditions.

War Finance. By Clarence W. Barron. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 368 pp. \$1.50.

Mr. Barron's viewpoint in this book is that of an observer in Switzerland during the last four months of the war. He does not confine himself to financial topics, but introduces much suggestive comment on various phases of the war's operations and some of the more important personalities involved.

Foreign Financial Control in China. By T. W. Overlach. The Macmillan Company. 295 pp. \$2.

A clear-cut, impartial analysis of the activities of the six leading powers in China during the last twenty years. International coöperation in control of China's finances is the proposition to which the author addresses himself. He shows how necessary it is that with the coming of peace all the powers readjust their specific national interests and viewpoints on the basis of mutual respect for the needs and aspirations of all, including those of China.

Democracy in Reconstruction. Edited by Dr. Joseph Schafer and Frederick A. Cleveland. Houghton, Mifflin Company. 506 pp. \$2.50.

A discussion of some of the more crucial after-the-war problems of American society, by men who are recognized as experts in their respective fields. An admirable introductory chapter on "The Historical Background of Reconstruction in America" is contributed by Professor Schafer, of the University of Oregon. Dr. Frederick A. Cleveland, who was chairman of President Taft's Commission on Economy and Efficiency, writes on "Ideals of Democracy," as interpreted by President Wilson, and "Need for Readjustment of Relations Between the Executive and Legislative Branches of Government." Professor W. W. Willoughby writes on "The Underlying Concepts of Democracy," and his brother, W. F. Willoughby, on "Democratization of Institutions for Public Service." Social insurance is discussed by Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, and the educational lessons of the war by Samuel P. Capen and Charles R. Mann. The concluding chapter is a summary of "The Evolution by Democracy," by Dr. Charles A. Beard.

Problems of Reconstruction. By Isaac Lipincott. The Macmillan Company. 345 pp. \$1.60.

A survey of the several forms of war control as applied to food products, fuel, and labor espe-

cially, with a chapter on the economic results of the war, an outline of the reconstruction policies adopted in foreign countries, and a definite reconstruction plan for the United States. The author is Associate Professor of Economics in Washington University.

The Land and the Soldier. By Frederic C. Howe. Charles Scribner's Sons. 196 pp. \$1.35.

To American readers, especially those of the older generation, the title of Dr. Howe's book is likely to suggest the occupation of untilled areas in the Far West. His plan, however, contemplates something very different. He proposes that farm colonies be organized, somewhat after the Danish models, not on reclaimed or distant land, but upon land never properly cultivated, often near the large cities. The garden villages of England have shown what can be done in the way of giving social advantages to communities thus formed. Dr. Howe's program includes the kind of farm community settlement that was described so fully by Mr. Elwood Meade in the March number of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*. One chapter of "The Land and the Soldier" is devoted to an account of the California settlement which Mr. Meade described.

The Colleges in War Time and After. By Parke Rexford Kolbe. D. Appleton and Company. 320 pp. Ill. \$2.

In this contemporary account of the effect of the war upon higher education in America there is no attempt to draw definitive conclusions. This will require a longer period for study. It is, however, possible to describe some of the changes

that were effected, and to forecast some of the readjustments likely to come with reconstruction. The record of American colleges in the war was one of patriotism, courage, and efficiency. Their contribution to the sum of the national effort was something in which all Americans may take a just pride. The most spectacular feature of their part in the war was the formation of the Students' Army Training Corps, with its 250,000 members, organized into units at over 500 colleges.

The Redemption of the Disabled. By Garrard Harris. D. Appleton and Company. 318 pp. Ill. \$2.

This book presents, with many interesting illustrations, the Government's program for the economic rehabilitation of our soldiers and sailors who were disabled in the war. An introductory chapter by Colonel Frank Billings describes the provision for caring for war casualties and the process of physical and functional restoration in the military hospitals. To take the place of the traditional pension system, with its well-known faults, Mr. Harris discusses the new national policy of utilizing every possible means for restoring disabled soldiers to earning capacity and social usefulness. A concluding section of the book deals with the extension of this program to the victims of industrial accident.

The Vocational Re-Education of Maimed Soldiers. By Leon De Paeuw. Princeton; Princeton University Press. 188 pp. \$1.50.

A valuable account of Belgium's experience in the re-education of wounded soldiers.

BOLSHEVISM AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

The Prelude to Bolshevism. By A. F. Kerensky. Dodd, Mead & Company. 312 pp. \$2.50.

This is an account of the reactionary uprising under General Kornilov, in 1917. It has historical importance, as the work of the former Russian Prime Minister, and contains much documentary material, not otherwise accessible in English.

Bolshevism. By John Spargo. Harper & Brothers. 389 pp. \$1.50.

Mr. Spargo, who for eighteen years has been identified with the American Socialist movement, characterizes Bolshevism as "the enemy of political and industrial democracy." In the present volume he outlines the origin, history and meaning of Bolshevism, as it has disclosed itself in Russia, giving enough of the historical background to exhibit the Bolsheviks in perspective, and to enable the reader to judge of their performances in connection with the Russian revolutionary movement as a whole. Although Mr. Spargo, from conviction and antecedents, is rigidly opposed to the principles and practices of Bolshevism, he refuses to accept as true the statements that have been widely circulated concern-

ing the misdeeds of Bolshevik leaders. But his own pages give evidence that the Bolsheviks have been guilty of many crimes. Their worst crimes, in his opinion, have been "against political and social democracy, which they have shamefully betrayed and opposed with as little scruple, and as much brutal injustice, as was ever manifested by the Romanoffs." This charge Mr. Spargo undertakes to sustain by citations from official documents issued by the Bolshevik government; the writings and addresses of accredited Bolshevik leaders and officials; the declarations of Russian Socialist organizations; the statements of equally well-known and trusted Russian Socialists; and of responsible Russian Socialist journals.

Ten Days That Shook the World. By John Reed. Boni and Liveright. 371 pp. Ill. \$2.

An account of the Bolshevik Revolution of November, 1917, in Petrograd, of which Mr. Reed was an eye-witness. He does not disguise the fact that his sympathies were, and are, with the revolutionists, but has tried to state the truth, as he saw it, in a spirit of a conscientious reporter of historic events. Narratives of these occurrences, from responsible sources, are exceedingly rare. Important documentary material is included in Mr. Reed's volume.

JOHN BARLEYCORN ON TRIAL

Drink. By Vance Thompson. E. P. Dutton & Company. 231 pp. \$1.

The New York *World's* cartoons depicting the prohibitionist in grotesquely caricatured ministerial garb will have to be altered to cover the case of Vance Thompson, who is no consumptive clerical, whatever may be thought of his teachings on the subject of alcohol. Indeed, it is from the standpoint of a citizen of the world, if not a worldly citizen, that he tells us what alcohol does to man and why it should be let alone. He does not set up any argument for prohibition, but once having admitted the truth of his statements we must all perforce become prohibitionists if we permit ourselves to be guided by the light of reason. Those who believe that the end of the world is coming on the first of July will remain unconvinced, but most thinking men will acknowledge, we think, the general soundness and common sense of Mr. Thompson's conclusions, for they are not evolved from his inner

VANCE THOMPSON

consciousness; they are based on shrewd and mature judgments of human nature as it reveals itself in this workaday world, formed by a man who knows the Europe of to-day as well as he knows America.

Alcohol and the Human Race. By Richmond Pearson Hobson. Fleming H. Revell Company. 205 pp. \$1.25.

Captain Hobson's book agrees with Mr. Thompson's in condemning the use of alcohol as a beverage, but in method the two works are as widely divergent as the poles. Assuming that the drink question is "wholly one of fact rather than judgment," Captain Hobson began ten years ago to gather all available scientific data relating to the effect of alcohol on the human race. The present volume is a popular compendium of the information thus acquired. In its way it is quite as convincing as Mr. Thompson's "Drink."

The Whole Truth about Alcohol. By George Elliot Flint. The Macmillan Company. 294 pp. \$1.50.

Those who are seeking a defense of King Alcohol—for his royal highness is admittedly on the defensive in these times—will find one in this volume. The author summons those medical and scientific authorities (they are not many) who are willing to be quoted as endorsing the use of alcohol as a stimulant. This is one of the few modern books in the English language which defends the practise of modern drinking. Naturally and logically, it denounces prohibition.

THE AMERICAN FARMER

The Farmer and the New Day. By Kenyon L. Butterfield. The Macmillan Company. 311 pp. \$2.

President Butterfield, of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, has been one of the leaders in the American movement for progressive farming, during the past twenty years. In the present volume he states the larger problems to be faced by the farmer during reconstruction, and indicates the kind of relations that will exist between the farmer and the rest of society in this new era. President Butterfield's purpose is not so much to give solutions of specific problems as to outline certain fundamental principles and methods by which improvement may be made.

Opportunities in Farming. By Edward Owen Dean. Harper & Brothers. 97 pp. Ill. 75 cents.

The author of this little book has at least the courage of his convictions. He is not afraid to tell why he stays on the farm. He sums it up in three words—home, independence, health. In less than one hundred pages he gives definite and practical suggestions about selecting the farm, choosing a particular line of farming, diversification of crops, the production of fertilizer, the

use of farm machinery, and farm work in general. This is a practical manual by a writer of abundant experience.

The Sugar-Beet in America. By F. S. Harris. The Macmillan Company. 342 pp. Ill. \$2.25.

The production of beet sugar was never so vital a matter in the United States as it is to-day. American experience with the sugar-beet covers more than thirty years, leaving out of account the early, unsuccessful attempts to establish the industry on the Western Hemisphere. In Europe, of course, the record is much longer. The earlier literature of beet-growing in this country was all based on what had been learned in Europe. We now have a successful record of a third of a century in the cultivation of the sugar-beet under our own conditions of climate and soil. Dr. Harris summarizes this experience admirably in the present volume. Any American farmer who is thinking of going into beet culture should by all means read this book. It brings together for the first time in a single volume information that is scattered through countless Government documents, many of which are not easily accessible.

INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

Man-to-Man. By John Leitch. B. C. Forbes Publishing Company. 249 pp. \$2.

Most writers on the problems of industrial democracy have begun with the assumption of a conflict of interests between employers and employed. Mr. Leitch starts from a wholly different viewpoint. He assumes that the aims of employers and employees, so far from being opposed to each other, are really identical. That is to say, it is in the interest of both capital and labor to have every manufacturing plant earn as much as possible under agreeable conditions of labor for the operatives. He has a plan for doing away with labor antagonisms and dissatisfaction. This plan involves the installation in each factory of a system of self-government that reminds one in some of its features of the "Senates" that have proved workable and efficient in the student democracies of many of our colleges and universities. This book not only describes the plan in detail, but shows by specific instances how it has worked in at least twenty large corporations. The immediate effect of its operation has been to increase at the same time the wages of labor and the profits of capital.

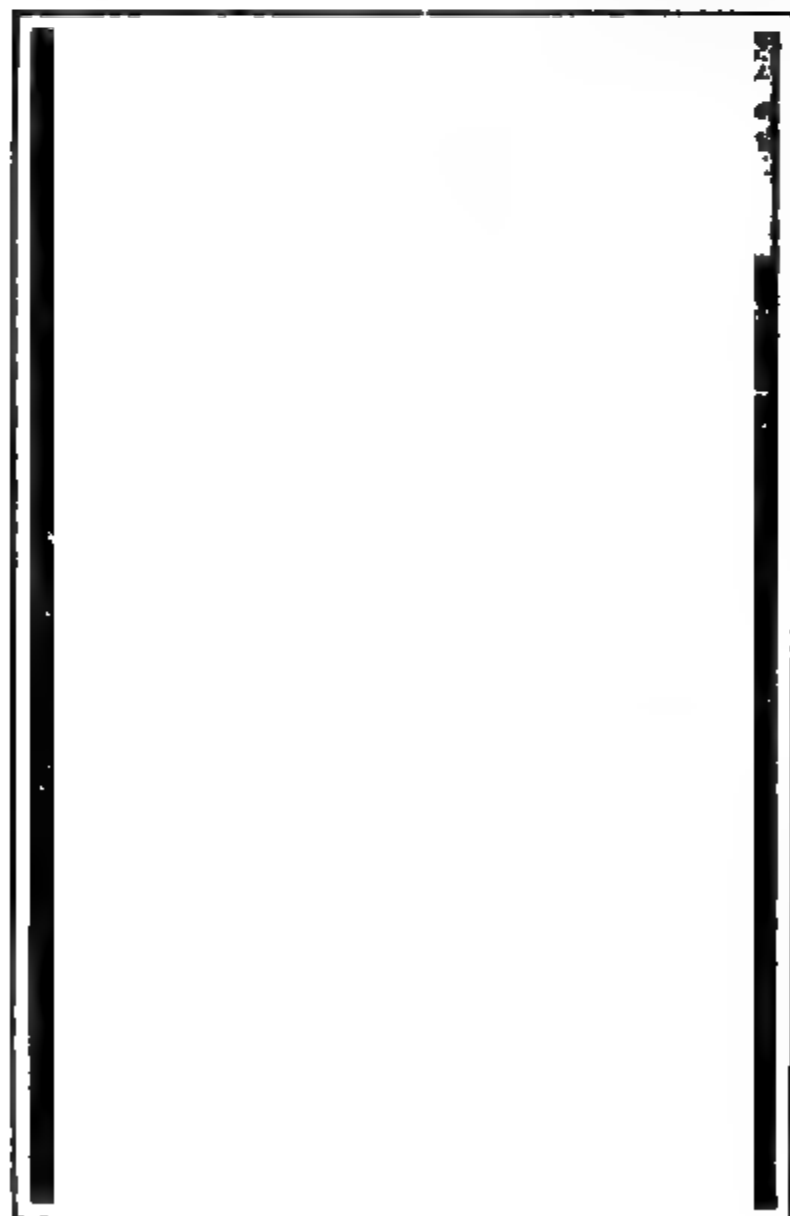
The Art of Handling Men. By James H. Collins. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company. 143 pp. 50 cents.

A series of brief articles, dealing with practical problems of management, and particularly with features of welfare work in factories.

The Instructor, the Man, and the Job. By Charles R. Allen. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Company. 373 pp. \$1.50.

This handbook meets the needs of two groups of instructors—those who work directly with employees in factories and other industrial plants, and those who give training courses for vocational teachers in schools. Mr. Allen is recognized as one of the best qualified instructors in this field. Every precept he lays down in his book has had the check of personal experience. Mr. C. A. Prosser, director of the Federal Board of Vocational Education, says: "I am of the opinion that this book is the most important contribution yet made to industrial and trade training. The plan of training is not a dream or a guess, but a demonstrated success."

TRAVELERS' OBSERVATIONS IN BOTH HEMISPHERES



A Pilgrim in Palestine. By John Finley. Charles Scribner's Sons. 251 pp. Ill. \$2.

The choice of Dr. Finley as our Red Cross Commissioner to Palestine, combined with the close friendship that arose between him and General Allenby, resulted in this book of exceedingly vivid sketches of travel in the Holy Land. Dr. Finley was the first American pilgrim to make the journey from Beersheba to Dan after that region had been recovered by the British. Moreover, the pilgrimage was made on foot, as was fitting, and gave abundant opportunity for the stimulation of the pilgrim's mind, already well stored with Biblical lore. Interspersed with chapters on General Allenby, the Mount of Olives, "From Jaffa to Jericho," are poems composed by Dr. Finley en route, and many photographs taken by him to illustrate the text.

Far Away and Long Ago. By W. H. Hudson. E. P. Dutton. 332 pp. \$2.50.

In "Far Away and Long Ago," Mr. W. H. Hudson writes of the days when the plantations of the Argentine were small inland empires. He tells the story of the rich experiences and marvelous adventures of his early boyhood which was spent on the wide pampas. As a memory feat alone, the book is astonishing. The man has seemingly recalled to mind with a wealth of detail the most trifling incidents as well as the major events of the life of the boy. One finds in the pages all the spaciousness of the virgin lands of the southern hemisphere seventy-five years ago, and a surpassingly beautiful panorama of the sights, sounds, and teeming wild life of the

undulating green plains reaching out and away from the River Plata. He has written delightfully of the memories of his family, of the neighbors—each separated a day's ride from his father's *estancia*, of the romantic personalities of the region, and of Buenos Aires in the '40's under the Dictator Rosas. In the chapter, "The Plantation," there is a word-painting of a blossoming peach-orchard and a description of the singing of the thousands of yellow field finches in the branches when the trees were in full glory. This passage must be numbered with the few descriptive passages in English that parallel perfection. In its entirety, this book is one of the choicest things in modern literature.

W. H. HUDSON

Mexico To-Day and To-Morrow. By E. D. Trowbridge. The Macmillan Company. 282 pp. \$2.

The latter half of this volume is based chiefly on the author's personal experience and observations in Mexico, the earlier chapters of the book all classes of Mexican society. In order to enable the reader to understand present-day conditions in Mexico, the earlier chapters of the book are devoted to Mexican history, the history of Spanish rule, and subsequent events in so far as these have affected national life. In these chapters the opinions of Prescott, Bancroft and other authorities are reflected. So little has been actually known in this country about what has been going on in Mexico since the fall of the Diaz régime in 1911, that any orderly account of developments there since that date is especially desirable at this time. Mr. Trowbridge analyses the new constitution, Mexico's international relations, and her attitude toward foreign capital, together with the various financial, agrarian and educational problems which face the Carranza government.

Mexico from Cortez to Carranza. By Louise S. Hasbrouck. D. Appleton and Company. 329 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

The story of Mexico's troubled career, brought up to date.

There is much in Mexican history, ancient and modern, that is thrilling and romantic.

A History of Latin America. By William Warren Sweet. The Abingdon Press. 283 pp. Ill. \$3.

A broad survey of the history and present condition of the Latin-American states. Originally prepared for the use of students and teachers, it is equally well adapted for general reading. The

author is Professor of History in De Pauw University.

Getting Together with Latin America. By A. Hyatt Verrill. E. P. Dutton & Company. 221 pp. \$2.

The author of this little book, so far from being over-confident as to the future of our trade with Latin America, believes that now that the World War is over, competition in that part of the world will be far greater than ever before and that only "by taking advantage of the present conditions, by proving by word and deed that we are the best friends the Latin Americans have, can we hope to end the commercial war which we must wage in order to secure and hold our prestige in Latin America and reap the benefits which should be ours." He treats the subject of Latin-American trade broadly and comprehensively, leaving to an appendix the encyclopedic statement of specific facts regarding each of the republics in detail.

Out and About London. By Thomas Burke. Henry Holt & Company. 190 pp. \$1.40.

A picture of war-time London—the city where, we are told, little or nothing distinctively English remained to be seen. It was as if Britain's metropolis had been taken by the enemy. One of the most entertaining chapters in the book is Mr. Burke's account of the historic baseball game, played near London on the Fourth of July, 1917, by the United States Army and Navy teams.

The Romance of Old Philadelphia. By John T. Faria. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 336 pp. Ill. \$4.50.

Philadelphia, so long the center of American colonial life, the place where the Declaration of Independence was drawn up and signed, and for ten years the capital of the young United States, surely deserves a history conceived in the modern spirit. Mr. Faria has made good use of manuscript materials never before explored and his completed volume really lives up to its title. It unfolds much genuine romance in the records of the old town and shows that the Philadelphians of to-day have the best reasons for valuing their past.

The Book of Philadelphia. By Robert Shackleton. Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Company. 413 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

Mr. Shackleton has written one of the most satisfactory descriptions of a modern city that we can recall having read. Most books about American cities fall into one of two classes—the guidebook pure and simple and the antiquary's compilation of historical and legendary detail. "The Book of Philadelphia" belongs to neither of these groups and yet it manages to convey a wealth of entertaining knowledge concerning the Philadelphia that is, while it gives in association with the account of the modern city a very actual and vivid presentation of Penn's "City of Brotherly Love" and the thousand and one traditions of Revolutionary days. It pokes fun at the Philadelphians, too, but they are used to that.

BOOKS THAT APPEAL TO BOYS AND YOUNG MEN

The Boy Scouts' Year Book. Edited by Franklin K. Mathews. Appletons. 259 pp. Ill. \$2.

The citizenship of to-morrow is the question that is now before the world. The leaders in the Boy Scout movement are doing much to prepare the way for a finer type of citizenship than the world has ever known with their wholesome reading program for the Scouts. Two of the articles contributed to this number of the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* emphasize this fact. The fourth number of "The Boy Scouts' Year Book" is made up, as were the previous numbers, largely of stories, instructive articles and pictures previously published in the official organ of the Scouts, *Boys' Life*. This material has been prepared especially for American boys by eminent men, public officials, naturalists, explorers, handicraft experts, fiction writers, humorists, scout leaders and artists. It will give entertainment and profit to boys every day of the year and help them to use their time according to a well-planned program.

Scout Drake in War Time. By Isabel Hornibrook. Boston: Little, Brown. 305 pp. \$1.35.

The second story of the life of Lonny Drake, who was transformed from an idle street loafer into a Boy Scout with a merit badge for swimming. In this book, which is filled with the flaming love of adventure, Scout Drake turns farm-boy, and after his toil is over goes into the rough country to try and capture a bear cub to serve as a mascot for a regiment in Camp Charron. The capture of the white-starred cub is most exciting. The author acknowledges in her dedication the "boyish help" of Scouts Gorman Mattison and Herbert Mattison in the making of the book.

Athletes All. By Walter Camp. Scribner's. 277 pp. Ill. \$1.50.

A volume on athletic sports brought into prominence by the war as the best means of training mind and body will be gladly received by boys and young men throughout the country. The first section, "Health and Sportsmanship," gives the underlay of athletic achievement, both physical and mental. Following this are instructions for informal games of many kinds, the organization and management of athletics in schools, camps, duties of captains and managers and how to conduct athletic meets. The last section, "Track, Gymnasium and Field," deals with Olympic games, cross-country running, baseball, winter sports, wrestling and boxing, football, and keeping fit. Every boy who wants to excel in athletics will appreciate this book.

Three Hundred and Twenty-five Group Contests for the Army, Navy and School. By William J. Cromie. Macmillan. 96 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

Explicit instructions for classes or groups in

physical training which enable a number of boys or young men to work together in physical training to their mutual benefit. The volume is illustrated with photographs of the members of the University of Pennsylvania Gymnasium who posed in action in the various contests. An excellent reference book for Scoutmasters, Y. M. C. A. instructors, Boys' Clubs, Settlement Playgrounds, Industrial Centers, and like organizations.

Fighters Young Americans Want to Know. By Everett T. Tomlinson. Appleton. 275 pp. Ill. \$1.60.

Stories of heroes of the American Revolution, of the War of 1812, of the Civil and the Spanish Wars, and of the War with Germany. The last story, "The Fall of Captain Hall," commemorates the daring exploit, the courage and coolness of Captain James Norman Hall, of Colfax, Iowa. "The Kansas Cyclone" is the story of a terrible fight in a dug-out in No Man's Land which won for Lieutenant Henry Kenneth Cassidy of Kansas, the Croix de Guerre. The fight occurred on the Lorraine sector near Anservillers.

LIEUT. HENRY K. CASSIDY

Uncle Sam's Boys with Pershing. By H. Irving Hancock. Henry Altemus Co. 255 pp. Ill. 50 cents

An illustrated, swiftly-moving story in "The Boys of the Army Series" that tells of the realization of Captain Dick Prescott's sole ambition—to be in France with General Pershing and at grips with the enemies of mankind and of the U. S. A.

Daddy Pat, of the Marines. By Lt.-Col. Frank E. Evans. Stokes. 153 pp. \$1.25.

Every small boy whose father fought with Pershing in France will like these letters written by Lieutenant-Colonel Evans to his six-year-old boy in America. They were patiently and lovingly printed in capital letters of the Big Primer size so that they might be easily read by the soldier's little son, and the type of this edition has been chosen of a size that preserves the likeness to the originals. Lt.-Col. Evans illustrated his letters with most amusing sketches of scenes in France and bits of army life that give young patriots the cheerful side of the war.

Adventures in Alaska. By S. Hall Young. Revell. 181 pp. \$1.25.

Dr. Young writes: "Boys, you'll never know the real joy of living till you take a winter trip with dog-sled in Alaska." For many years a missionary in Alaska, he knows whereof he writes. The first three chapters outline his experiences in the great gold stampede to the Northwest. The story "Dogs" belongs also to the period of the frantic search for gold. The three bear stories and the

walrus story are like the others, bits of history. Dr. Young was compelled by circumstances to be a good hunter, for his life often depended upon his rifle and fishing tackle. For ten years in Southeastern Alaska, his family was dependent for meat upon his prowess as a hunter. These stories of his adventures are vital, zestful, and expressive of the untamed world of nature. They make one of the most satisfactory books a boy can own.

BOOKS FOR OUT-OF-DOOR FOLK

Wasp Studies Afield. By Phil and Nellie Rau. Princeton University Press. 372 pp. Ill. \$2.

This book deserves a hearty welcome as a nature study and as a fine example of book-making. The authors give the results of four years' study of those marvelous and highly developed insects, the wasps. They tell how they work and play, build and burrow, their elaborate arrangements for providing food for their offspring, and describe their curious sun-dance. Dr. William H. Wheeler, Professor of Economic Entomology at Harvard University, says in the introduction: "The solitary wasps comprise some 10,000 described species scattered over the torrid and temperate regions of the globe. . . . No other group of insects have so fascinated and baffled the student of animal behavior, the psychologist and the philosopher." The excellent illustrations were made from sketches executed in the field by Dr. Gustave Dahms.

Our Winter Birds. By Frank M. Chapman. D. Appleton & Co. 180 pp. Ill. \$1.

Lovers of birds may take this book with them to the country secure in the knowledge that most of these winter birds are resident with us all the year. Dr. Chapman describes each species and their habits and suggests ways to attract them and make them our friends. Many illustrations and a page of colored plates are given in order to make identification easy. Rustic sheltered feeding stations are recommended for winter birds. The author writes that he once knew of a number of mocking birds that survived a northern winter as guests at a bird-lover's lunch-counter. Dr. Chapman is Curator of Ornithology in the American Museum of Natural History.

Touring Afoot. By C. P. Fordyce. Macmillan. 167 pp. \$1.

A pocket handbook that initiates the novice into the delights of real road tramping, and gives all instructions necessary for the maintenance of health and comfort on walking tours. A list of articles for the tramp's traveling kit is given in an appendix.

Swimming and Watermanship. By L. de B. Handley. Macmillan. 150 pp. Ill. \$1.

There is no other exercise that brings so great a reward in health as swimming. This handbook is most excellent for beginners, since swimming is as much a matter of mental control and knowl-

edge of correct strokes in the early stages, as of physical effort. The various strokes as practised by experts, high diving, springboard diving, floating water polo, and life-saving are covered in the chapters. The author was captain of the New York Athletic Club's Olympic Swimming Team in 1904.

Practical Bait-Casting. By Larry St. John. Macmillan. 181 pp. \$1.

This is the first book to be published on practical bait-casting. Heretofore, it has been considered impossible to make good bait-casters by instruction; they had to be born. Mr. St. John hopes that the "old hands" will not be too critical of the volume, since he is "blazing a trail." The rod, reel, line, tackle, baits, and the difficult art of casting are described in a practical way. Mr. St. John says: "The camaraderie, the sunshine, the fresh air, and the work of bait-casting make up one way to cheat Father Time and keep our youth and enthusiasm."

Little Tales of Common Things. By Inez N. McFee. Crowell. 300 pp. \$1.25.

A most attractive book for vacation reading, both for boys and girls and for grown-ups. By means of a breezy, conversational method, the author gives the facts about the objects we encounter in everyday life—needles, silk, cotton, buttons, tea, coffee, rubber, etc. There are also engaging stories of bees. Indian basket-work, sponges, coal, salt-licks, stars, and grasshoppers—a delightful miscellany that will satisfy the most eager inquisitive child-mind.

Echoes of the Forest. By William Edgar Brown. Badger. 264 pp.

Beautiful legends of the American Indians retold in pleasant verse. Mr. Brown is also the author of "Indian Legendary Poems" and "Songs of Cheer."

Gas, Gasoline and Oil Engines. By A. Fredrick Collins. Appleton. Ill. 207 pp. \$1.25.

Here is a handbook that every motorist who is not a skilled mechanic should carry with him on tours to study at odd moments. Also, as gas, gasoline, and oil engines are replacing all other kinds of prime movers where small units are used, and are already indispensable to the home and the work-shop, everyone—men, women, boys, and girls—should be familiar with the workings of these engines and know how to run them.

NOVELS, FOREIGN AND AMERICAN

JOSEPH CONRAD'S new book, "The Arrow of Gold,"¹ is a story of the Carlist uprising in the middle seventies before the armies of Don Carlos de Bourbon were defeated by the forces of Alfonso XII, and compelled to surrender to the French frontier authorities in 1876. The scenes are the Basque provinces of Spain, and the cities of Marseilles and Paris. The young man who narrates the story sets about to organize a supply by sea of arms and ammunition for the Carlist bands in the South. The expected adventures by sea Conrad seldom more than hints at; his Carlist scaffolding is intrigued to better display the psychology of his characters. Those who like "The Nigger of the Narcissus" and "Victory" will find "The Arrow of Gold" perhaps too indirect and subjective for their tastes. Although there is no single passage that rises to the height of the last conversation between Heyst and Lena in "Victory," it is in many respects, the most illumined novel Conrad has written. Like "Chance" it burns with the gem-like flame desired by Pater. It is a study of esthetic modes and of the inviolability of human destiny that resolves sentence by sentence into the portrait of a woman who was—living romance. Donna Rita had in her a little of "the women of all time"; she had what the French call the "dangerous gift of familiarity." In her background are her discoverer, the great artist Henry Allégro, the youthful narrator of the tale, the elegant Captain Blunt, the *Américain Catholique et gentil-homme*, who lived by his sword, that correct adventuress his mother, who lived by her wits, Mills, the pleasant, ponderous Englishman, and the flinty, nun-like sister of Donna Rita, from the Basque mountains. It is a novel of the Slavic type, introspective, psychological. The first chapter is very near perfection and over the whole is glamour. There is more than a hint that the material is autobiographical. Conrad's full name is Joseph Conrad Korzeniowski. He was born in the Ukraine in 1857. He became a British seaman and adopted English as the language of his "secret choice." In the history of literature, the case of Conrad is the strangest example of "literary naturalization."

"Blind Alley"² is a splendid attempt to picture the muddle of English life following the war and to conjecture what may arise out of it. The author, Mr. W. L. George, describes his work as "the most cosmic attempt to show a complete world society in the midst of a world movement." To figureate this movement, the novelist selects the reactions to the war of an English family of the better class. The father, Sir Hugh Oakley, tries to reason through the blur of passing events. Monica, his eldest daughter, goes in for munitions and falls into the mesh of a feverish and futile love affair. Sylvia, the second daughter, accomplishes three matrimonial alliances in as many years, while Lady Oakley blunders along quite uselessly. Mr. George, speaking through the mouthpiece of Sir Hugh, dis-

cusses all the much-mooted war and post-war questions from a determined pacifist point of view. He is like-minded with Siegfried Sassoon, the poet, whose verse he quotes. He tries to express the cool, impartial view of certain barbarities that people may take when the word "poppies" no longer recalls "Flanders fields." It is a most painstaking, thoughtful book, a really big piece of fiction in its conception, one that sorts and classifies the shards of our civilization from which we must build the new social order. The men are a trifle misty as to characterization. The women are much better, for here, at least, Mr. George is on his own artistic territory.

Leonard Merrick's delightful story, "Conrad in Quest of His Youth,"³ is the first volume of the new edition of his works, an edition entirely reset, with the author's final correction. No theme could be more irresistible—the sentimental journey of a man in the middle years after the fresh impulses and sheer wonder of his youth. Sir James Barrie, who has written a piquant preface, says: "Of my own free will nothing would induce me to give away the story of 'Conrad in Quest of His Youth' to those who are about to read it for the first time. I have just re-read it and it is as fresh as yesterday's shower . . . There are a hundred surprises in 'Conrad.'"

"When Paris Laughed,"⁴ the pranks and Gallic gayeties of the amiable poet Tricotrin, bring us Merrick again in his best mood. The sketches are wholly delightful renderings of the unconventional Bohemian life of Paris.

"Blood and Sand,"⁵ a vivid, highly colored novel, was written by Blasco Ibáñez to bring about a reaction in Spain against the national sport of bull-fighting. In the spectacles of the amphitheater of blood and sand, he sees a national festival which is a substitute for what a character in the book, Dr. Ruis, calls "the national festival of the Inquisition." The force and power of this book is tremendous; it is a masterpiece of its kind. And it reveals the typical Spanish character to be a blend of beauty and cruelty, of delicacy and harmony and kindness with lust and tyrannous instincts. The hero of the bullring, Juan Gallardo, is a triumph of the author's creative literary art. He rises from poverty and obscurity and becomes the most renowned *torrero* in all Spain. After a spectacular career as the idol of the crowds he dies as he has lived in the bull-ring, attended by the roaring of the populace—according to the novelist, "the wild beast, the true and only one." The translation is by Mrs. W. A. Gillespie, the introduction by Isaac Goldberg.

Another translation from the Spanish of Blasco Ibáñez is "The Dead Command,"⁶ a delightful

¹The Arrow of Gold. By Joseph Conrad. Doubleday, Page & Company. 385 pp. \$1.50.

²Blind Alley. By W. L. George. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. 431 pp. \$1.75.

³Conrad in Quest of His Youth. By Leonard Merrick. With an introduction by Sir J. M. Barrie. E. P. Dutton & Company. 265 pp. \$2.

⁴When Paris Laughed. By Leonard Merrick. Dutton. 298 pp. \$1.75.

⁵Blood and Sand. By Vicente Blasco Ibáñez. E. P. Dutton & Company. 356 pp. \$1.90.

⁶The Dead Command. By Vicente Blasco Ibáñez. Duffield & Company. 350 pp. \$1.75.

romance laid against the background of the beautiful Balearic Islands. A gallant young Majorcan, Jaime Febrer, moves through life governed entirely by the traditions and customs of his dead ancestors. Through his life we see the weight traditions, prejudices, and racial restraints have upon the individual, how they hinder the flow of creative power and are the source of most of our damaging inhibitions. The author cleaves to the belief that we cannot truly live until we escape the dead. Life must command—life and love. The ending is a happy one. Don Jaime casts off the shackles of the past and yields to the spell of idyllic love. The translation is by Francis Douglas.

A translation from the Spanish of Pio Baroja, author of "The City of the Discreet," gives us, according to Spanish critics, his greatest work.¹ César Moncada, a brilliant and idealistic young Spaniard, believes that he can modernize his government and bring about urgent reforms. In the first half of the story he prepares himself for his political career; in the second half he embarks valiantly upon it. He conceived the perfect democracy—one that would "standardize as far as possible the means of livelihood, of education and even the manner of living, and would leave free the intelligence, the will and the conscience." He believed that the leveling process of modern democracy tended to level mentalities and aid some private interests to take precedence over other private interests. He takes for his motto "*aut César aut nihil*" and flings himself heart and soul into the conflict. What comes of his attempt completes a particularly inspiring novel that seems to say that the individual is always sacrificed until the times are ripe, that the rhythmic movement of national evolution moves of itself beyond and outside the reformers.

Mr. Edgar Saltus's novel, "The Paliser Case," will be acceptable to many classes of readers because of its curious blend of literary efflorescence. Basically it starts out to be a mystery story. Tragedy, comedy, glimpses of a Harlem Bohemia, and the blasé social atmosphere of multimillionaires are overlaid with the freshness, the vitality of the Spanish singer, Cassy Cara, a wholly delightful girl. The development of the plot is piquant and most engaging. The book holds the reader's interest from cover to cover.

The story of Abraham Lincoln's romance with Ann Rutledge, by Mrs. Bernie Babcock, is founded, according to the publishers, on a lecture entitled "Pioneering and the Poem," which was prepared by William H. Herndon for delivery in Sangamon County in 1866. He included in this lecture an account of Abraham Lincoln's early love affair and described New Salem as it looked when Lincoln lived there. A copy of this lecture, which was never delivered, came into Mrs. Babcock's hands, and from this basis she has made a novel. It is a graceful, moving story that touches the surface of Lincoln's affection and sorrow delicately, as if more driving realism would be sacrilegious.

Theodore Dreiser's studies, "Twelve Men," are slightly disguised biographical stories of the lives of certain of his friends. They lift up out of the ruck of existence certain phases, which Dreiser presents with microscopic detail in order that we may see the actual texture of life. Each bit of biography is presented according to the author's personal reactions to each individual. Several of the narratives have been published previously as short stories. They are wholesome, human, told with insight and sympathy; they are brilliant after their fashion, but they lack glamour and atmosphere and the quality of surprise, a dramatic touch necessary to the complete success of work of this type. Then with a few exceptions the men are shackled too heavily to earth. Dreiser's realism is never apparently used to support any escape for humanity from our inexplicable existence—not even that of romance. He is at his best in certain idyllic bits such as are found in "The Village Feudists" and "The Country Doctor." "Peter," the first story in the book, is the finest, broadly speaking, of the collection. Peter was a young newspaper man who was "different." Dreiser writes: "In the great waste of American intellectual dreariness, he was an oasis, a veritable spring in the desert. He understood life. He knew men. He was free—spiritually, morally, in a thousand ways, it seemed to me."

"The Duchess of Siona," by Ernest Goodwin, is the best all-around romantic novel on the publishers' lists at the present time. It is a story of the Italian Renaissance, of the saving of the kingdom of the youthful and beautiful Duchess of Siona by a gentleman of fortune who later wins her love with his nimble wits and his sword. The illustrations by W. T. Bends are the most exquisite drawings to be found in the current novels.

Henry van Dyke's impressions and meditations during war time are told in the romances and half-told tales of "The Valley of Vision." Dreams figure in several of the longer stories, for Dr. van Dyke believes in dreams and feels that they have a part in real life. The stories "A Broken Soldier" and "A Classic Instance" are surpassingly fine. They bring those things before us for which men give their lives in times of peace and of war.

Katherine Reynolds' whimsical story "Green Valley" is dedicated "to all the little one-horse towns where life is sweet and roomy and old-fashioned; where the days are full of sunshine and rain and work; where neighbors really neighbor and men and women are life-size." The story is slight; it is a series of lovely and sympathetic sketches of life in a small Middle Western town. The author wrote it when she was homesick during a trip to South America. Every one who grew up in a small country town will come home to the old familiar things in the pages of her book.

¹"Twelve Men. By Theodore Dreiser. Boni and Liveright. 360 pp. \$1.75.

²"The Duchess of Siona. By Ernest Goodwin. Houghton Mifflin. 368 pp. \$1.60.

³"The Valley of Vision. By Henry Van Dyke. Charles Scribner's Sons. 306 pp. \$1.50.

⁴"Green Valley. By Katherine Reynolds. Little, Brown & Co. 287 pp. \$1.50.

⁵"César or Nothing. By Pio Baroja. Alfred A. Knopf. 337 pp. \$1.75.

⁶"The Paliser Case. By Edgar Saltus. Boni and Liveright. 315 pp. \$1.60.

⁷"The Soul of Ann Rutledge. By Bernie Babcock. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 323 pp. \$1.50.

FINANCIAL NEWS

INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

WESTERN PACIFIC SECURITIES

Can you tell me the market price of Western Pacific Railroad First Mortgage bonds and preferred and common stocks; also what the present outlook is? Did the company pay any dividend on the preferred stock in January and April?

We find that the prevailing prices of the various securities of the Western Pacific Railroad are about as follows:

First Mortgage 5 per cent. bonds....	83
Preferred stock	65
Common stock	17

Our records show that the company paid its preferred dividend regularly since reorganization up to April 1 of the current year. The dividend due at that time was not paid because of the fact that the Company had not agreed upon the terms of its contract with the Federal Railroad Administration. The company has not yet been successful in arriving at a satisfactory understanding in this respect, but the Railroad Administration a short time ago granted an allowance of sufficient funds to enable the company to pay the instalment of the preferred dividend which was due in April. The instalment has been paid, but it was made one per cent. instead of one and one-half per cent., the amount of the previous instalment.

It looks now as if the Western Pacific would have to take its case to the United States Court of Claims to get the compensation which it thinks it ought to have for the period during which the property has been under the control of the Government.

OIL STOCKS

I am enclosing a letter which I received the other day urging me to buy stock in an oil company incorporated under the laws of Texas. Will you let me know what you think of the proposition?

There is absolutely nothing in the letter enclosed with your communication upon which one can base an intelligent judgment of the merits of the proposition referred to. We are frank to say, however, that we think it would be the height of folly to buy the stock of this concern merely on the basis of the representations made in this letter, which seem to us to bear some of the earmarks of a doubtful promotion. We would not venture, of course, to commit ourselves definitely to this conclusion without taking occasion to inform ourselves more completely about the company and its sponsors. This we will be glad to do, but meanwhile we cannot be too emphatic in saying that we believe it would be prudent for you to proceed very cautiously about committing yourself to the purchase of this or any other similar stock without investigating very carefully.

PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD BONDS

Will you please tell me what you think of Pennsylvania Railroad 5 per cent. bonds due in 1968? Do you consider them a safe investment for a woman, and is it true, as I have been informed, that these bonds are tax free in the State of Pennsylvania?

Pennsylvania General Mortgage 5 per cent. bonds due in 1968 are in our opinion a high-grade, conservative investment. They represent, in fact, the best class of standard long-term railroad bonds. They are legal investment for savings bank and trust funds under the laws of New York State, and they are also, as you have been informed, free of the personal property tax in the State of Pennsylvania.

A GOOD INVESTMENT LIST

Will you give me your opinion on the following selection of bonds? I am not now dependent on income from investment but some day may be. Can I rely upon these bonds?

- American Smelting & Refining First 5 per cents of 1947.
- American Telephone & Telegraph Collateral Trust 5 per cents of 1946.
- Armour Real Estate 4½ per cents of 1939.
- L. S. & M. S. 4 per cents of 1931.
- Norfolk & Western Convertible 4 per cents of 1996.
- Union Pacific First and Land Grant 4 per cents of 1947.
- U. S. Steel Sinking Fund 5 per cents of 1963.

We are glad to be able to say that we think this selection of bonds is an excellent one in all respects. It seems to us to be a particularly well diversified selection of high-grade, long-term issues. We believe these bonds would prove in every way satisfactory for such an investor as we believe you are.

AMERICAN REAL ESTATE

Can you give me any information about the condition and prospects of the American Real Estate Company?

Up to within a few months past progress in liquidating the affairs of the bankrupt estate of this company had not been satisfactory, due to conditions which developed during the war. The receivers of the company up to the middle of 1918 had sold a fairly substantial amount of the company's improved property holdings, and while these sales apparently did not improve the cash position noticeably, they did enable the receivers to relieve the estate of a good many very pressing first mortgages.

More recently the rental situation in and about New York City in those sections where the company's properties are located has been favorable to the receivers, and still more recently an encouraging demand for unimproved property seems to have developed, making it possible that the report of the receivers for the current year may prove the most encouraging from the bondholders' point of view that has yet been issued.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY
ALBERT SHAW

January 1919



By Henri-Martin Barzun

PEACE PROBLEMS

By Frank H. Simonds

THE CONGRESS OF NATIONS

By Talcott Williams

PERSHING'S OWN STORY

THE INFLUENZA: *By Dr. Hermann M. Biggs*

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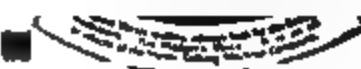
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**Carter Glass: *The Man Who Is Raising
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Vol.
LXX

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